ELIZABETH

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Vol. 2.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND.*

Vol. II.

THE LIFE *and* REIGN OF Q. *ELIZABETH.*

Vol. II.

An. 1558.

QUeen *Mary*'s Death was conceal'd for some Hours, but for what reasons, and what the *Secret* consultations were upon it, does not appear; but about Nine a Clock the *Lord Chancellor* went to the *House of Lords*, and imparted to them the News of the *Queen*'s Decease; which, as it struck the *Bishops* with no small Fear, so those *Counsellors* who had been severe in their Advices about her Sister, did apprehend she might remember it against them; yet they all agreed to *Proclaim her Queen*, and by the Zeal they expres'd for her coming to the *Crown*, intended to *Balance* the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queens resentments, than out of any ill will they bore her-

A. D. 1558.

self. They sent for the *House of Commons*; and the Lord *Chancellor* signified to them the Queens *Death*; which he said would have been much more sorrowful to *England*, if they had not had such a *Successor*, that was the next and indisputed *Heir* to the Crown, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of whose *Right* and *Title* none could make any question; therefore they intended to proclaim her *Queen*, and desired their Concurrence: Which was echoed with repeated Acclamations. *God save Queen* Elizabeth. *Long and Happily may she Reign.*

Queen Elizabeth *Proclaimed.*

The *Parliament* being declared to be *Dissolved* by the late Queens Death, the *Lords* Proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen, first at *Westminster*, and then went into *London*, where it was done again by the Lord *Mayor*, and received every where with such excessive *Joy*, that there was no sign of Sorrow expressed for the Death of Queen *Mary*, but what was shewed by the *Priests*, who in so Publick and Universal a *Joy*, were forced to betake themselves to secret *Groans*, since they durst not vent them in *Publick*. Never did any Prince before her, come to the Throne with so many *Good Wishes* and *Acclamations*, which the Horror of the *Cruelties*, and the Reflection of the disasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better times.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the News of her Sisters Death, and of her being *Proclaimed Queen*, she came from thence to *London*. On the 19th all the *Bishops* met her at *High-Gate*, whom she received with great Civility, except *Bonner*, whom she looked upon as *defiled with so much Blood*, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her Favour on him. She was received into the City, with throngs much greater than such occasions used to draw together, and followed with the *loudest Shouts* of *Joy* that was possible for so great a Multitude to raise. She lay that night at the *Duke of Norfolk's* House in the *Charter-House*, and next day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all

Her Entry into London.

People

Peoples apprehenſions, as to the *Hardſhips*, ſhe had formerly met with, and ſhewed ſhe had abſolutely forgot from whom ſhe had received them: Even *Benneſield* himſelf not excepted, who had been the chief inſtrument of her Sufferings; but ſhe always called him her *Jaylor*, which though ſhe ſaid in way of *Railery*, yet it was ſo *Sharp*, that he avoided coming any more to Court. A. D. 1558.

She ſends abroad Ambaſſadors.

She preſently diſpatch'd Meſſengers to all the *Princes* of *Chriſtendom*, to give notice of her Siſters Death, aud her Succeſſion. In particular ſhe writ to *King* Philip, *to acknowledge his kindneſs in interpoſing ſo effectually with her Siſter for her Preſervation.* She alſo ſent to *Edward Karn* that had been her Siſters *Reſident* at *Rome*, to give that *See* the News of her Succeſſion, but the Haughty *Pope* received it in his ordinary way, Declaring that *England* was held in *Fee* of the Apoſtolick *See*, that ſhe could not ſucceed, being *Illegitimate*, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that affair by his Predeceſſors, *Clement* the Seventh, and *Paul* the Third: He ſaid it was a great Boldneſs in her to Aſſume the Crown without his Conſent; for which in reaſon ſhe deſerved no favour at his hands; but if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and Refer her ſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a Fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See. When the Queen heard this, ſhe was much concern'd at it, and recall'd *Karn*'s Powers and commanded him home. The *Pope* on the other hand required him to ſtay in *Rome*, and take care of an *Hoſpital* over which he had placed him: Which it's thought *Karn* procured, becauſe he was unwilling to return to *England*, apprehending a change of Religion would follow; for he was zealouſly addicted to the See of *Rome*.

King Philip *Courts the Q. in Marriage.*

As ſoon as King *Philip* heard the News, he ordered the *Duke of Feria*, whom he had ſent over in his name to comfort the late *Queen* in her Sickneſs, to *Congratulate* the new *Queen*, and in *ſecret* to propoſe *Marriage* to her, and to aſſure her he would procure a *Diſpenſation* from *Rome*, and at the ſame time ſent thither to obtain it. But the *Queen* though very ſenſible of her Obligations to him, had no mind to that *Marriage*, nor indeed to any other; for tho upon

A. D. 1558. ſome occaſions when her affairs required it ſhe treated on that Subject, yet ſhe was firmly reſolv'd never to engage her ſelf in Matrimony. Beſides ſhe ſaw her people were generally averſe to any *Foreigner*, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: And ſhe made it the ſteady Maxim of her whole Reign, from which ſhe never departed, to rule in their Affections as well as over their Perſons: nor did ſhe regard the *Pope*'s *Diſpenſation*, as ſufficient to warrant what was otherwiſe forbidden in the word of God: And the relation between King *Philip* and her being the Reverſe of that which was between her Father and *Queen Catherine*, it ſeeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry *two Siſters*, as it was for one Woman to be married to *two Brothers*, ſhe could not conſent to this Marriage, without approving King *Henry*'s with *Queen Catharine*: and if that were a good *Marriage*, then ſhe muſt be *Illegitimate*, as being born of a Marriage which only the unlawfulneſs of that could Juſtifie. So *Inclination*, *Intereſt* and *Conſcience* all concur to make her reject King *Philip*'s Motion: Yet ſhe did it in terms ſo full of Eſteem and Kindneſs for him, that he ſtill inſiſted on the Propoſition; in which ſhe was not willing to undeceive him ſo intirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the *Treaty of Cambray* was in Dependence, that ſo ſhe might tie him more cloſely to her Intereſt.

The French *ſet up another Title.* The *French* hearing of *Queen Mary*'s death, and being alarm'd at *Philip*'s deſign upon the *New Queen*, ſent to engage the *Pope* to deny the *Diſpenſation*, and to make him declare the *Queen of Scotland* to be the *Right Heir* to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended *Queen* to be *Illegitimate*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* alſo prevailed with the *French* King, to order his Daughter-in-Law to aſſume that *Title*, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

But now to return to *England*, *Queen Elizabeth* continued to employ ſome of the ſame Councellors that had ſerved *Queen Mary*: Namely, *Heath* Lord Chancellor. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer. The Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby* and *Pembrook*. The Lords *Clinton* and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *William Petree*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Moſt of theſe had complyed with all the

the *Changes* that had been made Backward and Forward, ſince the latter end of King *Henry*'s Reign, and were ſo *Dextrous* at it, that they were ſtill imployed in every new *Revolution*. To theſe who were all Papiſts, the *Queen* added the *Marqueſs of Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parr*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, whom ſhe made *Secretary of State*, and ſoon after ſhe ſent for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who were all of the *Reformed* Religion. She renewed all the Commiſſions to thoſe formerly entruſted, and ordered that ſuch as were impriſoned for *Religion* ſhould be ſet at *Liberty*: Whereupon a Man that uſed to talk pleaſantly to her, petitioned her in behalf of ſome Priſoners that were not yet ſet at Large: She asked who they were, he ſaid they were *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John* that were ſtill ſhut up, and the people longed to ſee them abroad: She anſwered him as *pleaſantly*, that *ſhe would firſt talk with themſelves about it, and ſee whether they deſired ſo much Liberty as he requeſted for them.* A. D. 1558.

Now the two great things under Conſultation, were *Religion*, and *Peace*; for the former ſome were appointed to conſider, how it was to be Reformed. *Beal* a Clarke of the *Council* gave advice to *Cecil*, that the *Parliaments* under *Queen Mary* ſhould be declared void, the firſt being under a *Force*, and the Title of *Supreme Head* being left out of the *Writ* that ſummoned the other, before it was taken away by Law, and therefore the Laws of *King Edward* were ſtill in force; but this was thought too violent a way of Proceeding, ſince annulling of *Parliaments* upon little Errors in *Writs*, was a Precedent of that Conſequence that it would *unhinge* the whole *Conſtitution*, and therefore more moderate Courſes were thought upon. The *Queen* from her *Infancy* had been bred up in abhorrence of *Papery*, and in a ſincere love of the Reformation, but yet as her firſt impreſſions in her *Father*'s Reign were in favour of ſuch old *Rites* as he had ſtill retained, ſo in her own nature ſhe loved *State* and ſome *Magnificence* in *Religion* as well as in every thing elſe: She thought that in her *Brother*'s Reign they had ſtript it too much of External *Ornaments*, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome points, therefore ſhe intended to have ſome

The firſt thing the Queen began with.

A. D. 1558.

Points explained in more general terms, that might invite all to close with them, and none be kept off by too *Nice* an Interpretation of Controverted things.

Dangers from abroad and at home.

The next thing she had to do, was, to balance the dangers that threatened her from *abroad*, and at *home*. The *Pope* would certainly *Excommunicate* and *Depose* her, and stir up all Christian Princes against her. The *French* King would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the Nation, and by the assistance of the *Scotch* and *Irish* might perhaps raise troubles in her Dominions. Those that were in Power in Queen *Mary*'s days, and remain'd firm to the *Old Superstition*, would be discontented at the *Reformation* of Religion, the *Bishops* and *Clergy* would generally oppose it, and raise *Seditions* among the People on that pretence. To remedy all these, it was proposed, to make Peace with *France*, and to Cherish those in that Kingdom that desired the *Reformation*, and for those that had bore Rule in *Q. Mary*'s days, their Authority and Credit were to be lessened upon pretence of danger in trusting them; but those who were known to be well affected to Religion and the Queens Person were to be sought out and encouraged. Great care was to be taken of the *Universities* and other Publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Winchester*, that the next Generation might be seasoned with an early knowledge and love of Religion.

The Service Book reviewed, and by whom.

Some learned Men as *Bill*, *Parker*, *May*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith* were to be ordered to meet, and to consider of the service Book. In the mean while the People were to be restrained from *Innovating* without Authority: And the Queen to give some hopes of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the secret of these Consultations, were the *Marquess of Northampton*, the *Earls of Bedford*, *Pembroke*, and the *Lord John Grey*. The place that was thought convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir *Thomas Smiths* House in *Canon Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their entertainment.

As soon as the news of the Queens coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, those that fled for shelter returned into *England*, and those that absconded

ed during the late Perſecution appeared now, with no ſmall aſſurance: And hearing of the *Queen*'s Intentions could not contain themſelves, but in many places began to make Alterations, to ſet up King *Edward*'s Service, to pull down Images and to affront the Popiſh Prieſts. Upon this, the Queen, to make ſome diſcovery of her own Inclinations, gave order that the Goſpels and Epiſtles, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Litany ſhould be all uſed in Engliſh, and forbid the Prieſts to Elevate the Hoſt at Maſs. Having done this, On the 27th of *December*, ſhe iſſued out a Proclamation againſt all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to uſe no other form of Worſhip, than thoſe which were uſed in her Chapel, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the Parliament, which ſhe ſummoned to meet on the 23 of *January*. The Writs were iſſued out by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, to whom ſhe had delivered the Broad Seal. On the 5 of *December* ſhe performed her Siſters Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Weſtminſter*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being appointed to Preach, ſo extolled her and her Government, and ſo ſeverely charged the Innovators, not without Reflections on the Queen, that he was confined to his Houſe till the meeting of the Parliament.

A. D. 1558

Queen Mary's *Funeral.*

In the beginning of the year 1559, the Queen anew Created *William Parr Marqueſs of Northampton*, who loſt it by being attainted of Treaſon in Queen *Mary*'s time. *Edward Seymour*, who by the malice of his Enemies had loſt his *Inheritance* and his Fathers *Honours*, ſhe made *Baron Beauchamp and Earl of Hertford*, *Thomas Howard* ſecond Son of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* ſhe made *Viſcount Howard of Bindon*, and to *Henry Cary* of *Hunſden her Couſin German* by *Mary Bolein*, and *Oliver St. John* of *Bletſo*, ſhe gave the Title of Barons, all which were averſe to the Popiſh Religion. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* was by Patent made *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, which before had no Dignity belonging to that Office, nor heard Cauſes, nor ſat in Parliament, and *Bacon* was the firſt *Lord Keeper* that had all the Dignity and Authority of the *Lord Chancellor* conferred on him. He was one of the moſt *Learned*, moſt *Pious*, and *Wiſeſt* Men of the Nation, Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*,

A. D. 1559

The firſt Lord Keeper.

A. D. 1559

Bacon, Viſcount St. Albans and Lord *Chancellor* of *England*, who will be always eſteemed one of the Greateſt *Glories* of the Engliſh.

The Queen was now to be *Crowned*, and having gone on the Twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, ſhe returned from thence in State on the Thirteenth: As ſhe went into her *Chariot*, ſhe lifted up her Eyes to Heaven and *Bleſſed God that had preſerved her to ſee that Joyful day, and that had ſaved her as he did his Prophet* Daniel, *out of the mouths of Lyons. She acknowledged her deliverance was only from him, to whom ſhe offered up the Praiſe of it.* She paſſed through *London* in great *Triumph*: And having obſerved that her *Siſter* by the *Sullenneſs* of her behaviour to the People loſt much of their Affections; therefore ſhe always uſed as ſhe paſſed through the Crowds, but more eſpecially this Day, to look out of her Coach with a chearful Countenance upon them, and to return the Reſpects they paid her with great *Sweetneſs* in her looks, commonly ſaying, *God bleſs you my People*, which much affected them. But nothing pleaſed the City more, than her behaviour as ſhe went under one of the *Triumphal Arches*. There was a *Rich Bible* let down to her as from Heaven, by a Child repreſenting *Truth*. She with great Reverence kiſſed both her Hands, and receiving the *Bible kiſs'd it, and laid it next her Heart*, and profeſſed ſhe was better pleaſed with that *Preſent* than all the other Magnificent ones that had been made that day by the City; which drew tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. The day following ſhe was *Crowned* at *Weſtminſter*, by *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, all the other Biſhops refuſing to aſſiſt at that *Solemnity*, becauſe they thought ſhe was not of the *Popiſh Religion*.

The Queens Coronation.

On the 25*th* of *January* the Parliament was opened with a long Speech by the Lord *Bacon*, in which he ſhewed them the diſtracted Eſtate of the Nation both in matters of *Religion* and other *Miſeries* that the *Wars* and late *Calamities* had brought upon them. All which he recommended to their care. For *Religion*, the *Queen* deſired they would conſider of it, without *Heat* or *Partial Affection*, or uſing any reproachful term of *Papiſt* or *Heretick*, and that they would avoid the extremes of *Idolatry* and *Superſtition* on the

one

one Hand, and *Contempt* and *Irreligion* on the other; and ſo ſettle things as might bring the People to an *Uniformity* and cordial *Agreement* in them. And for the State of the Nation, and what ſupplies were wanting, the Queen left it wholly to them, adding in her name, that ſhe would deſire no Aid but what they did freely and cheerfully offer. A. D. 1559

But leaving the Conſultations at *Weſtminſter*, let us go to the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. The great obſtacle was the ſurrendring *Calais* to the *Engliſh* which the *French* poſitively refuſed. For a conſiderable time *Philip* demanded it with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he would make Peace on no other terms, ſince he was obliged in *Honour* to ſee the *Engliſh* reſtored to the Condition they were in before they engaged in his quarrel; but when he ſaw there was no hopes of a Marriage with the Queen, and underſtood ſhe was making alterations in Religion, he grew leſs careſull of her Intereſts, and ſecretly concluded a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have ſome colour for deſerting her, he told her *Ambaſſadors*, that the *French* had offer'd him full ſatisfaction in all his own concerns, and the Peace was only obſtructed upon the conſideration of *Calais*; and therefore unleſs the *Engliſh* would enter into a League with him, for keeping up the War ſix years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that ſhe muſt expect no more aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*, who was ſo wedded to the *Old Superſtition*, that he could enter into no ſtrict League with any whom he accounted *Hereticks*, and that ſhe was not able to carry on the War alone, ſhe was willing to hearken to the Meſſages that were ſent her from *France* by the *Conſtable*, and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace: and after ſeveral debates in the *Council* on this ſubject, it was reſolved on, to make a *General Peace*, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the leſs danger apply themſelves to Correct what was Amiſs in *England*, both in *Religion* and the Civil *Government*. So a Peace was concluded, that there ſhould be free Commerce between *England*, *France* and *Scotland*; that the *French* ſhould keep *Calais* for eight years, and at the end of that term ſhould deliver it up to the *Engliſh*, or pay 500000 Crowns; for which they

Philip *deſerts the Queens Intereſt.*

Peace with France and Scotland.

A. D. 1559

they ſhould give good ſecurity by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and *Hoſtages* till the ſecurity was given. Many found themſelves diſturb'd at this Agreement. The Reformed imputed the loſs of *Calais* to the *Papiſts*, and moved that all the late Queens Council might be queſtioned for their miſ-government in that particular: They, on the other hand, caſt the blame of it upon the Lord *Wentworth* that was Governour of *Calais*, and now one of the *Reformed*; but he put himſelf on a Tryal by his *Peers*, which he underwent the 22*d*. of *April*, and clear'd himſelf ſo effectually, that all his *Peers* acquitted him.

The *Queen*'s Government being thus quieted abroad, ſhe was at more leiſure to tranſact Affairs at home. The firſt Bill that was put into the Houſe of *Lords*, to try their Affections and Diſpoſitions to a change in matters of Religion, was for the Reſtitution of the *Tenths*, *Firſt-fruits* and other duties belonging to the Crown, and that being granted, the Lower Houſe Addreſs the *Queen*, 'To marry, that ſhe might leave 'Children, which might be the Glory and Strength 'of the Kingdom. *To which the Queen made Anſwer*, 'That ſhe gave them thanks for the expreſſions of their 'Good Will towards her, but did not think it expedient, now ſhe had taken the Government of the Kingdom upon her, to encumber her ſelf with the cares of 'Marriage, *and therefore to ſatisfie them further in this 'particular, ſhe ſaid*, She had already joyned her ſelf to 'a Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *England*, and 'behold ſaid ſhe here is the Pledge of my Marriage; '*and thereupon drew the Ring from her Finger and ſhewed it, wherewith ſhe had at her Coronation in a ſet form 'of words, ſolemnly given her ſelf in Marriage to the 'Kingdom. And here having made a little pauſe, ſhe 'ſaid*, And do not upbraid me with the miſerable 'want of Children, for every one of you, and as many 'as are true *Engliſhmen*, are my Children and Kinſmen, of whom if God deprive me not (which God 'forbid) I cannot be reproached with Barrenneſs. However I commend you that you have not appointed me 'a Husband; for that had been unworthy the Majeſty 'of an abſolute Princeſs, and unbeſeeming your Wiſdom that are born Subjects. Nevertheleſs if it pleaſe 'God that I change my Condition, I will do nothing 'that ſhall be prejudicial to the Common weal, but 'will

The Commons Addreſs, and the Queens Anſwer.

'will take such a Husband, as near as I can, that shall 'take as great care of the Kingdom as I will do my self; 'but if I continue in my present State, I doubt not but 'God will so direct mine and your Counsels, that you 'shall not want a Successor, which may be more bene- 'ficial to the Publick, than one born of my body; 'for oftentimes the off-spring of the best of Princes 'degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors. And 'in respect of my self it will be an intire satisfaction, 'if when I have breathed my last it be engraven on my 'Marble Tomb,

A. D. 1559

Here lieth Elizabeth *that Reigned and Dyed a Virgin.*

The Parliament being Dissolved, the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Liturgy* were forthwith read in Churches, in the *English* Tongue; *Images* were removed without Noise or Tumult, the Oath of *Supremacy* was offered to the *Popish* Bishops, and as many as refused to take it, were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Promotions, and the most Religious and Learned *Protestants* that could be found, were put into their Places. Thus was Religion changed in *England* without any Commotion, it being done by degrees and not over rashly; for the *Romish* Religion continued a full month in this Reign, in the same State it was in at the death of *Queen Mary*. By this alteration and shaking of the *Popish* yoke, *England* became the Freest Kingdom in *Europe*, and more wealthy than in former Ages, a great Mass of Money being kept at home, which was wont to be transported to *Rome* for *First-Fruits*, *Pardons*, *Appeals*, *Dispensations*, *Palls* and such kind of trumpery; which incredibly exhausted the Treasure of the Kingdom. And that the Queen might preserve the Nation in this new acquired happiness, she would suffer no *Innovations*, and held a constant and uniform course in her whole Life and Actions, agreeable to her Motto *semper eadem*, *always the same*.

The Reformation advanced.

About this time the Emperor and other *Romish* Princes interceeded with the Queen that the Popish Bishops might be calmly treated, and have Churches allowed them to celebrate Mass in; to whom she made answer, That tho' the Popish Bishops behaved themselves insolently towards her and the Laws, and rejected the Doctrine they had taught themselves under the

The Emperors request.

A. D. 1559

the Reigns of *Henry* VIII, and *Edward* VI; yet for the sakes of such great Princes, she would deal favourably with them; but without injury to her Honour and Conscience, she could not allow them Churches to themselves, for that were to cherish Factions and distract the People; for which there was no reason, since *England* embraced no new and strange Doctrine, but the same which *Christ* commanded, the *Primitive* Catholick Church received, and all the Ancient *Fathers* with one voice had approved.

The *Spaniard* having now cast off all hopes of a Marriage with *Q. Elizabeth*, he perswaded his Uncle *Ferdinand* the Emperor to recommend his Son *Charles* to *Q. Elizabeth* for a Husband, for fear there might be an Alliance made between the two Crowns of *England* and *France* to his prejudice. *France* on the other side in favour of his Son the *Dauphine*, and *Mary Q.* of *Scots*, instead of withdrawing his Forces out of *Scotland*, according to his promise, reinforces them with greater Numbers, solicits the *Pope* to pronounce the Queen *Illegitimate* and a *Heretick*; and declare *Mary Queen* of *Scots* to be the lawful *Queen of England*. So that *Queen Elizabeth* could not but suspect the Proceedings of the *French* King, who breath'd nothing but Blood and Slaughter against *Protestants*; but Heaven cut him off by a sudden death in Tilting, to the great advantage and quiet of *England*, which he was preparing to insult both from *France* and *Scotland*. However *Francis* his Successor, and the *Queen* of *Scots* his Wife, by the advice of the *Guises*, who now in a manner bore all the sway in *France*, call themselves *King* and *Queen* of *England* and *Ireland*, quartered the *Queens* Arms with their own, and tho afterward, upon better Advice they left them out, yet this laid the Foundation of those differences between the two *Queens*, that could not be extinguished but by death.

Henry *the* French *K. killed.*

Now the Professors of the *Protestant Religion* in *Scotland*, who had given themselves the name of the *Congregation*, being perswaded by *Knox*, and other importunate Ministers, to refuse obedience to the *Regent* the Queen's Mother, had changed their Religion, and tumultuously ransack'd and burned many Religious Places, they began to complain to *Queen Elizabeth*, by *William Maitland*, Lord Secretary, *That ever since the Queen of* Scots *was married to the Dauphine,*

phine, the Government of the Kingdom was changed, Foreign Soldiers tyrannized over the natural born Subjects: The highest Offices and strongest Holds and Castles in the Kingdom, were put into the hands of French-men, and gave them opportunity to seize the Kingdom if any misfortune should attend the Queen. These things were a while but slowly deliberated in *England*, because it was of ill example to protect Rebellious Subjects against their Prince; but when the Queen and Council saw that *France* was preparing to War with *England*, under pretence of subduing a few Seditious *Scots*, and considered that it was dishonourable to abandon those of the same Religion to the Cruelty of their *Popish* Enemies, and that *France* had always been either a private or open Enemy to the prosperity of *England*, it was at last resolved that it was Just, Honest, and absolutely necessary, to drive the *French* immediately out of *Scotland*. Hereupon *William Winter*, Master of the Naval Stores, is sent with a Fleet into *Bodotria*, now called *Edinborough Frith*, who did great Service against the *French* Ships that lay upon the Coasts. Soon after the *Duke of Norfolk* was made Lieutenant General of the North parts towards *Scotland*: *William Lord Grey* was made Warden of the Middle and East Marches, and *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex* was sent again Deputy into *Ireland*, to keep the *Irish*, being a Rude and Superstitious People, from Rebelling upon pretence of Religion. While these Affairs were setling, *Francis Talbot* a great Councellor departed this Life, being the first *Earl* of *Shrewsbury of that Family*, leaving his only Son *George*, by *Mary*, Daughter of *Thomas Lord Dacres* of *Gillesland*, his Successor.

A. D. 1559

The Scots revolt.

1560

No sooner was the *Duke of Norfolk* arrived at *Berwick*, but he was presently attended by *James* the Bastard, Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, who in the name of the *Duke of Castle-Herauld*, and the Confederates, make a League, Offensive and Defensive with him, in the name of the *Queen* of *England*; which was no sooner concluded, but by divers Messages from Foreign Princes and Intercepted Letters, it was certainly known that the *French* would invade *England*. And *Sebastian Martigues*, of the House of *Luxemburg*, who was sent into *France* with a thousand choice Foot, was so hot upon that design that the Wise Council of the *Queen Regent* could hardly

The French design upon England.

A. D. 1560

hardly reſtrain him from the Enterprize; but that *French heat* was ſoon cooled, when he heard the Marqueſs of *Elbeuf*, who was ſailing towards *Scotland* with great Forces, having ſtrove with the violence of a Tempeſt, upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, was with the loſs of ſome of his Ships driven back to *Diepe*, from whence he had put to Sea.

Leith beſieged by the Engliſh.

Several Embaſſies and terms of Accommodation being propounded between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, and taking no effect, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſting of 1200 Horſe and 6000 Foot approached near *Leith*, which the *French* had fortified for a Refuge and Receptacle for their Auxiliary Forces, and *Martigues* drawing out his Companies of Foot, charged the *Engliſh* that firſt appeared, to keep them from a Hill where he ſuppos'd they would entrench; but after skirmiſhing four Hours, he was driven back into the Town, and ſtraitly beſieged, in which much Courage and Bravery was ſhewed on both ſides, with various ſucceſſes, till the *French* King being informed that his Forces were ſo cooped up in *Leith*, and all paſſages ſtopt by Sea and Land that there was no relieving them, and that Seditions multiplyed at home, then he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Valence* to compound the matter with *Queen Elizabeth*'s Commiſſioners, who ſent *William Cecil* and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, preſently into *Scotland*; for the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, undervalued their Royal Dignity, in accepting terms from their own Subjects, where *Murray* propounded ſuch inſolent demands that *Cecil* ſaid was unfit to be made by Subjects or to be granted by Princes. During this Treaty dyed *Mary of Lorrain* Mother to the Queen of *Scots*, and Regent of the Kingdom, a Prudent and Vertuous Princeſs, who had been baſely treated with reproachful language, by their unmannerly hot headed Preachers. This Peace was ſoon concluded and publiſhed to the general ſatisfaction of all men, for they were all weary of the War, the *Engliſh* of ſpoiling the Country, the *French* for lack of Victuals, and the *Scotch* for want of Pay, and was accounted a happy Peace for *Britain*, wherein *Scotland* kept her ancient *Liberty*, *England* preſerved its *Dignity* and ſecurity from the attempts of *Scotland*, and the Queen had the thanks of her own Subjects and all the *Scotch* Proteſtants.

The Queen Regent dyeth.

The

The Queen out of affection to her Country was so employed for the Publick Good, that she seemed wholly regardless of the love of Potent Princes that solicited her in Marriage, for at this time she had several Suitors, *viz. Charles Arch-Duke of Austria* before mentioned, by the mediation of the Count of *Elphenstein*. *James Duke of Arran* recommended by the Protestants of *Scotland*, in order to a Union of both Nations: *Errick* King of *Swedeland* by the mediation of his Brother *John Duke of Finland*, who promised himself success in his Amours, because he and the Queen were both of the same Religion; but they all, though kindly received, had the same answer, *That she could not yet persuade her self to change her single life, to enter into a state of Marriage.* At home there were also some that pleased themselves with the hopes of marrying her, namely, Sir *William Pickering*, a Man that had some Noble Blood in his Veins, but of a small Estate, tho' he had acquired Honour by his Studies, and Embassies in *France* and *Germany*: *Henry Earl of Arundel* a Person of very ancient Nobility, but declining in years; and *Robert Dudly the Duke of* Northumberland's *youngest Son*, who was restored in Blood by Queen *Mary*, a Man in the Prime of his Age, of comely Features, and a well proportioned Body, but none of them could persuade her to change her condition, tho upon the latter she bestowed very great Honour. A. D. 1560

The Queens several Suitors.

About this time the *Lord Viscount Montacute*, the Queens Ambassador in *Spain*, indeavoured to perswade that King to renew the League of *Burgundy*, but tho he opposed the practices of the *French* against the Queen in the Court of *Rome*, yet he would not renew the League, but instead of it delivered the Ensigns of the Order of St. *George* into the Viscounts hands, which was a plain indication that he renounced all Friendship with *England*, and that the Queen must expect trouble from him. The Count of *Feria* also blew the Coals, and dealt with *Pope Pius Quartus* to excommunicate her; but he upon what pretence is not known sent *Vincentio Parpalio Abbot of St. Saviours* with a flattering Letter to her, with large promises of what he would do if the Queen would joyn her self to the *Romish* Church, which she utterly refused. Now the time was come for the confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinborough*, which when *Queen Elizabeth* had

The King of Spain is angry.

A. D. 1560

confirmed by Solemn Orth, and ſent it over to the King and Queen of *France*, that they alſo according to agreement might ratifie it: *Throgmorton* the Lieges Ambaſſador in *France* by no means could perſwade them to it, but while this affair was tranſacting, *Francis* the ſecond, King of *France*, died before he was Eighteen years of Age, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, to the grief of the Papiſts and joy of the Proteſtants. This accident being an Additional ſecurity to the Queen of *England*, gave her leiſure to ſet forth a Proclamation to baniſh the *Anabaptiſts*; and another to reſtrain *Sacrilegious* perſons from demoliſhing ancient Tombs, and defacing the Epitaphs and Coat Armours of Noble Families, and other Monuments of venerable antiquity, which remained in Churches ſince *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. which the Rabble were not accuſtomed to pull down, under pretence of aboliſhing Superſtition.

The French *King dyeth.*

Weſtminſter-Abby *made a Collegiate Church.*

The *Abbey of Weſtminſter* ſhe alſo at this time converted into a *Collegiate Church* for the ſervice of God, endowed it with a maintenance for a *Dean* and twelve *Prebendaries*, a *School-maſter* and *Uſher*, Forty *Scholars* (called the Queens Scholars, whereof ſix or more are yearly prefered to the Univerſities) Miniſters, Singing-men, and twelve Alms Men. The erecting this School was a Pious and noble deſign, and has anſwered the Founders end in producing many Learned Men for the ſervice of the Church and State. After this ſhe began by little and little to reſtore the *Current Coin* of *England* to its juſt Purity and Value, which had been debaſed by *Henry* VIII. and to her Glory only was it aſcribed, that there was now purer Money in *England* than had been in two hundred years before, or was elſewhere in any other part of Europe; for King *Edward* VI. could not, and Queen *Mary* durſt not attempt to regulate the Coin.

The Queen of Scots *expoſtulations.*

The Widow Queen of *Scots* ſtill refuſing to confirm the Treaty of *Edinborough*, gave the Queen of *England* ſuſpicion that ſhe intended no good to her Dominions, and therefore denyed her a free paſſage from *France* into *Scotland*, and aſſigned this as the reaſon of it: At which the Queen of *Scots* being diſturbed, ſhe ſent for *Throgmorton*, and deſired him to acquaint her *with the reaſon of the Queen of* England's *diſpleaſure to her, whom*, ſays ſhe, *I have never injured*

A. D. 1565

ed by word or deed. To which *Throgmorton* answered, laying aside the Character of an Ambassador, I will tell you: 'As soon as the Queen my Mistress was 'Crowned, you Usurpt the Arms and Title of the 'Kingdom of *England*, which you did not in Queen 'Mary's Reign, and whether a greater injury can be 'done a Prince, I leave your Wisdom to determine? 'The Queen of Scots urged, that her Husband's Father 'and her Husband himself commanded it should be so, 'but since their deaths she had neither quartered the 'Arms nor used the Title; but all this would not satisfie *Queen Elizabeth*, but she would use them again, unless by confirming the Treaty, and obliging her Conscience by a Solemn Oath she gave her cause to believe it. A. D. 1591.

In the mean time the *Queen* of *Scots* making use of an opportunity, set sail from *Calais*, and passing by the English Fleet in a Fog arrived safe in *Scotland*, where she treated her Subjects with all gentleness and made no alteration in Religion, tho it was introduced tumultuously. To Queen *Elizabeth* she sent Letters by *Liddington*, wherein she expressed an earnest desire for the continuance of Peace between them, for which she said there was no surer expedient, than *that Queen Elizabeth should by authority of Parliament declare her Heir, apparent to the Crown in case she died without Issue.* This demand seemed strange to Queen *Elizabeth* who expected the confirmation of the Treaty. However, she made her answer, "That she hoped she 'would not wrest the Scepter from her and her Children, if she should have any, tho' she had already usurped the Arms, for which she ought to make satisfaction. As to declare her Successor she looked upon 'it as unreasonable and dangerous, since it would prompt unstable and mercenary People to adore the Rising Sun, and forsake the Setting, and that designed Successors were not always able to confine their own, and the wicked hopes of others, within the bounds of Justice and Reason; so that if she should confirm her in the Succession, she should quite cut off her own security, prepare her Winding Sheet with her own hands, and dig her own Grave while she lived and beheld it. *Her Letter to Queen* Elizabeth *and her answer.*

France all this while pretended friendship with *England*, yet took our Merchants Ships, made them Pri-

A. D. 1561

zes, and covertly at *Rome* ſolicited an Excommunication to be thundered out againſt *Queen Elizabeth*, but Pope *Sixtus Quintus* thought it more adviſable to treat her mildly, and therefore ſent the *Abbot Martinego* into *England* with Letters to her, full of Reſpect and Kindneſs, but the Council of *England* would not give him admittance, there being a Law to the contrary, and ſo the *Nuncio* returned. Now this Prudent and Provident Queen having in a good meaſure ſetled the affairs of the Church, ſhe made Proviſion for the defence of the State, and begun to furniſh her Armory with Proviſions for War. She caſt many great Guns of *Braſs* and *Iron*, and as if Providence had favoured her deſign, a Rich Vein of pure and native *Braſs* was diſcovered near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, and the Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, neceſſary for Braſs works, was now firſt found in *England*, and that in great abundance; and that ſhe might not be obliged to pray and pay her Neighbours, or be ſtinted by them, ſhe was the firſt that procured *Gun-powder* to be made in *England*. Her Majeſty increaſed the number of her Soldiers, and made an addition to their Pay. She provided a good Fleet of Ships, and encreaſed the Seamens Wages, and all the Nobility, Gentry and Yeomanry, imitating her example, furniſhed themſelves with Arms and Ammunition, and all things concurred to make the Kingdom happy.

No admittance to the Pope's Nuncio.

The Spire of S. Paul's Steeple burnt.

In the midſt of theſe Cares happened a ſad accident, the beautiful Spire of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, which was 520 foot from the ground, and 260 from the Square Steeple on which it ſtood, being framed of Timber and covered with Lead, was fired by the Plummer who on his Death Bed confeſſed that it hapned thro' his Careleſſneſs in having a Pan of Coals in the Steeple, and it having been Thunder and Lightning the ſame day, he boldly charged it upon the Heavens, which report went current till his Death, and the Papiſts in this Reign in their Writings charged this as a Judgment upon the Reformers of the Church in having been polluted by a falſe Worſhip; which was ſo violent that in five hours time it quite conſumed it, and all the Roof of the Church, but the Arches remained whole, but this great loſs was ſoon repaired by the Queens Bounty, and the Church mens and others Charity, who re-edified the Roof and Tower, but the Spire was wanting. Now

Now were great Commotions in *France* between the Princes of the *Blood*, and the *Guiſes*, and both made a Cloak of Religion for the ſtrengthning of their Party; and *Queen Elizabeth* being in fear leaſt *England* ſhould be involved in that War, ſent Sir *Henry Sidney* to perſwade the chiefs of both Factions to a Peace; but the matter was now grown to that extremity, that neither Party would hearken to an accommodation, and therefore lying under a neceſſity to declare for one ſide, ſhe made a League with the Proteſtants of *France*, to aſſiſt them againſt the tyranny of the *Guiſes*, who began to practiſe barbarous Cruelties againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion, to deprive her of her Right and Title to *Calais*, and had ſeized upon the Harbours and Ports in *Normandy*, that they might invade *England* at their Pleaſure: Wherefore in *September* 1562, ſhe ſent into *France* one part of the *Engliſh* Army under the Command of Sir *Adrian Poinings*, who were joyfully received by the Inhabitants of *Diepe*, and the Earl of *Warwick* coming ſomewhat later to *New-Haven*, they made ſome excurſions into the Country, and the Engliſh Fleet brought in many Rich Prizes, which they took out of the Harbours thereabouts. Now *Shan O Neal* came out of *Ireland* and throwing himſelf at the Queens Feet, humbly begged pardon for rebelling againſt her Authority, and having obtained it, was ſent home again with Honour, and for a while performed ſtout and faithful Service againſt the *Hebridian* Rovers.

A. D. 1562

A League with the French Proteſtants.

In *January* following a Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, who in conſideration that the Queen had reformed Religion, reſtored Peace, freed *England* and *Scotland*, from Foreign Enemies, refined the Money, renewed the Royal Navy, and made an Enterprize upon *France* for the recovery of *Calais*, they granted her one *Subſidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, as an expreſſion of their Gratitude for the Care ſhe took of *England*. The Queen in the mean time acquainted the King of *Spain* by *Chaloner*, her Ambaſſador, that ſhe only held *New-Haven* till *Calais* was delivered to her, and he anſwered if *Calais* were all ſhe deſired, he wiſhed it with all his heart; but if the War was undertaken for Religion, he could not be unconcerned, and from thence-forward carryed himſelf like an Enemy. The *French Hoſtages*, who were ſent into *England* to ſecure

1563

A grateful Parliament.

A. D. 1563

the payment of 500000 Crowns, and the Reſtoration of *Calais*, ſeeing all things tending to War, attempted to make their Eſcapes; but were taken and committed to Cuſtody. And now the wavering *French* Proteſtants, ſeeing the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *New-Haven*, unanimouſly proteſt, unleſs they would abandon it they would joyn with the Papiſts to force them out of it, which compelled the Earl of *Warwick* for his own ſecurity, to put all the French as well Proteſtants as Papiſts out of *New-Haven*, which ſo enraged them, that they laid cloſe Siege to it, and the Peſtilence ſweeping away the Garriſon Soldiers, and two hundred being caſt away by Sea, that were ſent to relieve them, the *Engliſh* were forced to capitulate, and at length to ſurrender the Town to the *French*, after they had held it eleven Months. The Recovery of this little Town cauſed great joy among the *French*, who made their Brags that the *Engliſh* were driven out of *France*, by the help of the ſame Proteſtants that called them in, and now had forfeited their Claim to *Calais*. The Soldiers that were brought back into *England* ſick of the Plague, diſperſed the Contagion through the whole Realm, inſomuch, that in *London* only there died of that diſeaſe 21530.

New-Haven *ſurrendered.*

The Queen of *Scots*, during the Civil War in *France*, being unkindly treated by the French, ſhe applyed to the Queen of *England*, who recommended *Robert Dudley* to her for an Husband, promiſing if ſhe would marry him, ſhe ſhould by Authority of Parliament be declared her *Siſter* or *Daughter and Heir of England*, in caſe ſhe died without Iſſue; but the ſubtilty of the *French* prevented it.

A. D. 1564

France having recovered Peace, at home, and the Queen being neglected by the ungrateful *French Proteſtants*, reſolved no longer to take care of other Mens Eſtates, to the hazard of her own, and therefore betook her ſelf to thoughts of Peace, and accompliſhed it in a ſhort time. The *French* received it joyfully, both Princes confirm'd it by their reſpective Oaths, and the Lord *Hunsdon* inveſted the *French* King with the Order of the Garter.

In *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, the *Engliſh* Merchants were now unkindly treated, by prohibiting *Engliſh* Cloth from being tranſported into *Spain* and *Flanders*; the pretence they made uſe of was becauſe the

the Plague had been lately in *England*, but indeed was a deſign of the Cardinal *Granville* to rob the *Engliſh* of that beneficial Trade, and to ſet up that Manufacture in the *Netherlands*; which the *Engliſh* Factury reſenting, they removed their Mart or Staple of *Cloth* to *Emden*, upon the River *Ems* in *Frieſland*; and on the other ſide the Governours of the *Low Countries*, by an Edict forbid their People from trading with the *Engliſh* at *Embden*, or elſewhere, or to bring any Merchandice bought of them into the *Netherlands* under the penalty of Confiſcation: But *Guſman* who better underſtood the Intereſt of both Countries, compounded the matter, and reſtored the Trade between the two Nations. Theſe matters being adjuſted, the Queen took a progreſs into the Country, and viſiting the Univerſity of *Cambridge* was entertained by the Students with *Comedies*, *Tragedies* and *Scholaſtical Diſputations* to her great ſatisfaction, and after ſhe had viewed every *College*, in a Latin Oration acknowledged their Reſpect and Duty to her, exhorted them to perſevere in the propagation of good Literature, and promiſed them her Royal Protection and Encouragement. A.D. 1564

The Queens Progreſs.

At her return ſhe created *Robert Dudley*, whom ſhe deſigned a Husband for the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denby*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*, and he employed all poſſible endeavours to ingratiate himſelf into the good opinion of that Queen, but ſhe to prevent that Match, ſent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* out of *England* into *Scotland*, from whence he had been baniſhed many years. For his Son being a young Man, of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, and grateful to the *Engliſh*, ſhe thought he might be acceptable to both Nations. The Queen of *England* having notice of this deſign, endeavoured to prevent it, by aſſuring the Queen of *Scots* that ſuch a Marriage would be generally diſapproved by the *Engliſh*, and therefore again recommended *Leiceſter* to her for a Husband, whom for that end ſhe had raiſed to the Honour of an Earl. Commiſſioners being appointed to treat of this matter, and coming to no concluſion, the Lord *Darnly* with the Queen's leave goes into *Scotland*, to congratulate his Father, upon his Reſtitution to his Honour and Eſtate. He was a Gentleman of a Comely Aſpect, and a Sweet Diſpoſition, and the Queen of *Scots* no ſooner ſaw him, but

A Marriage propounded.

A. D. 1561

A. D. 1563

the payment of 500000 Crowns, and the Reſtoration of *Calais*, ſeeing all things tending to War, attempted to make their Eſcapes; but were taken and committed to Cuſtody. And now the wavering *French* Proteſtants, ſeeing the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *New-Haven*, unanimouſly proteſt, unleſs they would abandon it they would joyn with the Papiſts to force them out of it, which compelled the Earl of *Warwick* for his own ſecurity, to put all the French as well Proteſtants as Papiſts out of *New-Haven*, which ſo enraged them, that they laid cloſe Siege to it, and the Peſtilence ſweeping away the Garriſon Soldiers, and two hundred being caſt away by Sea, that were ſent to relieve them, the *Engliſh* were forced to capitulate, and at length to ſurrender the Town to the *French*, after they had held it eleven Months. The Recovery of this little Town cauſed great joy among the *French*, who made their Brags that the *Engliſh* were driven out of *France*, by the help of the ſame Proteſtants that called them in, and now had forfeited their Claim to *Calais*. The Soldiers that were brought back into *England* ſick of the Plague, diſperſed the Contagion through the whole Realm, inſomuch, that in *London* only there died of that diſeaſe 21530.

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the Plague had been lately in *England*, but indeed was a design of the Cardinal *Granville* to rob the *English* of that beneficial Trade, and to set up that Manufacture in the *Netherlands*; which the *English* Factury resenting, they removed their Mart or Staple of *Cloth* to *Emden*, upon the River *Ems* in *Friesland*; and on the other side the Governours of the *Low Countries*, by an Edict forbid their People from trading with the *English* at *Embden*, or elsewhere, or to bring any Merchandice bought of them into the *Netherlands* under the penalty of Confiscation: But *Gusman* who better understood the Interest of both Countries, compounded the matter, and restored the Trade between the two Nations. A.D. 1564.

These matters being adjusted, the Queen took a progress into the Country, and visiting the University of *Cambridge* was entertained by the Students with *Comedies*, *Tragedies* and *Scholastical Disputations* to her great satisfaction, and after she had viewed every *College*, in a Latin Oration acknowledged their Respect and Duty to her, exhorted them to persevere in the propagation of good Literature, and promised them her Royal Protection and Encouragement. *The Queens Progress.*

At her return she created *Robert Dudley*, whom she designed a Husband for the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denby*, and Earl of *Leicester*, and he employed all possible endeavours to ingratiate himself into the good opinion of that Queen, but she to prevent that Match, sent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* out of *England* into *Scotland*, from whence he had been banished many years. For his Son being a young Man, of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, and grateful to the *English*, she thought he might be acceptable to both Nations. The Queen of *England* having notice of this design, endeavoured to prevent it, by assuring the Queen of *Scots* that such a Marriage would be generally disapproved by the *English*, and therefore again recommended *Leicester* to her for a Husband, whom for that end she had raised to the Honour of an Earl. Commissioners being appointed to treat of this matter, and coming to no conclusion, the Lord *Darnly* with the Queen's leave goes into *Scotland*, to congratulate his Father, upon his Restitution to his Honour and Estate. He was a Gentleman of a Comely Aspect, and a Sweet Disposition, and the Queen of *Scots* no sooner saw him, but *A Marriage propounded.* A. D. 1561

A. D. 1565

she fell in love with him, and desires the Queen of *England*'s consent to marry him. Queen *Elizabeth* advising with her Council upon this affair, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to remind her *that a hasty Marriage was always attended with Repentance*, and again recommended the Earl of *Leicester* to her; but the Queen of *Scots* answered, *That the matter was gone too far to be recalled, and that Queen* Elizabeth *had no reason to be displeased, since the Lord* Darnly *was an* Englishman, *of the Blood Royal of* [*both Kingdoms and one of the Noblest and best Accomplished Men in all* Britain. The Queen of *England* to throw an obstructions in the way, commandeth *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnly* to return into *England*. The Father modestly excuseth himself by Letters, and the Son begs the Queen not to be an Enemy to his Preferment, and professes himself to be a Passionate Lover of the Queen of *Scots*; and she to requite his Love soon after honoured him with the Dignity of *Knight-hood*, and with the Title of Baron of *Armanock*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, and the fifth Month after he came into *Scotland*, with the consent of many of the Scotch Nobility, made him her Husband.

The Queen of Scots *maryed.*

The Queen of *England* having notice of it, carried her self very temperately, and those which sought the advancement of the Protestant Religion and the safety of *England*, made use of it to perswade the Queen to marry, and very opportunely the Emperor *Maximilian* propounded Honourable Conditions of Marriage with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Smircorite* his Ambassador. At which time (for what cause is unknown, unless for this Marriage) there arose a great Quarrel in the Court between the Earl of *Sussex*, who favoured this Marriage, and the Earl of *Leicester*, who in respect of his own hopes privately opposed it; but the Queen reconciled them, and buryed their Malice rather than extinguished it. Within a Month or two she sent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy Chamber to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her about her hasty marrying one of her Subjects without her consent, and to put her in mind of keeping Peace between the two Crowns; and the Queen of *Scots*, tho she would not admit the Ambassador into her presence, yet by Letter promised, 'That neither 'she nor her Husband would attempt any thing pre-

'judicial

'judicial to the Queen of *England*, but would gladly 'contract ſuch a League with her, as might be Be- 'neficial and Honourable to both Kingdoms, provid- 'ed the Queen would eſtabliſh the Succeſſion upon 'them. A. D. 1565.

Henry Earl of *Arundel*, one of the greateſt Peers in *England*, having in a vain hope of marrying the Queen, conſumed a great part of his Eſtate, and now finding his expectations daſhed by *Leiceſter*'s Intereſt over powering him at Court, obtained leave to Travel, and many other Perſons of Quality that hated Idleneſs, went to the Wars againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*. In *June* 1566, the Queen of *Scots* was brought to Bed of her Son *James*, of which ſhe informed *Queen Elizabeth*, by *James Melvin*. The Queen tho ſhe was grieved that ſhe was prevented by her Rival, in the Honour of being a Mother, yet ſhe forthwith ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her Delivery, and the birth of her Son; and then took her Progreſs into the Country, for her Recreation; and that ſhe might ſhew her ſelf as gracious to the Muſes at *Oxford*, as ſhe had done at *Cambridge*, went thither alſo, where being magnificently entertained, ſhe continued there ſeven days, much delighted with the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, the Beautifulneſs of the Colleges, the Wits and moſt exquiſite Learning of the Students, who ſpent a great part of the Nights in *Comedies* and *Tragedies*, and the Days in Learned *Diſputations*: For which ſhe gave them thanks in a Latin Oration, and with great Sweetneſs of Speech and Demonſtrations of Reſpect, left that Place, and returned to *London*.

A. D. 1566

King James *born.*

A *Parliament* being now aſſembled, after they had paſſed a Bill or two, both Houſes fell very hotly upon the Succeſſion, and ſome more haſtily than wiſely, taxed the Queen with neglecting her Country and Poſterity; ſlandered *Cecil* with ſcandalous Libels, and Curſed *Huic* her Phyſician as Perſons that adviſed her to a ſingle Life. In the Lower Houſe things were carried more tumultuouſly by *Bell*, *Munſon*, *Dutton*, *Paul Wentworth* and others, who ſaid if the Queen would neither Marry, nor nominate a Succeſſor, ſhe was not to be counted as a *Nurſe* or a *Mother* to her Country, but a *Step-mother*, nay, as a *Parricide*, who had rather that *England* ſhould expire

The Queens marriage diſcourſed in Parliament.

A. D. 1566. pire with her than ſurvive her. That no Princes but *Cowards*, and ſuch as were hated by their own People ſtood in fear of their Succeſſors.

All this Froth *Queen Elizabeth* was acquainted with, and either contemned or concealed it, but finding this Heat rather increaſe than abate, ſhe ſent for thirty Members of both Houſes to come before her, whom with gentle reprehenſions, and promiſſing not only the care of a Prince, but the affections of a Mother to her Country, ſhe qualified and reduced them to a more temperate behaviour; and whereas the Parliament had offered far greater Subſidies than her occaſions required, upon condition that ſhe would nominate her Succeſſor, ſhe voluntarily refuſed that extraordinary Tender, accepted an Ordinary Sum, and freely remitted the fourth payment of the Subſidy which they had granted her, ſaying, *That Money in her Subjects Purſes was as well as in her own.* Thus a Womans Wiſdom ſuppreſſed theſe Commotions, and time ſo quaſified the People, that none but the Over-timorous or Seditious were troubled about a Succeſſor. Nevertheleſs, that her mind might be known, ſhe committed *Thornton* to the *Tower* for calling the *Queen of Scots* undoubted Title into *Queſtion*.

The Prince of Scotland *baptized.*

About the ſame time, the day approaching for the *Baptizing* the Prince of *Scotland*, at whoſe Chriſtening the *Queen of England* being requeſted to be Godmother, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Preſent, to perform that Solemnity, and expreſly commanded that neither he nor any Engliſhmen in his Company ſhould give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. The Earl alſo interceeded with the *Queen* of *Scots*, to accommodate the Domeſtick Jarrs that were raiſed between her ſelf and her Husband. And now being ſick and weak, ſhe recommend her young Son to the care and protection of *Queen Elizabeth*, promiſing that after this, ſhe would never urge any Declaration of her Title, but with all Love and Affection would eſpouſe her Intereſt againſt all the World.

A. D. 1567 The *Queen of Scots*, alſo promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners to the *Queen of England*, to form a League between them; but before their Arrival, and about two months after the Prince was baptized, the King

her

her Husband to the deteſtation of all Men, in the twenty firſt year of his age, in the dead time of the Night, *was ſtrangled in his Bed, his Body thrown into an Orchard, and the Houſe blown up with Gun-powder.* This barbarous Fact was charged upon *Morton*, *Murray* and other Confederates, and they lay it upon the *Queen*; but the truth of the matter is, that *Murray* the *Queen's Baſe Brother*, and *Liddington* contrived it, and *Bothwell* being put in hopes by *Morton* and *Murray* of marrying the Queen, was the Perſon that Murdred the King, of which afterwards by another contrivance he was acquitted, and married to the *Queen*, but not long after the ſame Confederates accuſe the *Queen* for murdering her Husband, and having ſeized her Perſon, cloathed her in vile Apparel, and thruſt her into Priſon at *Loth-Leven*, under the Cuſtody of *Murray's* Mother, who having been *James* the Fifth's Concubine, inſulted over the afflicted Queen, and impudently told her that ſhe was the Lawful Wife of *James* the Fifth, and her Son *Murray* his Lawful Iſſue.

A.D. 1557.

His Father murdered.

As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had information of this cruel uſage of the Queen, by a Pack of perfidious Rebels, ſhe ſends Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*, to expoſtulate with the Confederates about this Inſolent and Inhumane treatment of the Queen, and to contrive ſome way to procure her Liberty, to puniſh the Kings Murderers, and to ſend the young Prince for his ſafety into *England*; but all the Arguments her Ambaſſador employed to thoſe purpoſes were wholly ineffectual: And at length by threatning the poor Queen with Death, they compelled her to ſet her hand to three Writings. The firſt was to reſign the Kingdom to her Son, who was ſcarce thirteen months old. By the ſecond ſhe conſtituted *Murray* to be Vice-Roy during his Minority, and by the third, if *Murray* ſhould refuſe the Charge, ſhe named eight other Governours, and forthwith ſignified all this to the Queen of *England* by *Throgmorton*, who had told her *that all Acts done in Priſon were of no effect.*

His Mother Impriſoned.

Five days after the Queen's reſignation *James* the Queens young Son was Anointed and Crowned King, *Knox* Preaching the Coronation Sermon. Fifteen days after *Murray* returns out of *France* into *Scotland*,

King James Crowned.

A. D. 1567

land, takes upon him the Regency, puts ſome of *Bothwell*'s Servants which aſſiſted at the murdering the King to Death and they (which he little expected) proteſted at the Gallows, before God and his holy Angels, that they underſtood from *Bothwell*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors of it, as *Bothwell* himſelf being Priſoner in *Denmark* confeſſed, who all cleared the Queen from ſuſpicion of being concerned in it, and ſo did *Morton* alſo, when he ſuffered Death, Fourteen years after. However, notwithſtanding all the ſolicitations of the Queen of *England*, and the *French* King they could not procure her Liberty.

Calais *demanded.*

Eight years limited for the delivery of *Calais* to the *Engliſh* was now expired, and Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *William Winter* were ſent into *France* to demand it, but they ſo delayed, and adjourned the Debate about it from time to time, that by degrees it expired in ſilence, by means of Civil Wars ariſing in *France*; and without doubt the *French* never intended to reſtore it, for as ſoon as ever it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, and built new ones, let out the Houſes and Lands for Fifty Years, and ſome they gave away for ever.

While theſe things were negotiating in *France*, *Count Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of a Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had a little before ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* to the Emperor; in which Service the Duke uſed his utmoſt endeavours, that the Queen might be married to a Prince, and *Leiceſter* be diſappointed of his hopes. Nothing was more frequent in *Suſſex*'s mouth, than that a Foreign Prince was to be preferred before the Nobleſt *Engliſhman*, whether we reſpect Honour, Power or Riches: Inſomuch as one who was of a contrary opinion, ſaid merrily in his preſence, *that where thoſe three were only regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Marriage Brokers.* *Suſſex*, ſtayed in *Auſtria* five months, and was Honourably entertained at the Emperor's Charge, but difficulties ariſing about Religion, Titles, and the Succeſſion, time wore out thoſe propoſals that had been ſeven Years making by Honourable Mediators.

About this time Ambaſſadors came from *Muſcovy* with

with rich Furs of Sables, *&c.* and make large offers to the Queen which were accepted, thence the Company of the *Russia* Merchants were setled. A. D. 1568

The Church disturbed by Papists and Puritans.

Now was the Peace of the Church disturbed by a twofold Enemy: *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and other fugitive Priests take upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome*, to grant Absolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in point of Religion and Allegiance; and on the other side *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benson* openly call in question the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and endeavour to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern, and this Sect increased every where, through their own obstinacy, the negligence of our Bishops, and the favour of some Noblemen, that were gaping after the Church's Patrimony, which Sect was soon known, by the name of *Puritans*.

The Queen of Scots coming in to England.

The second of *May* 1568. the Captive *Queen of Scots* made an escape out of Prison to *Hamilton* Castle, by the help of *George Douglas*, to whose Brother's Custody she was committed. Here within a day or two so great a multitude flocked to her from all parts, that she levyed an Army of Six Thousand Men, who notwithstanding when they came to Fight, for want of Discipline, were easily defeated by *Murray*. The fearful Queen being terrified with this ill Success, was forced to save her Life by Flight, and chose rather to commit her self to the mercy of the Sea, and the Protection of *Queen Elizabeth*, *than to the Fidelity of her own People*. Accordingly the Queen with the Lords *Heris* and *Fleming*, and a few others, took Boat, and on the 17 of *May* 1568 arrived at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*, and the same day writ a Letter to *Queen Elizabeth*, desiring her Protection: Who returned an Answer by Sir *Robert Knolls* in a comfortable stile, but denyed her access to her Person, and commanded her to be conveyed by *Louder* to *Carlisle*, as a Place of Safety, if her Enemies should attempt any thing against her. Receiving this answer, and denyal of Access, she wrote again to the Queen upon the same subject; by which *Queen Elizabeth* seemed to commiserate this afflicted Princess her Kinswoman; but whatsoever *Queen Elizabeth*'s intentions were towards her, the Council of *England* enter into serious consideration what

to

A. D. 1568

to do in the matter, and after long debates, whether to keep her in *England*, to send her into *France*, or return her to *Scotland*, was safest, came to this Conclusion, That she should be detained by Right of War, and not be delivered till she gave satisfaction for usurping the Title of *England*, and had answered for the Death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband. In the mean time, *Murray* calls a Parliament in *Scotland*, in the Kings name, and proscribed some which took part with the Queen, and seized upon their Lands and Houses. At which the Queen of *England* being highly displeased, sharply reprimanded *Murray*, and told him by *Middlemore*, 'That she could 'not endure to see the Sacred Authority of Princes 'should be had in such contempt, and trodden under-'foot at the Will of Factious and Rebellious People, 'and tho they forgot the duty of Subjects, and their 'Fidelity to their Queen, yet she could not be unmind-'ful of any Office either of Piety or kindness to the 'Queen her Sister and Neighbour, and therefore com-'manded him to appear before her, and give an ac-'count of his Actions.

She is confined.

Murray having no means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obeyed the Summons, and came to *York*, the place appointed to determine this matter; but after two sets of Commissioners had heard the Cause, it came to nothing. And now there growing a suspicion that the Duke of *Norfolk* would marry the Queen of *Scots*, she was removed from *Bolton* (where all the neighbour-hood were *Papists*) to *Tutbury*, and committed to the Custody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Persecution raised against Protestants.

Now the *Guises* in *France*, and the Duke *d' Alva* in the *Netherlands*, breathing nothing but Blood and Slaughter against the Protestants, the Queen of *England* took them into her Protection, liberally sent them a Hundred Thousand Angels, and Ammunition of War, and kindly entertained all *French* People, that to avoid Persecution fled into *England*. The like she did by the *Hollanders*, and permitted them to settle at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone* and *Southampton*, to the great advantage of the *English*; for they were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making slight Stuffs, whereof the *English* are now the great Manufacturers. And now I am ne-

cessitated

ceſſitated to touch upon the beginning of the Wars in the *Netherlands*, that are ſo twiſted with the *Engliſh* affairs, that they cannot be omitted. A. D. 1568

Cauſes of War in the Low-Countries.

When the *Spaniard* could by no intreaty be perſwaded to deſiſt from his Bloody proceedings in the *Low-Countries*, in matters of Religion, but ſtill exerciſed Cruelties over Mens Conſciences, by ſetting up the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, a few of the Rabble raiſing a tumult, and pulling down Images in Churches; tho this commotion was ſoon quieted, yet the *Spaniard* charged the whole people with Rebellion, and ſent *Don Ferdinando Alvarez* Duke of *Alva*, a Stern and Cruel Man, to Govern that Country, who made it his whole deſign to enſlave and ruine the People, which uſhered in a long and dangerous War.

When the rumour of the Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots* was communicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe chid him ſeverely for attempting it without her approbation; but after *Murray* had aggravated the matter, and put *Queen Elizabeth* in fear that he would diſturb her Government, he was impriſoned in the *Tower*, with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and *Robert Riddolph* the *Florentine* was committed into Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s cuſtody. A. D. 1569

The firſt Rebellion.

Now aroſe a Rebellion in the North, which at firſt was neglected, till the frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and others gave too much reaſon to believe it. The Queen ſent for the Earls to appear before her in *London*, but they refuſed to appear, and, under pretence of reſtoring the Romiſh Religion, ruſh into open Rebellion, and were the firſt that diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom after it had been Eleven Years in Quiet, under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Nicholas Morton* a Prieſt who was ſent from the *Pope*, to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* a Heretick, and conſequently that ſhe had forfeited her right to the Crown, was the great Incendiary, who marching with them to *Durham*, tore and trampled underfeet all the Engliſh Bibles, and Common Prayer Books which they found in that Cathedral, and other Churches, and when they underſtood that the Queen of *Scots*, for whoſe deliverance they took up Arms, was conveyed from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*; That *Suſſex* had raiſed a powerful Army againſt them; That Sir *Robert Bowes* had a ſelect Party on

their

A. D. 1569. their Backs, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had ſtrengthned *Carliſle*, they returned to *Bernard* Caſtle, Beſieged and took it by compoſition. The very day they were proclaimed *Traitors*, *Suſſex* marched againſt them with ſeven thouſand Men accompanyed with *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Eures*, and the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*. When *Suſſex* was advanced to *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through by-ways to *Naworth Caſtle*, where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton* Lord Admiral purſued them with twelve thouſand Men, from the South parts of *England*, the two Earls with a ſmall Company, and unknown to their Confederates withdrew themſelves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was delivered into *Murray*'s hands. *Weſtmorland* eſcaped into the *Netherlands*, where he led a very poor Life, even to Old Age, living upon a ſlender Penſion from the *Spaniard*. The reſt being diſperſed, ſaved themſelves, ſome by flight, and ſome by lurking in ſecret places. Threeſcore and ſix for a Terror to others were hanged at *Durham*, and many at *York* and other places. *Charles* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ann* his Wife, and about fifty more of Noble Birth were convicted of Treaſon, and Proſcribed, the reſt which had no Eſtates, nor had fled the Land were pardoned.

The Rebels Rooted.

Another Rebellion.

But out of the Aſhes of this Rebellion broke out another Fire at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son of *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, to deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody; to which end he fortified *Naworth-Caſtle* as his own Inheritance, and gathered together three thouſand that were well affected to his Family, which was at that time in great reputation in the North. Againſt theſe Rebels marched the Lord *Hunſdon*, with the old Garriſon Soldiers of *Berwick*, and *Dacres* not truſting to his ſtrong holds, met and encountred the Lord *Hunſdon* with great bravery, but being overcome he fled into *Scotland*, from thence croſſed the Sea into *Flanders*, died in a miſerable poor condition at *Lovain*, and ſeemed to inherit his Fathers Curſe, which he laid upon him on his Death Bed for his diſobedience. The Lord *Hunſdon* having taken in the Caſtles committed the charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk's*

Norfolk's Servants, and the Queen by publick Proclamation pardoned the Rabble, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion.

A. D. 1569

The Queen tho' her affairs were embroiled with one Rebellion after another, never failed to relieve the *French Proteſtants* who were now ſo diſtreſſed that their condition was almoſt deſperate, and therefore ſhe ſupplied the Queen of *Navarre* with Money and Soldiers, and encouraged other *Proteſtant Princes* to defend the common cauſe of Religion. The *French* King to exhauſt the Treaſure of *England*, and force it to run in ſome other Channel, reſolved to raiſe a new War in *Scotland* againſt the Queen, and intended to ſend *Sebaſtian Martigues* with an Army thither; but he being killed at the Siege of St. *John de Angeli*, that deſign vaniſhed into nothing. Nor was *Ireland* at this time free from Rebellions, for *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being aſſiſted by the *Pope* and the *Spaniard*, endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion, and to diſpoſſeſs Queen *Elizabeth* of her Kingdom of *Ireland*. To ſtrengthen this Rebellion *Juan Mendoza* was ſent privately out of *Spain*, and to put an end to it the Earl of *Ormond* went out of *England* thither, who perſwaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Queens Mercy, who, at his requeſt, granted their Pardons.

The Queen relieves the French *Proteſtants.*

A. D. 1570

The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being extinguiſhed, *Murray* earneſtly requeſted, that the Queen of *Scots* might be delivered into his hands, and therefore to ingratiate himſelf with Queen *Elizabeth* by ſome meritorious Exploit, he marched into the Borders of *Scotland* in queſt of the *Engliſh Rebels*, of whom he took ſome; but when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure, was ſhot into the Bowels as he rode through the Streets in *Lithgow*, by one *Hamilton*, in private revenge for injuries that *Murray* had done him, and preſently eſcaped into *France* to avoid the puniſhment. Various were the Cenſures of *Murray*'s Life and Conduct; thoſe of his own Party commended him, *Buchanan* eſpecially, and by the other he was reprobated under the worſt Character imaginable, as a Treacherous, Ungrateful and perfidious Diſſembler.

Murray the Scotch *Regent's death.*

A. D. 1570

Soon after the *Regent*'s murder, *Thomas Carr of Fernihurst* and *Walter Scot of Buchuly*, with other Confederates, in revenge of the Queen of *Scots* confinement, enter'd the *Engliſh* borders with Fire and Sword, and made great Deſolation till they were Vanquiſhed by the *Engliſh*: then the Lords of *Scotland* elected *Matthew Earl of Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, *Regent of Scotland*, Queen *Elizabeth* not oppoſing it. In the mean time *Huntley*, the Duke of *Caſtle Herault* and *Argyle*, by the Queen of *Scots* Advice and Conſent, diſpatch'd *George Lord Seaton* on an Ambaſſy to the *Duke d' Alva*, to perſwade that the Ten Thouſand Ducats aſſign'd the Queen of *Scots* might be paid, and that he would aſſiſt her with Forces for the Recovery of her Liberty. The *Duke d' Alva* anſwered that he would aſſiſt the buſineſs with the *Spaniard*, and ſend them Soldiers, but troubles encreaſing upon him in *Flanders*, put him out of capacity of ſending any Men into *Scotland*. This project failing, *France* and *Spain* ſolicit Queen *Elizabeth*, by their Ambaſſadors, to deliver the Queen of *Scots*; to whom the Queen made anſwer, *That in Prudence and Safety ſhe could not comply with their requeſts, and grant her Liberty*, that by encouraging domeſtick Rebellions, aſpired to the Kingdom of *England*. All other means hitherto proving ineffectual, put the whole Popiſh Party into a Rage, and therefore as their laſt and ſtrongeſt effort, *Pope Pius Quintus* having the laſt year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to Rebellion, now cauſeth the ſentence to be fixed upon the Gates of the *Biſhop of Londons Palace*, under this Title.

The Scots beg aſſiſtance of Duke d' Alva.

The Pope's Bull.

A Sentence Declaratory of our holy Lord Pope Pius Quintus, *againſt* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering to her, wherein alſo all her Subjects are declared to be abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance and whatever other duty they owe her; and they which from henceforth ſhall obey her, are involved in the ſame Curſe or Anathema.*

This Sentence begot a Rebellion amongſt the *hot-headed* Papiſts in *Norfolk*, under pretence of delivering their Duke from Impriſonment, who was highly eſteemed among them; but their deſigns were diſcovered and prevented before they came to maturity. Many were condemned, but only three were executed,

ted, the Principal of which was *John Throgmorton*, who, tho' he ſtood mute at the *Bar*, confeſſed at the *Gallows*, that he was Author of it. Not long after *John Felton*, that ſet up the Popes Bull upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace Gate, was taken (for he would not fly) and being Arraigned, undauntedly confeſs'd the Fact, but would not acknowledge it to be a Fault, and was hanged near the Place where he committed the Treaſon, and by his ſuffering obtained the reputation of a *Martyr*; tho the more moderate ſort of Papiſts diſapproved the Popes whole proceedings, as Unjuſt and Illegal. The ſame day that *Felton* was Arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confeſſion of having acted imprudently, and engaging under his hand not to meddle farther in the Marriage without Queen *Elizabeth*'s approbation, he was diſcharged from Impriſonment.

A. D. 1570.

Felton *Condemn'd and Executed.*

Queen *Elizabeth* who was now ſuſpicious that ſome ill deſign was forming, ſent *Secretary Cecil* and *Sir William Mildmay* in *Chatſworth* to the Queen of *Scots* to conſult with her how the Diſſentions in *Scotland* might be compoſed, her ſelf reſtored, and the ſecurity of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the ſafety of the King of *Scots* might be provided for; and after long debates to little purpoſe, they returned without effecting any thing; upon which the Biſhop of *Roſs* ſent to the Pope the *French* King and the *Spaniard*, to aſſiſt the Queen of *Scots* with on Army, to accompliſh her deliverance; but all in vain, for they were employed in other buſineſs.

Queen *Elizabeth* went now to ſee a ſtately Building in *London*, which Sir *Thomas Greſham* had erected for the uſe of the Merchants, and gave it the name of the *Royal Exchange*, and after that, created *William Cecil*, her Secretary, *Baron of Burleigh*. Several Overtures were again made for freeing the Queen of *Scots*, but not ſucceeding, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, lays a Plot, that the Duke of *Norfolk* with other ſelect Confederates, ſhould ſurpriſe Queen *Elizabeth*, marry the Queen of *Scots* and reſtore the Popiſh Religion; but the Duke being a man of innate Goodneſs and Honour, abhorred and rejected the Deſign as Wicked and full of danger.

A. D. 1571

The Royal Exchange named.

In *France* a Marriage was ſolemnized between *Charles* the Ninth, K. of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of

A. D. 1571

Austria Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, and at the same time a Marriage was propounded by the Queen Mother of *France*, between Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry Duke of Anjou*, and Articles were sent into *England* from the Queen Mother, by her special Favourite *Guido Cavalcanto* a *Florentine*, and from the *French* by his Ambassadors, who joyntly and severally solicited Queen *Elizabeth*'s consent a whole year together; but many difficulties arising, by little and little it grew very cold. But the *French* King took not more pains for accomplishing this Marriage, than some *English* did to hasten a Marriage between the Queen of *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had drawn again into the snare, which being discovered, and *Higford* the Dukes Secretary apprehended, he confessed the whole matter, and told in what places he had hid the Cyphers, and Letters of Correspondence between the Queen of *Scots* and his Master: Which when the Council had received and read, as likewise Letters from the Pope, and *Barker* being also apprehended, had confess'd; the Duke himself was examined by the Council, who not knowing his Servants had confessed, but believing the Letters had been burnt, denied all that they had confessed, and therefore was again committed to the Tower of *London*, and afterward *Banister* the Duke's Lawyer, the *Earls of Arundel and Southampton*, *the Lord Lumly*, *the Lord Cobham*, *Henry Piercy*, *Louder*, *Powel*, *Goodyear*, and others were Committed to Prison, and every one of them in hopes of Pardon confessed all they knew.

A match propounded to Queen Elizabeth.

The Duke of Norfolk Committed

Not long after the Duke was again brought before the Council, and these mens Confessions, the Queen of *Scots* and the Bishop of *Ross*'s Letters being produced and Read to him, he was utterly confounded and broke out into these words, *I am betray'd and undone by my own Confidents, whom I was unwilling to mistrust*, and therefore humbly beg'd the Council to intercede with the Queen for his Pardon. The Bishop of *Ross*, by the Confession of all the Criminals and of the Duke himself, being charged as the contriver of the whole Conspiracy, it caused great debates what should be done with him being an Ambassador, but the Learned *Civilians* having determined that he had forfeited the Privilege of an Ambassador; he was brought before

The Bishop of Ross accused, and Committed.

before the Council, told that he had forfeited his Character, and ſhould be puniſhed according to his deſerts. The Biſhop anſwered, *That he was an Ambaſſador of an Abſolute Queen, whoſe Privileges were not to be violated.* *Burleigh* in a grave reply ſhewed him that the Privilege of an Ambaſſador, could not protect him in offences againſt the publick Majeſty of a Prince, but that he was liable to puniſhment, or elſe every Lewd Ambaſſador might attempt againſt the Lives of Princes without controul. When they began to urge him with *Engliſh* Evidences, he prayed them not to do it, ſince by a conſtant received cuſtom which had now obtained the force of a Law, *The Teſtimony of an* Engliſhman *againſt a* Scot, *or of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſhman *was not to be admitted*, however, he was committed to the Tower. At this very time *Matthew Steward Earl of Lenox* and Regent of *Scotland* being ſurprized by the Nobility of the adverſe Party, was murdered by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had carefully govern'd the Kingdom about fourteen months, and was ſucceeded in the Regency by *John Areskin*, Earl of *Marr*, who being a man of a mild Temper, and now harraſs'd between the different Counſels of his Friends, and the Inſults of his Enemies, he ended his days with Grief, after he had governed thirteen Months.

A. D. 1571

The Regent of Scotland murdered.

This year began with the Arraignment of the *Duke of Norfolk* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before *George Lord Talbot of Shrewsbury*, Conſtituted Lord high Steward upon that occaſion. His *Peers* were *Reginald Lord Grey Earl of Kent*, *Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Suſſex*, *Henry Haſtings Earl of Huntingdon*, *Francis Ruſſel Earl of Bedford*, *Henry Herbert Earl of Pembrook*, *Edward Seymor or of St. Maur*, *Earl of Hertford*, *Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick*, *Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter*, *Walter d' Evereux Viſcount Hereford*, *Edward Lord Clinton Lord Admiral*, *William Lord Howard of Effingham*, *Lord Chamberlain*, *William Cecil*, *Lord Burleigh*, *Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton*, *James Blount*, *Lord Mountjoy*, *William Lord Sands*, *Thomas Lord Wentworth*, *William Lord Burrough*, *Lewis Lord Mordant*, *John Pawlet Lord St. John of Baſing*, *Robert Lord Rich*, *Roger Lord North*, *Edmund Bruges Lord Chandois*, *Oliver Lord St. John of Bletſa*, *Thomas Sackville Lord Buchurſt and William Weſt Lord de la Ware*.

A. D. 1572

The Dukes tryal.

A.D. 1572.

His Condemnation.

The heads of the Dukes Indictment were, 'That 'he had traiterously consulted about Deposing the 'Queen, and taking away her Life, for contracting 'Marriage with *Mary* Queen of *Scots* against the 'Queens consent, for assisting Rebels against the Queen 'and for craving forces from Pope *Pius Quintus*, the 'Spaniard, and the Duke *d' Alva*, to set the Queen 'of *Scots* at Liberty, and to restore the Popish Reli-'gion in *England*. *Of all which Crimes being found Guilty by his Peers; the Sentence of* Death *was pronounced against him, and about four Months after*, viz. *on* June 2. 1572, *he was brought to the Scaffold on* Tower Hill, *accompanyed by* Alexander Novel *Dean of St.* Pauls, *where, as soon as silence was obtained, the Duke delivered himself as followeth.* 'It is no new thing for 'men to suffer death in this Place, tho' since the be-'ginning of our most gracious Queens Reign, I am the 'first, and God grant I may be the last, *to which the Peo-'ple answered, Amen.* I acknowledge saith he, that my 'Peers have justly judged me worthy of Death, nor 'is it my meaning to excuse my self. That I have 'treated with the Queen of *Scots* I freely confess, 'and that in matters of great consequence without ac-'quainting my Sovereign; which I ought not to have 'done, for which I was cast into the *Tower*. I was af-'terwards set free upon my humble submission, and 'giving my Faith that I would have no more to do 'with her; yet, I confess, I did the contrary, and 'that troubles my Conscience; but at the Communi-'on Table, as it is commonly reported, I neither pro-'mised nor swore it. *Ridolpho* I never talked with 'but once, and that not to the Queens prejudice. 'Two Letters from the Bishop of *Rome* I saw, to 'which I assented not, nor to the Rebellion in the 'North. I have not been addicted to Popery since I 'had any tast of Religion; but have always been averse 'to Popish Doctrines, and embraced the true Religi-'on of Jesus Christ, and have put my whole trust in 'the Blood of Christ my Redeemer and blessed Savi-'our. Yet can I not deny but I have had among my 'Servants and Familiars, some that have been addict-'ed to the Popish Religion. If I have thereby offend-'ed God, the Church, or the Protestants, I beseech 'them and God to forgive me. *Then, after the Reci-'tal of one or two Psalms, he said with a loud voice*

His Speech.

'Into

'Into thy hands Lord I commend my Spirit. Then embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whiſpered ſomething in his and Dean *Nowel*'s ear; who turning to the People ſaid, The Duke deſires you all to pray to God to have mercy on him, and when one reached him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refuſed it, ſaying *I fear not Death.* So falling upon his knees, and fixing his mind upon God, he laid his neck upon the block and at one ſtroke his head was cut off, which the Executioner ſhewed as a lamentable object to the weeping ſorrowful Spectators; which was augmented at the remembrance that his Father dyed the ſame death in the ſame place five and twenty years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confeſſor* with his own, which the *Mowbray's Dukes of Norfolk* from whence he drew his Deſcent, did always bear, by permiſſion of King *Richard* II. A. D. 1572

His Execution.

The Liberty of the Queen of *Scots* was now more particularly the earneſt endeavours of *Spain* and *France*, but ſhe enclining rather to the *Spaniard* than the *French*, that King, by degrees, grew very remiſs and cold in the matter. Now after a gallant Muſter of the *Londoners*, and Exerciſing before the Q. at *Greenwich*, ſeveral Military Men who ſpent their time in idleneſs at home, began to flock into the Low Countries, and, according as they ſtood affected, choſe their ſide. Some went to the *Duke d' Alva*, and the greater number went to the *Prince of Orange*, who took up Arms in defence of the Proteſtant and Liberty of his Country. In *France* the Proteſtants had now a ſhew of better uſage. *Montmorency* ſolicits the Marriage with the *Duke of Anjou* upon new terms; but ſince they could not agree about the exerciſe of Religion, he returned into *France*, leaving that affair under utter improbabilities of ever being accompliſhed. In the mean time a Marriage was preparing with great ſolemnity between *Henry of Navarre* and Madam *Margaret* the *French* Kings Siſter. To this Marriage by flattering promiſes and credulous hopes of a perpetual Peace, the Queen of *Navarre* and all the chief of the Proteſtant Party were drawn to it. *Leiceſter* and *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, the *Elector Palatine*'s Son out of *Germany*, that being thus brought together, both they and the Evangelical Religion might at one ſtroke have their Throats cut,

A. D. 1572. or at leaſt be mortally wounded; for no ſooner was the Marriage ſolemnized but the *Maſſacre* of *Paris* and the Butchering of the Proteſtants, followed throughout all the Cities of *France* upon Men of all Qualities and Degrees whatſoever. Two days before this *Maſſacre* the Queen Mother of *France* had commanded *Mota Fenellon* to propound a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her youngeſt Son *Francis Duke of* Alenſon, which he did at *Kenelworth*; but *Queen Elizabeth* modeſtly excuſed her ſelf, upon the difference of *Religion* and inequality of Age, he being ſcarce Seventeen and ſhe Thirty Eight; but *Alenſon* did not give over his Suit, but proſecuted it with vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

The Maſſacre of Paris.

The Queens extraordinary care.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed perfect Health, fell ſick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton* Court, but perfectly recover'd before it was known abroad that ſhe had been ill, and immediatly betook her ſelf to the care of the Realm; commanded *Portſmouth* to be new and ſtrongly fortified, increaſed the number of her Ships; made muſters of the Trained Bands in every County, and cauſed the youth to be taught the Exerciſe of Arms, and all this in a time of perfect Peace. In *Ireland* were ſome Commotions occaſioned by the too vigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governour of *Connaught*, and therefore the Queen removed him out of that Poſt, and made him *Treaſurer* of *Ireland*. In *Lemſter* alſo the *O Moors*, a Seditious kind of People, raiſed an Inſurrection; but being proclaimed Traytors returned to their Duty at the perſwaſion of the *Earl of Kildare*.

A. D. 1573 Now the *Spaniſh* Affairs were very much perplext in the Low-Countries, *Fluſhing* was loſt, *Holland* revolted, the *Spaniſh* Fleet was overthrown by the *Zelanders*, this made the *Duke d' Alva* more favourable to the *Engliſh*, and permitted them to Trade with the *Netherlanders* as formerly. At home the Queen and the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate were much afflicted with the new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who endeavoured under pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Diſcipline, to eradicate things that were well eſtabliſhed, to make way for their own Novelties, therefore and the Queen to prevent a Schiſm in the Church, commanded the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers, to be every where put in Execution.

Trouble from the Puritans.

Bryan

A. D. 1573

Eſſex's Expedition into Ireland.

Brian Mac Phelim now making Tumults and Inſurrections in *Ulſter*, *Walter d' Evereux* whom Queen *Elizabeth* had lately created *Earl of Eſſex*, deſired the Queens leave to undertake an Expedition againſt him, in which he was guided by the advice of thoſe, who deſired above all things to have him further off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him greater Honour. This he was not altogether inſenſible of, yet being of undaunted Courage, and not unacquainted in Military Affairs from his very youth he held his Reſolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that if he drove the Rebels out of *Clandeby* one half of it ſhould be given to him and his Soldiers, in conſideration whereof, for the Defence of it, he would maintain two hundred Horſe and four hundred Foot at his own charge, and to equip them he borrowed of the Q. Ten Thouſand Pounds, and mortgaged his Lands in *Eſſex* to her for ſecurity. At the Earls arrival in *Ireland*, *Mac Phelim* drove all his Cattle into the inner parts of the Country. In his ſtock conſiſted all his Wealth, which was very conſiderable, for beſides Sheep and Hogs he had thirty thouſand Cows. At firſt he Congratulated the Earl, and offered him great kindneſſes, and ſo did *Mac Geleſpic*, *Mac Guiller*, *Hugh Baron of Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about; but ſhortly after he revolted and joyned with his Friend *Turlogh Lenigh*, upon which followed many skirmiſhes with the *Engliſh*, which with his Friends deſerting him and returning into *England*, cauſed *Eſſex* to make great complaints to the Queen, that the Expedition was undertaken too late, Victuals too long e're they came to them, and thoſe tainted; that he was unable to bear the charge of the War, and therefore prayed the Queen to carry on the War at her own charge, *but all ears at Court were deaf to any propoſal for the Earl's Honour, or Advantage.* While he was providing againſt theſe apparent difficulties, he narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the Iriſh, for *Brian Mac Phelim* who had lately treacherouſly killed one Captain *Moore*, conſpired with *Turlogh* and the *Hebredian Scots* to cut him off. Which as ſoon as *Eſſex* underſtood, he thought it not adviſeable to ſtay for their coming, and therefore began with them, and ſet upon them with ſo much reſolution, that with the ſlaughter of two hundred Iriſh, he took

Brian

Brian and *Rory Oge* his half Brother, and *Brian*'s Wife, and so the year ended with great damage and charge to the Earl of *Essex*.

A. D. 1674

Alenzon *revives his Pretensions.*

Francis Duke of *Alenzon* by Letters and *Maveiseir* the *French* Ambassador, now revived his suit to Queen *Elizabeth*, and beg'd leave he might come into *England* to prosecute his Amours, and the Queen having a kindness for him, and at present some inclination to Marry, she granted him safe conduct, with demonstrations of great respect for his Person; but before her answer came to him, he was suspected by the *Queen Mother* that he and *Navarre* would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers set over them and were committed to custody; but *Thomas Wilkes* and *Dales* got privately to them, and comforted them in the Queen of *England*'s name, with assurance that she would omit no opportunity to help and relieve them. To that end Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Thomas Randulph* into *France* to the Queen Mother, but before he arrived there *Charles the French King died.* Now *Henry* the third, succeeding to the Crown of *France*, the Queen sent *Roger* Lord *North* to congratulate his return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and desired him to restore *Alenzon* into Favour, but the Ambassador effected nothing; for *France* pusht on by its Destiny, run desperately into a Civil War. Nevertheless the King and his Mother sent *Le Garde* into *England* to promote the Marriage for her Son *Alenzon*, on purpose to be rid of him.

Essex *crossed in all his purposes.*

The Earl of *Essex* in *Ireland* having resigned up his Command in *Ulster* to the Lord Deputy, as not being able to prosecute his intentions with so small a number of men as were allowed him, he was commanded to re-assume it; but scarce had he marched against *Turlogh*, but other orders came that he should give over the War, and make as Honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon done, he marched against the *Hebredian Scots*, who had seized upon *Clandeby*, drove them into their Lurking Places, and by the skilful Conduct of *Norris* attempted the Isle of *Rachlin*, put four hundred of the Islanders to the Sword, forced the Castle and Garisoned it with English. But now in the midst of his Victories and Successes, he was again contrary to expectation commanded to resign his Authority, only as an ordinary Captain he had the command

mand of three hundred Men given him, and by the contrivance of the Earl of *Leiceſter* was croſſed in all his good purpoſes.

A. D. 1575.

All things now run into confuſion in the *Low-Countries*, by the Cruelty and Oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*, the Stately City of *Antwerp* was miſerably ſacked, the houſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants there was plundered, and they forced to redeem their Perſons by paying a great Sum of Gold to the Spaniſh Soldiers. Upon this and the coming of *Don John of Auſtria*, who was the natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, to govern the *Netherlands*, the Eſtates took up Arms, and at the requeſt and importunity of *Swevingham*, *Queen Elizabeth* ſent them Twenty Thouſand Pounds upon condition they ſhould neither change their Religion, nor receive the *French*, nor refuſe a Peace, if *Don John* would condeſcend to reaſonable conditions; ſo careful was this good Queen to keep the wavering Provinces in obedience to the *Spaniard*. About this time the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Frederick* the Elector Palatine both died, and ſo did alſo *Walter d' Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, whom all agree to be an extraordinary Perſon, and as truely Honeſt as Honourable; yet could not withſtand the effects of *Leiceſter*'s Envy, and the Intriegues of his Court Faction; for having waſted a great part of his Eſtate in doing good Service in *Ireland*, and returning into *England* was ſent back again with the empty and inſignificant Title of *Earl Marſhal of Ireland*, and pining away with gaief and diſſatisfaction, he died of the Bloody-flux, after he had deſired the ſtanders by, to admoniſh his Son who was then ſcarce ten years old, to have always in his thoughts the ſix and thirtieth year of his Age, as the utmoſt boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had paſſed, and which his Son never lived to ſee, as will be ſhewed in its proper place. The Death of this noble Man was attended with the ſuſpicion of being poyſoned, and the rumour encreaſed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s putting away *Douglas Sheffield* with a round Sum of Money by whom he had a Son; (but whether ſhe was his Wife or his Miſtreſs is unknown) and immediately making love to *Lettice* the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow, to whom not long after he was Married.

A. D. 1576.

The Queen aſſiſts the Hollanders.

Eſſex's death & premonition.

Don

A. D. 1577

Don John of Austria finding himself too weak to effect his designs upon the *Netherlands*, makes great shew of Friendship to Queen *Elizabeth*; and she inclining to Peace, sends an Ambassador to promote it; but the Prince of *Orange* having intimated to her by *Famier*, that *Don John* was projecting to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and to Conquer *England* and *Scotland*, she made a firm League Offensive and Defensive with the Estates of *Holland*, and that she might not be slandered with assisting Rebels against their Prince, assign'd *Don John*'s cruelty to the Protestants of *Holland*, and his Conspiracy against her and her Kingdom as the cause of it. And now she might have employed her Fathers saying, *Cui adhæreo, Præest*, *to whom I adhere they succeed*; for her Majesty was now the Umpire between *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, and held in her own hand the Balance of Christendom; which was a sore affliction to *Don John*, who now in the Flower of his Age and height of his Ambition died of Grief, or the Pestilence, for both are assigned as the Cause of it.

Don John's *Death.*

A. D. 1578

The Duke of *Anjou*, tho imployed in War, prosecuted his marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had begun when he was Duke of *Alenzon*. First *Basquerville*, who was sent on purpose, came to the Queen in her Progress at *Milford*, after him *Rambolette*, and last of all the Spruce Courtier *Simiere*, well accompanyed with the French Nobility, whom the Queen entertained so kindly at *Richmond*, that *Leicester* could not forbear shewing his resentments, being now quite disappointed of his long hop'd for Marriage with the Queen; which he might have known sooner, for when *Astly* one of the Queens Bedchamber slily recommended *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she answered him in great displeasure. *How canst thou think me so unlike my self, and so unmindful of Royal Majesty that I should prefer my servant whom I have raised, from nothing before the greatest Princes in Christendom, in choosing me a Husband.* The King of *Scots* now takes upon him the Government of the Kingdom, and makes a grateful acknowledgment of the favours Queen *Elizabeth* had shewed him; But *Morton*, who could suffer none above him, kept the King within his own Power, in the Castle of *Sterlin*, and would admit

Anjou *prosecutes his Amours.*

admit none to him but whom he pleased; for which the Nobility rose in Arms against him.

A. D. 1579

In the mean while *Simiere* on *Anjou*'s behalf lays strong siege to the Queens Affections, and finding *Leicester* to be the main obstruction, he told the Queen of his being married to *Essex*'s Widow, which put her into such a chafe that she commanded *Leicester* not to stir out of *Greenwich* Castle. Some few days after, the Duke of *Anjou* came privately into *England*, and unexpectedly addressed to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had some private Discourses together, and then without being known but to a very few, returned again into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham* to consider of the Dangers and Advantages, that would accrue by this Marriage, which being reckoned up, the Balance was so even that nothing was determined by them.

He came incognito to Greenwich.

A. D. 1580

About this time *Francis Drake* having sailed round the World, and next to *Magellan*, who died in his Voyage, was the first that could justly claim the Glory of that noble Enterprize, returned into *England* with great Wealth and deserved Honour. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, bound Apprentice to a Master of a small Vessel, that carryed Merchandize into *France* and *Zealand*. The youth by his pains and diligence so pleased his Master that at his death he gave him his Vessel for a Legacy, with this having got a little Money, and hearing that Sir *John Hawkins* was fitting out Ships at *Plymouth* and intended a Voyage to *America*, which in those days was called the *New World*, he sold his Bark and fitted out himself for that Expedition, which proved very unsuccessful to him. Five years after in the year 1572, in a Man of War called the *Dragon*, with two little Tenders, he sailed again for *America*, acquainting only his Companions with the design of the Voyage. *Nombre de Dios* a Town in the Isthmus of *Darien*, he presently took, and as soon lost it. Afterwards being informed by certain Fugitive *Negro*'s, that great quantities of Gold and Silver was bringing from *Panama* by the *Muletiers*, he met them by the way, robbed them of it and brought the Gold to his Ships; but the Silver for want of help to carry it o're the Mountains

Drake's *return into* England.

A. D. 1580 tains, he left behind and buried ſome of it underground. Roving ſometime up and down the Mountains and parts adjoyning, he eſpied the South Sea, and being blown up with Ambition and hopes of Wealth, from that very moment took up a Reſolution to Navigate that Ocean.

Accordingly in *December* 1577 he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, for the South Sea, with five Ships and 163 Seamen, of which ſcarce a Man knew his intentions. At St. *Jago* he took a *Portugal* Ship laden with Wine, let the Men go but took the Ship and *Nonnius de Sylva* the Pilot along with him, who might be uſeful to him on the Coaſts of *Braſil*, with which he was well acquainted. Drawing near the *Equator*, *Drake* let all his men blood with his own hands, to prevent Fevers and Calentures, and five and fifty days after ſaw no Land till he diſcovered *Braſil*. In *Auguſt* he entred the Streight of *Magellan*, from thence into the *Pacifick Sea*, but found it ſo rough and tempeſtuous that it carried the Fleet a hundred Leagues Weſtward, and ſeparated them. In *September* he came to *Mouch*, where meeting with a Fiſherman, he told him a great Spaniſh Ship lay laden at *Villa Parizo*, and directed them thither. The *Spaniard* who took them for their Countrymen were glad to ſee them; but *Drake* claps them aboard to rights, and putting the *Spaniards* under the Hatches, plundered the Town of St. *Jago*, together with the Chapel which fell to *Fletcher* his Chaplain's ſhare, and having ſet the *Spaniards* aſhore carried away the Ship, wherein was four hundred pound weight of the fineſt Gold and the Maſter who was a *Grecian*. Then he went a ſhoar, where he found a *Spaniard* ſleeping, and by him lay thirteen wedges of Silver, valued at four hundred thouſand Duckets, which he carried away, without being ſo rude as to wake the *Spaniard*.

At *Arica* he found three Ships without a Man in them, out of which he took beſides other Merchandize fifty ſeven wedges of Silver, each weighing twenty pound. At *Lima* he found twelve Ships, and in them ſtore of Silks, and a Cheſt of Money ready coined, but not ſo much as a Boy aboard them. Having ſent theſe Ships to Sea, he chaſed a very rich Ship called the *Cacafuogo* or Shite Fire, and in his way took a *Brigantine* with fourſcore pound weight of Gold in her, and

and ſoon after the *Cacafuogo*, out of which beſides Pearls aud Precious ſtones he took fourſcore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Cheſts of coined Silver, and as much other Silver as would Baläſt a Ship. Now he began to think of returning, and becauſe the Streight of *Magellan* was very dangerous, and that he thought the *Spaniards* would lay wait for him, as in truth they did, he ſteered his courſe *Northward* to 42 degrees of Latitude, in hopes to diſcover a ſtreight that might lead him homeward; but finding nothing there but thick Clouds, ſevere Cold, and naked Shoars covered only with Snow, he fell to thirty eight degrees, and there meeting with a convenient Harbour he ſtaid a while. From thence he came to the *Molucca* Iſlands, thence to *Java Major*, from that place ſteered for the *Cape of Good-hope*, and from thence with a proſperous Gale into *England*, and came to an Anchor in *Plymouth Sound* the third of *September* 1580 three years after he ſet ſail from thence, to the great admiration of all Men!

A. D. 1580

Drakes *return into* England.

The Queen received him very graciouſly, and laid up the Treaſure he brought by way of Sequeſtration, that it might be forthcoming if the *Spaniard* ſhould demand it. His Ship ſhe cauſed to be drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford*, in which her Majeſty was treated, and at the ſame time conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Drake*. A great Sum of this Money was afterward paid to *Pedro Sebura*, a *Spaniard*, which he never paid to the right Owners, but employed it againſt the Queen in paying the *Spaniards* that ſerved in the *Netherlands*, which was diſcovered when it was too late to redreſs it.

New Commotions aroſe about this time in *Ireland*, by the *O Conors*, but this Conſpiracy was timely cruſh'd by the great care of *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Deputy of *Ireland*, who by terrifying others brought *Tutlogh Lenigh* to terms of Peace, who had raiſed diſturbances in *Ulſter*, and reduced the *O Brians* and *O Moors* to ſubmiſſion. Great Feuds alſo were amongſt the *Scotch* Nobility, one Party did accuſe *Lenox* of dangerous deſigns againſt the King and Kingdom, and others accuſe *Morton*: Who was afterwards found guilty of being acceſſary to the Murder of the Kings Father, for which he was beheaded. Colonel *Noris*, with his *Engliſh* Soldiers raiſed the Seige of *Steenwick* and

A. D. 1581

Commotions in Ireland *and Feuds in* Scotland.

A.D. 1581

and put *Reneberg*'s men to flight. The *English* who of all the Northern Nations were counted the Soberest People, now learned of the *Netherlanders*, the ſcandalous Vice of Debauchery, and immoderate Drinking, which had now ſo diffuſed it ſelf over the whole Nation, that it was forced to be reſtrained by ſevere Laws.

Articles of Marriage.

The *Engliſh* and *French* Commiſſioners, appointed to treat of the Marriage betwixt the Queen and the Duke of *Anjou*, at length agreed upon a Matrimonial Inſtrument to that purpoſe, *viz.* 'That the Duke of 'Anjou, and the Queen of *England*, ſhall contract 'Marriage within ſix weeks after the Ratification of 'theſe Articles in *England*. That the Duke and all 'his Retainers (provided they are not Subjects to *England*) ſhould freely enjoy the exerciſe of their own 'Religion. That the Duke ſhall enjoy the Title of 'King, but the Adminiſtration of the Government 'to be entirely in the Queen. Letters Patents, Writs, '*&c.* ſhall run in both their names, as in the time of '*Philip* and *Mary*. The Queen ſhall aſſign him a yearly Penſion, and the Duke ſhall ſettle the Queen a 'Dowry, to the value of forty thouſand Crowns a 'Year out of his Dukedom of *Bury*. The Educati'on and Diſpoſal of their Children, as to their Inhe'ritances and Succeſſion, ſhall be left to the Parlia'ment. The Duke ſhall prefer no Foreigner in any 'Office in *England*, nor alter any thing in the Laws. '*To which a Reſervation was added apart by it ſelf*, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* was not bound to conſummate 'the Marriage till ſhe and the Duke had ſatisfied one 'another in ſome particulars. Not long after the Duke came into *England* in Perſon, was received with as great reſpect as he could hope for, and no demonſtration of Honour and Affection was omitted by the Queen; inſomuch that as ſoon as ſhe had magnificently celebrated the Anniverſary of her Coronation, ſhe drew off a Ring from her own Finger and put it upon the Dukes, upon certain conditions known only to themſelves; But the Spectators concluded it was a confirmation of a promiſe of Marriage. The Courtiers were diverſly affected, ſome rejoyced and others were dejected with ſorrow. *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham* ſtormed at it, as if the Queen, the whole Realm and Religion were ruined. The Queen's Gentlewomen,

The Duke of Anjou *comes into* England.

tlewomen, with whom she used to be familiar, grieved and lamented at such an extraordinary rate, that it terrified the Queen, broke her rest, and so discomposed her mind, that the next day she sent for the D. of *Anjou*, and after they had long discoursed privately, the Duke returned in passion to his Chamber, threw down the Ring and took it up again, bitterly inveighing against the Levity of Women, and the Inconstancy of Islanders, with two or three biting reflections. A. D. 1581

The Queen also having seriously weighed the Inconvenience that might attend the breach of this Marriage, and the advantages that might accrue by consummating it, she rather inclined to think that she might better provide for the Common Weal, and her own Glory by living a single Life, than by entring into a state of Marriage, and yet carried it respectfully to the D. of *Anjou*, who having staid three months in *England* returned into the *Netherlands*, where he was made D. of *Brabant*, *Limburgh*, *Lorrain*, &c. for the Estates had before declared, that the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Soveraignty by violating their Laws, and therefore they broke his Seals in pieces, threw down his Arms in all Places, absolv'd the People from their Oaths of Allegiance, and said they were at liberty to chuse another Prince. And the Duke of *Anjou* having soon spent and consumed a great Mass of Money in the *Netherlands*, which he received from the Queen of *England*, and that without success; and now finding that they gave him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilst the Government and Management of all Affairs was wholly in the hands of the Estates, he rashly attempted to force *Antwerp* and other Cities, not without great loss of his own Men to no purpose, and then dishonourably left the *Netherlands* without doing any thing worthy of memory. A. D. 1582

He returns discontented.

Queen *Elizabeth*, to strengthen her self abroad against the *Spaniard*, whom she knew was exasperated against her without hope of reconciliation, chose *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark* into the Society of *the Order of St.* George: And for her better security at home, thought of compounding matters with the Q. of *Scots*, but was prevented by the Artifice of the *Guises*, who sought to deliver her by Force or Stratagem, and had underhand encouraged *Lenox* to detain the King A. D. 1583

The Queen's policy.

A. D. 1583

in *Ruthen Caſtle* againſt his Will, and ſo frighted and terrified him that he durſt not ſtir abroad: Of which the Queen of *Scots* ſadly complaining to the Queen of *England*, a ſerious Conſultation was held in the Council-Chamber of *England*, upon what terms that Queen might be ſet at liberty; but the *Scots* of the *Engliſh* Faction ſo far oppoſed all methods for her deliverance, that their debates had no effect. About this time dyed *Edmund Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a grave and religious Prelate. In his room ſucceeded *John Whitgift*, a very Pious and Learned Men, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a Schiſm in the Church, that the Papiſts were pleas'd at the diviſion, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good Man to take away theſe differences, and reſtore the Church to unity, propounded theſe Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Miniſters.

A Union endeavoured.

Firſt, *That the Queen had Supreme Power over all Perſons born in her Dominions, of what condition ſoever, and that no Foreign Prince or Prelate hath, or ought to have, any Power Civil or Eccleſiaſtical within her Dominions.*

Secondly, *That the Book of* Common Prayer, *and that other Book of Ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons contained nothing in them contrary to Gods Word, but might Lawfully be uſed; and that they ſhould uſe that, and no other Form, either of Prayer or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

Thirdly, *That they approved the Articles of the Synod at* London, *publiſhed by the Queens Authority in the year* 1562, *and believed the ſame to be Conſonant to Gods Word.*

Now it's almoſt incredible to believe what Controverſies and Diſputes, what hatred and reproachful Speeches he underwent from ſome Factious Miniſters, and what troubles and injuries he ſuffered from ſome Noblemen, who by promoting undeſerving Perſons cauſed diſtraction in the Church, or by gaping after its Revenues, ſought to divide and deſtroy it. Nevertheleſs by his Conſtancy, Courage and Patience, he overcame all difficulties, and at laſt reſtored the Church to Peace and Uniformity. The Papiſts both abroad and at home were very buſie in ſlandering the Queens Government, and forming Plots to take away her Life. Hereupon, as alſo upon Rumours from all parts, that great

great dangers were at hand, to prevent the wicked designs and treacherous practices of Seditious People, and to provide effectually for the Queens safety, upon which the welfare of Religion and the Kingdom depended, many Men of all Qualities, Degrees, and Conditions, throughout *England*, by *Leicester*'s means and out of their own care, and love, bound themselves in an *Association* by mutual Oaths, Subscriptions and Seals, as far as lay in their Power, to prosecute to Death all those that should attempt any thing against the *Queen*. The *Queen* of *Scots*, who easily perceived that her destruction was aimed at in this Association, being weary of imprisonment, and fearing harder measure, sent these Propositions to the Queen and Council by her Secretary *Nawe*.

A.D. 1583

The Association for the Queens safety.

A. D. 1584

Proposals for the Q. of Scots Liberty.

That if her liberty might be granted, and she assured of Queen Elizabeth's *Love, she would enter into a closer amity with the Queen, officiously love and observe her above all other Princes in Christendom, forget all past displeasures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightful Queen of* England, *forbear any claim to the Crown during her life, renounce the Arms of* England, *and the Popes Bull for deposing her, and confirm all this by Hostages. Moreover that she would alter nothing in* Scotland, *provided she and her family might be allowed the exercise of their own Religion. That she would bury in Oblivion all Injuries that had been done her in* Scotland, *upon condition that what had been enacted to her disgrace might be Repealed. That she would recommend such Councellors to the King as were well affected to Peace with* England, *and as far as lay in her power reconcile such of the Nobility as were fled. That she would do nothing about her Son's Marriage without acquainting the Queen: And as she would do nothing without the advice of her Son, so she desired that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that so it might be more strongly and solidly confirmed. She doubted not but the King of* France *would be her Surety in the business, and pass his word together with the Princes of the House of* Lorrain *for performance of Covenants.* She prayed a speedy answer to prevent inconveniences, and lastly, That she might be kept in freer Custody, that thereby the Queen's love towards her might be more plainly manifested.

A. D. 1584

Queen Elizabeth *inclined to free her.*

These Propoſals carrying a face of much Reſpect, and Honour, *Queen Elizabeth* ſeemed to be extreamly pleaſed with them, and it was believed by all, that ſhe really intended to ſet her at liberty; but when the buſineſs was upon the very point of concluding, it was daſht by the *Scots* of the contrary faction; who cried out, if ſhe was ſet at Liberty, there was no hope of the *Queen* of *England*'s ſafety, and if ſhe were admitted into partnerſhip with her Son in the Kingdom, that the true Religion in *Britain* was ruined, and both the Kingdoms undone: Not content with this, the *Scotch* Pulpits roared againſt the *Queen*, and audaciouſly beſpattered the King and Council; for which being ſummoned to appear before them, they peremptorily refuſed, as if the *Scotch* Clergy were exempted from the Authority of the Prince, and only Subject to the *Presbytery*.

She is removed to other keepers.

But new ſuſpicions being laid hold on, ſhe was removed out of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s cuſtody, and Committed to the care of Sir *Amias Pawlett*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that purpoſely as ſome imagined, that being thereby driven to deſpair, ſhe might take raſh counſels, and be the eaſier enſnared: For the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had kept her fifteen years with ſo much prudence and circumſpection, that he prevented all ways of attempting any thing either for or againſt her; but now ſhe importunes the Pope and the King of *Spain* by Sir *Francis Ingleſield* to haſten her deliverance whatever ſhould become of her. *Leiceſter* alſo, who people thought ſtudied to prevent her Succeſſion, privately ſent Cut-throat Murderers (as ſome report) to take away her Life; but *Drury*, being a ſincere honeſt Man, and one that abhorred ſo foul a Crime, would not admit them to ſee her; though privately Letters, as well counterfeit as true, were ſent to her, that puſhed her to Deſtruction.

This year dyed in *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickneſs which he contracted through Grief and Diſappointments, and in *Holland* dyed *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherouſly ſhot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*: The loſs of both which, gave the *Queen* a real ſorrow and affliction.

At this time a *Parliament* was assembled, and *William Parry*, by Nation a *Welchman*, of obscure Parents and a mean Estate, by Title a Doctor of Law, tho but indifferently learned; when a *Bill* was offered in the House of Commons against the *Jesuits*, he was the only man that spoke against it, saying, *the Law was cruel, desperate and of pernicious Consequence to the English Nation.* Being required to give his Reasons, he refused unless it were before the Queen and Council, upon which he was Committed to Custody; but his Reasons being heard, and Submission made, he was set at Liberty. Shortly after the same *Parry* was accused by *Edmond Nevil*, for being ingaged in a design to take away the *Queen*'s Life, which at first he confidently denied, but being confronted by *Nevil* and sent to the *Tower*, he voluntarily confess'd the fact, and said the reading of *Allen*'s Book against the *Justice of Britain*, wherein he taught that Princes Excommunicate for Heresie, might be deprived of Life, put him upon it. Some few days after he was arraigned at the King's-Bench-Bar, and Pleading Guilty to his Indictment, received the Sentence of Death. Five days after he was laid upon an Hurdle, drawn through the streets of *London* to *Westminster*, and without so much shew of Piety as to recommend himself to God, suffered the Death of a Traytor in the Court-yard of the Great Palace at *Westminster*, where was then a full Assembly of the Estates of the Realm met in Parliament. A. D. 1585

Parry Executed for Treason.

The Estates of *Holland* being now in great distress, fly to the *Queen* of *England* for Protection; upon which a Consultation was held, whether they were to be Protected or not. Some were of opinion that they should be immediately received and assisted, lest the *Spaniards* having subdued them should from thence endanger *England*. Others alledged that they were to be accounted Rebels, and unworthy of Succour, having cast off their Allegiance to their Prince, but those that were of this opinion, were reproached as enclining to the *Spanish* Interest, degenerated *Englishmen*, and faint-hearted Cowards. The *Queen* with great deliberation considered, that if they should put themselves under the Protection of the *French*, it might be prejudicial to the Kingdom, therefore she resolved to take them into her Protection, whilst all the Princes of Christendom admir'd at her Courage, which durst

A. D. 1585

engage in a War againſt ſo Potent a Monarchy as *Spain* was, and the King of *Sweden* ſaid, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had now taken the Crown from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful chance of War.*

War between the Engliſh *and* Spaniards.

War was now proclaimed, and that the Queen might not by delaying expect the War at her own doors, but give the *Spaniard* diverſion in his own Territories, She ſent Sir *Francis Drake* as Admiral, and *Chriſtopher Carliſle* as General of her Land Forces, to the *Weſt-Indies* with a Fleet of 21 Ships and 2300 Voluntier Soldiers, beſides Seamen; who on a ſudden ſurprized and took the Town of St. *Jago*. Not long after they took St. *Domingo*, which the Citizens redeemed, by paying 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up among them. From hence they ſailed to the Continent of *America*, and with great difficulty took the City of *Cartagena*. Here they continued Six-weeks compounding at laſt to ſpare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were preſently paid down, and equally ſhared among the Seamen and Soldiers which had moſt need, and beſides this, they got little Booty; for the Citizens having notice of their coming from *Hiſpaniola*, they had conveyed away their Richeſt Treaſure into remoter places, and the *Calenture* raging among them, and leſſening their numbers, forced them to lay aſide their deſign of taking *Nombre de Dios* and to ſail homewards. Then coaſting along the Shore of *Florida*, they took two Towns, St. *Anthony*'s and St. *Helen*'s, and burnt them. Holding their courſe they found certain Engliſhmen, who had ſeated themſelves in *Virginia*, ſo named in Honour of *Queen Elizabeth*, by that excellent Man, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who being in great want, Sir *Francis Drake* brought them back to their own Country, and theſe were the Men that firſt brought Tobacco into *England*.

Leiceſter *made General.*

At the latter end of this year, the Earl of *Leiceſter* ambitious of Command and Glory, croſſed the Sea into *Holland*, with the Title of *General of the Queen of* England's *Auxiliary Forces*, and was accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* and other Knights, beſides a ſelect Troop of five hundred Gentlemen. *Leiceſter* arriving at *Fluſhing* was entertained

tained by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* Governour of that place, and afterwards by the Cities of *Zealand* and *Holland* with all manner of Honour, Acclamations, Triumphal Arches, and Feasting; and at the *Hague* had the Title of *Governour and Captain General of* Holland, Zealand, *and all the United and Confederated Provinces*, given him in writing by the States General. And now being attended by a Noble Guard, saluted by all Men with the Title of *your Excellency*, and blown up with Flattery, he began to take upon as if he were a King; which the Queen ill resenting both in the Givers and the Takers, checkt his swelling Pride in this short Letter. A. D. 1585

A. D. 1586

The Queens angry Letter.

'How contemptibly you have carried your self towards Us, you will understand by this Messenger, 'whom We send to you for this purpose. We little 'thought one that We had raised out of the *Dust*, 'would with so great contempt have slighted and bro-'ken our Commands, in a matter of so great Conse-'quence, and so highly concerning Us and our Ho-'nour: Whereof tho you have but small regard, con-'trary to what you ought by your *Allegiance* to shew 'Us, yet think not that We are so careless of repair-'ing it, that We can bury such an injury in Oblivion. 'We therefore command you, all excuses apart, that 'forthwith upon the *Allegiance* you owe Us, you 'do whatsoever *Heneage* Our Vice Chamberlain shall 'make known unto you in Our Name, upon pain of 'farther Peril.

In another Letter to the States General, she thus expostulated with them. 'That they had to her Disgrace 'and without her knowledge, conferred the Absolute 'Government of the Confederated Provinces upon '*Leicester* her Subject, when she had absolutely refus-'ed it her self, and by a Publick Manifesto had declar-'ed to all the World that she intended only to relieve 'and succour her distressed Neighbours, and not to 'take the Soveraignty over them. She admonished 'them therefore to turn *Leicester* out of that absolute 'Authority, whose Commission she had limited. The States in humble manner write her Answer. 'That 'they were very sorry they had incurred her displea-'sure by granting absolute Authority to *Leicester* 'without her knowledge. They entreat her to be 'pacified considering the necessity thereof; forasmuch

A. D. 1586

'as ſuch an Authority was neceſſary to be granted to 'one or other, to avoid Troubles and Diſſentions, 'and to revoke the Authority already granted, were 'nothing elſe but to plung the State of the *Netherlands* 'into extreme danger. By theſe Letters of the States and the ſorrowful Lines of *Leiceſter*, who knew well enough how with Tears and a pretended Sorrow for what was paſt, to reconcile himſelf to his mild and good natured Princeſs, her Diſpleaſure vaniſhed by degrees till it was forgotten. Now the Prince of *Parma* beſieged *Grave* which was reſigned to him by *Van Hemart* the Governour, a young raw Man, and unskilled in Military affairs, for which he afterwards ſuffered Death as a Terror to others. After that *Parma* took *Venlo*, whilſt in other parts Sir *Philip Sidney* and *Grave Maurice* the Prince of *Orange*'s Son, ſurprized *Axele*, and Sir *William Pelham* General of the Engliſh Horſe ranged all over *Brabant*. From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* march'd to *Berck*, which was garriſon'd with 1200 Engliſh under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*, and laid Siege to it. To raiſe this Siege *Leiceſter* made haſt thither, but finding himſelf under great diſadvantages, he turned off and beſieged *Doesbourg*, which was yielded to him before the Prince of *Parma* could be drawn from *Berck* to relieve it. A convoy being ſent to *Zutphen*, the Engliſh in a Fog fell upon the Spaniards and tho they were fewer in number overthrew a Troop of Horſe under the Command of *George Creſſiac* an *Albanois*, and took him Priſoner, after he was unhorſed by the Lord *Willoughby*; *Hannibal Gonzago* and many others being ſlain. Of the Engliſh few were miſſing but the brave Sir *Philip Sidney*, who, having his Horſe killed under him, was ſhot into the Thigh as he was mounting another, and died five and twenty days after. He died in the Flower of his Age, lamented by all good Men, having ſcarce out-lived his Father four Months: For whom his Uncle *Leiceſter* at his return into *England* made a ſplendid military Funeral in St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*. *James* King of *Scots* honoured him with an Epitaph; both the *Univerſities* condoled his loſs in mournful Dirges, and *New College* in *Oxford*, publiſhed an elegant deſcription of his Atchievements. Theſe and far greater Honours his great Vertue, Excellent Wit, Exquiſite Learning, Profound

She is pacified.

Sir Philip Sidney *killed.*

Judg-

Judgment, and Sweet Conditions deſerved, and will be remembred with Love and Admiration till time ſhall be no more. A.D. 1586

Leiceſter, tho full of ſorrow for the loſs of his Nephew, vigorouſly aſſaulted the Sconces near *Zutphen*; and the better to take the Town, he took the Iſland in the River, and in it the Principal Fort: Then ſetting upon the leſſer Fort, he took it by the valour of *Edward Stanly*, who laying hold on a Spaniards Pike that was thruſt at him, held it ſo faſt that he was drawn up into the Sconce by it, which ſo terrified the *Spaniards* that they quitted it. *Leiceſter* Knighted *Stanly* for his Courage, and gave him forty pounds Engliſh in hand, and a yearly Penſion of a hundred Marks during Life. And now *Leiceſter* having blocked up *Zutphen*, and put his Men into Winter quarters, he returned to the *Hague*, where he was but indifferently received by the States General, and inſtead of Congratulations, heard nothing but complaints of his ill Conduct, miſapplying their Money, and many other matters, which he pacified with good words, and promiſing redreſs for the future, took his leave and returned into *England*. *Leiceſter returns into* England.

Now the long deſired League betwixt *England* and *Scotland* was agreed upon and mutually confirm'd, and the ſame month a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the Queen was diſcovered. Some Fugitive Prieſts in the *Seminary* at *Rheims* had perſwaded one *Savage*, a Baſtard Born, and a perſon fit to undertake any Villainy, that it was a meritorious Act to kill Queen *Elizabeth*, and he readily engaged to do it; but that ſo great a matter might not be intruſted in one hand, ſeveral others as *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Edward Windſor*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Charles Tilney*, *Chidiock Tichburn*, *Edward Abington*, *Robert Gage of Surry*, *John Travers*, *John Charnock*, *John Jones*, ---*Barnwell*, *Henry Dun*, and the Queen of *Scots* two Secretaries. One *Polly* alſo inſinuated himſelf into their Company a Man who perfectly underſtood all the Queen of *Scots* affairs, a cunning Counterfeit, who was thought to have revealed all their Conſultations to Secretary *Walſingham*, and to have wheedled the young Gentlemen into this deſperate Conſpiracy, though *Nawe*, the Queen of *Scots* Secretary, had given them notice to beware of him. To theſe men *Babington* breaks the deſign, *A Conſpiracy againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

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sign, but not all the parts to every one of them. The Conspirators often met at Taverns, where they every day consulted expedients, and drank and feasted merrily, pleasing themselves in the expectation of great Honours and were grown to such an heighth of vanity, that those men who were appointed to be the *Assassins*, were pictured to the life, and *Babington* in the midst of them, with this verse,

Hi mihi sunt Comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.
These men are my Companions, invited by real dangers.

Traytors betrayed.

This being too easily understood, they laid it aside and put in *Quorsum hæc alio properantibus*, To what purpose are these things to men that are hastning to another end? but whilst they thought Heaven was a stranger to their design, *Walsingham* had wrought himself into a glimmering knowledge of it, and afterwards by the means of one *Gifford*, whose Conscience checkt him in the prosecution of such a barbarous design, and therefore voluntarily discover'd the whole matter to him, all their Letters of Foreign Correspondence, and also with the *Queen of Scots*, were brought to *Walsingham*, who open'd them, Copyed them, found out the *Cypher*, and sealed them up again so artificially, that no man could imagine they had been opened, and then caused them to be delivered as directed. Thus were intercepted the Letters between the *Queen of Scots* and *Babington*, and between her and *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador.

As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* understood by these Letters the dreadful storm that hover'd over her both at Home and Abroad, she caused *Ballard* to be apprehended, upon which *Babington*, *Gage*, *Charnock*, *Tichburn* and *Dun* absconded at *Bellamies* at *Harrow on the Hill*, where at length they were all taken, brought up to *London*, and cut one anothers throats by their open Confessions. All this while the Queen of *Scots* and her Servants were so strictly watched by *Paulet* that she was utterly ignorant of these occurrences, tho' they were known to all *England* besides. When the Conspirators were all apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorges* was sent to give her notice of it, to amuse her as she was taking Horse to ride a Hunting, nor was she suffered to reurn, but was carried from one Gentlemans house to another, under pretence of

doing

doing her Honour, while Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aſton*, Sir *Richard Bagot* and Mr. *William Ward* committed *Nawe* and *Curl*, her two Secretaries to ſeveral Keepers, that they might have no Conference with the Queen or one another. Then breaking open the doors of her Privy Cloſet, they ſent all the Cabinets, wherein her Letters were kept, to the Court which being ſearched before Queen *Elizabeth*, there were found many Letters from Perſons beyond the Seas, about ſixty Indexes of private Cypers, Characters, and Letters from *Engliſh* Noblemen full of expreſſions of Love, Reſpect and Kindneſs, which Queen *Elizabeth* concealed in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, *I ſee, but ſay nothing.* A. D. 1586

The Queen of Scots Papers ſeized.

On *September* the 17*th.* 1586, ſeven of the Conſpirators were Arraigned, and pleading Guilty were Condemned to die. Two days after ſeven more of them pleading not Guilty, were Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quartered, and on the twentieth of the ſame month a Gallows being ſet up in St. *Giles*'s in the Fields, near the place where they uſed to meet; the firſt ſeven were all executed as Traytors.

The Conſpirators convicted and executed.

Ballard the firſt Conſpirator, asked Pardon of God and the Queen if he had ſinned againſt her. *Babington*, who beheld *Ballard*'s Execution without any kind of concern, ingenuouſly acknowledged his offence. *Savage* broke the Rope and fell down from the Gallows, but was ſeized by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out alive. *Barnwel* extenuated his offence upon the account of Religion and Conſcience. *Tichburn* humbly acknowledged his crime, and moved the Spectators to commiſerate his condition; but *Abington*, a Man of a turbulent ſpirit, menaced the Nation with a Bloody Revenge. The next day the other ſeven were Executed at the ſame place, but by the Queens command with leſs ſeverity, for they all hung till they were dead before they were Bowelled. *Salisbury* died very penitent, and ſo did *Dun* that followed him; *Jones* laid the blame upon *Babington*. *Charnock* and *Travers* employed their time in prayer, and recommended themſelves to God and his Saints. *Gage* extoll'd the Queen Bounty to his Father, and reproach'd himſelf as Perfidious and Ungrateful to his Princeſs, to whom he

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he was so infinitely obliged. *Hierom Bellamy*, who concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor, died in a deep silence and confusion.

The Queen of Scots accused.

Nawe a *Frenchman*, and *Curl* a *Scotchman*, who were Secretaries to the *Queen* of *Scots*, having voluntarily confessed, that the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Cyphers found in the *Queens* Closet, were of their own hand writings, as they were dictated from the *Queens* mouth in *French* to *Nawe*, and Translated into *English* by *Curl*, and so wrote in *Cyphers*: The next Question was what should be done with the *Q.* of *Scots*. The Council were divided in their opinions about it; some were for treating her with mildness, and only confine her to stricter Custody, because she was not the Author of the mischief, but only an Accessary to it, and being sickly and not likely to live long, it was pity to add to her afflictions. Others were of opinion, that for the security of Religion, she was forthwith to be put to death by Law, and to that end Commissioners were appointed to try her by an Act made the last year, against all *that should raise Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any violence against the Q.*

Her answer to the Queen's Letters.

The greatest part of the Commissioners met at *Fotheringhay Castle* in *Northamptonshire*, upon the 11th. of *October* 1586, where the *Queen* of *Scots* was then in Custody. The next day *Queen Elizabeth's* Letters were sent to her, which she read with a composed Countenance, without any sign of grief or fear, saying, *It grieves me that the Queen my dear Sister is misinform'd concerning me, and that after so many years Imprisonment, by which I am grown lame of my Limbs, and have been wholly neglected, and after I have offered so many reasonable conditions for my Liberty, the Queen should command me as a Subject to submit to a Tryal. I am an absolute Q. and will do nothing that shall be prejudicial to Royal Majesty. My mind is not so far dejected, nor will I faint or sink under this Calamity. I refer my self to what I formerly protested before* Bromley, *now Chancellor, and the Lord* Le War. *I am a stranger to the Laws and Statutes of* England, *destitute of Councellors, and who shall be my Peers, I cannot tell. My Papers and Notes are taken from me, and no Man dares to be my Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing against the Queen, I have raised no Commotions, and am not to be charged but upon my own Words or Writings, which*

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I am sure cannot be produced against me. Yet can I not deny but that I have recommended my self and my condition to Foreign Princes. A.D. 1586

The next day *Paulett* and *Barker* went to her again from the Commissioners, to let her know that her answer was put into Writing, and to enquire whether she pleased to stand to it: To which she answered she would; but this said she, I had quite forgotten, and desire it may be added, *That whereas the Queen writes that I am subject to the Laws of* England, *and liable to be Tryed and Judged by them, because I have lived under the Protection of them. I answer that I came into* England *to crave her Aid and Assistance, and ever since have been detained in Prison, so that I could not enjoy the Protection or Benefit of the Laws of* England; *nay, I could never yet understand from any Man what manner of Laws they were.* In the afternoon some came to her that were deputed from the Commissioners, with Men Learned in the Civil and Canon Law, to shew her, that neither her Imprisonment, nor her Prerogative of Royal Majesty, could exempt her from answering in this Kingdom, and therefore advised her to hear what would be objected against her: Otherwise they threatned that by Authority of the Law, they could, and must proceed against her, tho she was absent. *An additional Answer.*

To which she answered, *That she was no Subject, and would die a thousand deaths before she would acknowledge her self to be one, for by so doing she should both injure the Majesty of Princes, and subject her self to the Laws and even to the Religion of* England. *Nevertheless she was ready to answer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this meeting, it was, for ought she knew, devised against her, to give some colour to a legal Proceeding; but let them,* says she, *look to their Consciences, and remember that the Theatre of the whole World is larger than the Kingdom of* Engl. *Her reply to the Commissioners.*

After this several messages pass'd between her and the Commissioners, and also several personal Conferences, which at last induced her to submit to a Trial, wherein she was charged *with designs to invade the Realm, to depose the Queen and take away her Life.* The Facts were prov'd out of the Confessions and Letters of *Ballard* and *Babington*; all which she denied, and with great presence of Mind and modesty of Behaviour, vindicated her own Innocency. The

Court

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Court ſat three ſeveral times, only reiterating the ſame Charge, and the ſame Defences. Then the Court was Adjourned till the 25th. of *October* to the *Star Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*.

Sentence pronounced againſt her.

On that day all the Commiſſioners met, except the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, which were both of them ſick: And after *Nawe* and *Curl* had upon Oath, *Vivâ Voce*, voluntarily avowed, affirmed and juſtified, all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced, to be true and real, Sentence of death was pronounced againſt the *Queen* of *Scots*, confirmed under the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, and the Reaſons for it Recorded in theſe words, 'By their 'unanimous Aſſents and Conſents, they do pronounce 'and deliver this their Sentence and Judgment, for that 'ſince the Firſt day of *June*, in the 27th. year afore-'ſaid; divers matters have been compaſſed and i-'magined within this Realm of *England*, by *An-'thony Babington* and others, with the Privity of the 'ſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this 'Realm of *England*, tending to the Hurt, Death 'and Deſtruction of our ſaid Lady the Queen. And alſo 'that ſince the Firſt day of *June*, the aforeſaid *Mary* 'pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of *Eng-'land*, hath compoſed and imagined divers matters, 'tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the 'Royal Perſon of our Sovereign Lady the Q. contrary 'to the Statute in the Commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecified.

This Sentence which depended ſolely upon the credit of the *Queen* of *Scots* two Secretaries, occaſioned variety of Diſcourſes, while ſome People thought them worthy of Credit, and others, as a couple of Fellows not to be believed. However, the ſame day a Declation was publiſhed by the Commiſſioners and the Judges of the Land, *That the ſaid Sentence did not prejudice* James *King of* Scots, *in his Title or Honour; but that he was in the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as if the ſaid Sentence had never been pronounced.* After this followed a Parliamentary Proſcription of the Lord *aget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Ingleſield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney* and the Confiſcation of their Eſtates.

The King of Scots *cajol'd.*

The Parliaments Addreſs.

The Parliament having in their Votes approved and confirmed the Sentence given againſt the Queen of *Scots*,

Scots, preſented their Petition to the Q. by the hands of the Lord Chancellor, wherein they deſire, for the preſervation of Chriſts true Religion, the ſecurity of the Realm, the preſervation of the *Queens* Perſon, and the ſafety of themſelves and their Poſterities, that the Sentence given againſt *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, according to the Law, might be publiſhed and executed. A. D. 1586

The Queens anſwer.

The *Queen* with great Majeſty in her Speech and Countenance, after ſhe had commemorated the Goodneſs of God, and the extraordinary Love and Care of her Subjects in her preſervation, was pleaſed to tell them, 'That ſince the matter before her was of great 'Conſequence, and that there were few or no Exam-'ples to direct her Judgment, ſhe hoped they did not 'expect a preſent reſolution from her, whoſe cuſtom 'in matters of far leſs importance is to be long in deli-'berating, where it can be but once determined. In 'the mean time ſhe deſired God to illuminate her un-'derſtanding and direct her heart, that ſhe might re-'ſolve upon what was moſt to Gods Glory, and the 'good of his Church and People; and that, *ſays ſhe*, 'delay may breed no danger, we will ſignifie our re-'ſolutions to you with all conveniency. And whatever 'the beſt of Subjects may expect from the beſt of Prin-'ces, that you may always expect to receive from me.

She is in great perplexity.

Twelve days after, having ſeriouſly conſidered the whole affair, and being in conflict with her ſelf, what to determine in ſo nice and important a buſineſs, ſhe ſent the Lord Chancellor to the Houſe of Lords, and *Pickering* to the Houſe of Commons, requiring them *to conſult again on this weighty matter, and if it were poſſible to find out ſome more gratiful expedient, whereby the Queen of* Scots *life might be ſpared, and proviſion be made for hers and their own ſafety.* But the Lords and Commons returned the ſame Reply that their Addreſs contained, *viz.* That there could be no expedient thought of, for the preſervation of Religion, the *Queen*, and the Realm, but by putting the Sentence againſt the *Queen* of *Scots* in Execution. The *Queen* being haraſs'd with various thoughts, about the Conſequence of what was requeſted by both Houſes, and the reflections that would be made upon her, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer the Life of a *Queen and her neareſt Kinſwoman* to be taken away by the bloody hands of an Executioner, ſcarce knew whether to ſpeak

or

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An answer without an answer.

or be silent, and therefore *desired them to accept of an Answer without an Answer. Your Judgments*, says the Queen, *I don't condemn, nor mistake your reasons; but I must desire you to excuse those doubts that almost distract my mind, and rest contented with my thankful esteem of your kindness, and the answer I have given, if you will allow it to be one. If I should say I will not answer your desires, peradventure I might say more than I intend; and if I should say I will do it, I might throw my self into as great inconveniences as those you endeavour to prevent, which I am confident your Wisdoms will not desire, when all Circumstances are considered.* After this the Parliament was Prorogued.

About this time the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beale* were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her know that Sentence was pronounced against her, that it was approved and confirmed by Authority of Parliament as Just and Lawful, and Execution immediately desired, since as long as she lived the Religion of *England* could not be secured. At this she rejoiced exceedingly, and gave God thanks that she was taken to be an Instrument for the re-establishing the Popish Religion in *England*, earnestly desiring that she might have a Romish Priest allowed her, to direct her Conscience, and prepare her for death, and smartly retorted upon the *English* Nation, *That they were accustomed to put their Kings to death upon every trivial occasion, no wonder therefore if they exercised their Cruelty upon her who was of the same Royal Blood.* The publication of the Sentence being made known to her, she was so far from being dismayed at the news, that lifting up her Eyes and Hands to Heaven she gave thanks to God for delivering her from a miserable Life into a state of Glory.

A smart repartee.

In the mean time the King of *Scots* her Son laboured all he could to save her life, and omitted nothing that became a Dutiful Son and a Wise and Prudent King; but without any kind of success, for the *Scots* were so torn by intestine quarrels, and so divided into Factions, that some of them solicited *Queen Elizabeth* to hasten her Execution. The *French* King also by special Ambassadors interceded for her Life, but it had the same effect with the former, and therefore the *French* Ambassador *L' Aubespine*, a Man wholly devoted to the *Guises*, practised to take away the *Queen*'s

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life

life by Poyſon or by conveying a bag of *Gun-powder* under her Bed, and giving fire to it. By theſe attempts, thoſe that hated the Queen of *Scots* took occaſion to haſten her death, and to terrifie the Queen they cauſed reports to be ſpread all over *England*, *That the* Spaniſh *Fleet was already in* Milford Haven, *That the* Scots *were broke into* England, *That the Duke of* Guiſe *was landed with an Army in* Suſſex, and, *That there was a new Conſpiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and to burn the City of* London, with other ſuch ridiculous ſtories, which crafty Politicians and timorous Fools, are wont to impoſe upon the credulous Mobility, which coming thick upon the neck of one another, the *Queen* was over perſwaded to ſign a *Warrant* for her *Execution*, and one of the Perſons that puſht her upon this extremity, was ſaid to be *Patrick Gray*, a *Scot*, who was ſent on purpoſe by the King of *Scots* to diſſwade her from it, and yet was always buzzing in the *Queens* Ear, *Mortua non mordet*, *The dead never bite*. The Courtiers alſo were continually urging the ſame point; ſome *Preachers*, more tartly than became their Functions, aggravated the matter, and the *Vulgar Fry*, either out of hope or fear, ſawcily exerciſed their Wits at pleaſure upon the ſame deplorable Subject.

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Rumours raiſed to fright the Queen.

In the midſt of theſe doubtful and perplexed thoughts the *Queen* gave her ſelf wholly up to a ſolitary and melancholy Life, ſitting ſilently, and frequently ſighing out, *Aut ſer, aut feri*, *Either bear with her or puniſh her*: At laſt from theſe words, *Ne feriare feri*, *Strike leſt thou be ſtricken*, ſhe delivered a Writing to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant to be drawn up for her Execution, to lie in readineſs if any Commotion ſhould happen; and commanded him to acquaint no Man with it; the next day her mind changed, and ſhe commanded *Daviſon* by *William Killigrew* that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn; but *Daviſon* came to the *Queen* and told her it was drawn and under Seal already. The *Queen* ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and blamed him for making ſo much haſte: Notwithſtanding he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and whole matter, and eaſily perſwaded them, who were apt to believe what they ſo much deſired, that the *Queen* had commanded it ſhould be Executed. Hereupon *Beale*, who in reſpect of Religion, of all others was

A Warrant for Execution.

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the *Queen* of *Scots* moſt deadly Enemy, was without delay ſent down with a Warrant (and one or two Executioners) wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to ſee her Executed: And all this without the *Queen's* knowledge, nay, expreſly againſt her Order, for ſhe had told *Daviſon* that ſhe would take another courſe with the *Queen* of *Scots*, and yet he would not command *Beale* to deſiſt and come back again.

Daviſon's *treachery.*

As ſoon as the Earls came to *Fotheringhay*, they together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed, went to the *Q.* told her the end of their coming, read the Warrant to her, and in few words admoniſhed her to prepare her ſelf, for ſhe was to die the next morning. The *Queen* undauntedly and with a noble Courage and Reſolution above her Sex, made this anſwer. *I did not think the Queen my Siſter would have conſented to my death, who am not ſubject to her Laws; but ſeeing it is her pleaſure,* Death *is moſt welcome to me, for I account that Soul unworthy of everlaſting joys, whoſe body cannot contentedly ſuffer the ſtroke of an Executioner.* She deſired to have conference with her *Almoner*, her *Confeſſor*, and *Melvin* the Maſter of her Houſhold. Her Confeſſor was poſitively denied her, and the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborough* was recommended to comfort her, but ſhe refuſed their aſſiſtance. When the Earls had took their leaves ſhe went to Supper, and ſeeing all her Servants, both Men and Women weeping, and lamenting exceſſively, ſhe comforted them with great Piety and Magnanimity of Spirit, and commanded them *rather to rejoyce that ſhe was quickly to be freed from a world of Miſeries.*

The Queen of Scots *Execution.*

The fatal day, *February* the Eighth, being come, ſhe dreſſed her ſelf in as much ſtate as ſhe uſed to do at Feſtivals, and calling her Servants, commanded her Will to be read, praying their acceptance of the ſmall Legacies ſhe had given them, having no ability to extend her kindneſs in greater matters. Then retiring to her Oratory ſhe continued in Sighs, Groans, and Prayers, till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her, that ſhe ſhould come out to Suffer. And forth ſhe came in State with a Majeſtick and compoſed Countenance, a Chearful Look, and in modeſt Habit.

Habit. Her head covered with a linen Veil hanging down to the ground, her *Beads* at her Girdle, and carrying an Ivory *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch she was met by the Noblemen, where *Melvin* her Servant falling on his Knees, and pouring out abundance of Tears, bitterly lamented his misfortune, that he must be the unhappy Messenger to *Scotland* of the woful Fate and unhappy Death of his *Queen* and Mistress. *She comforted him, and bid him rejoice, for by and by he should see* Mary Stewart *freed from all her cares and troubles*, bid him commend her to her Son, and be a faithful Servant to him. A. D. 1587

Then turning to the Lords, she desired that her Servants might be used civilly, and quietly enjoy the Legacies she had given them; that they might stand by her at her Death, and afterwards be safely conveyed into their own Country. The former requests were granted, but the Earl of *Kent* scrupled their being present at her Death, for fear of acting some Superstitious Ceremony. *Fear it not*, said the Queen, *these harmless souls only desire to take their last farewel of their Mistress, and I know my Sister* Elizabeth *would not deny that my Women should be present, for the Honour and Decency of her Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from* Henry *the Seventh, Queen* Dowager *of* France, *and the Anointed Queen of* Scotland. Then it was granted that such of her Servants should be present, whom she should please to name, which were *Melvin*, *Burgoign*, her Physician, her Apothecary, her Chirurgeon, two of her Women, and others, among which *Melvin* carried up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff of the County going before her, she came to the *Scaffold*, which was built at the upper end of the Hall, on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion and a Block covered with black cloth. *Beale* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech of her Life, past, present, and to come. The *Queen* interrupted him once or twice, *desired him to give himself no further trouble, protesting she was immoveably fixt in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now came to shed her blood for it.* When the Dean perswaded her to a sincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Christ; she answered, that *in that Religion she was born and bred, and now was ready to die for it.*

Her requests for her Servants.

Her aversion to the Protestant Religion.

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The Lords ſaid they would pray for her, to whom ſhe replied, *That ſhe would give them hearty thanks if they would pray with her*; *But*, ſaid the Queen, *to join in Prayer with you who are of another perſwaſion, would be a heinous ſin.* Then the Lords ordered the Dean to pray, with whom while the multitude that ſtood round about were praying, ſhe fell upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her, prayed in Latin with her Servants, out of a Book called the Office of the *Bleſſed Virgin Mary.*

Her Pious Death and Burial.

When the Dean had made an end of praying, ſhe in Engliſh recommended the Church, her Son, and *Queen Elizabeth* to God's protection and bleſſing, forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms O Chriſt were extended upon the Croſs, ſo, Lord, receive me with the out-ſtretched Arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my ſins.* While her Women with floods of Tears, were taking off her upper Garments, ſhe kiſſed them affectionately, ſigned them with the *Croſs*, and with a pleaſant Countenance bid them forbear their Womaniſh lamentations, *for now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her ſorrows.* Now having covered her Face, and laying her ſelf down to the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my truſt, let me never be confounded*; then ſtretching forth her body, ſhe ſaid many times, *into thy hand, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*; and at two ſtrokes her head was ſevered from her Body: The Dean crying out, *So let the Enemies of Queen* Elizabeth *periſh*, and the Earl of *Kent*, anſwering *Amen*, and the multitude ſighing and ſorrowing. Her Body was embalmed and with a Royal Funeral interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough.*

Her Deſcent and Character in little.

This deplorable end had *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, Great Grand-daughter to *Henry* VII. King of *England* by his eldeſt Daughter, in the Six and Fortieth year of her Age, and the Eighteenth of her Impriſonment. A Lady conſtant to her own Religion, of ſingular Piety towards God, of many rare and exemplary Virtues, but ſtill croſs'd with the frowns of Fortune, which never any bore with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the laſt. Her death was lamented by many, and ſome particular Friend had the Courage to ſhew it in affixing near her Sepulchre the fol-

following Inſcription. *Mary Queen of* Scotland, *Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of* France, *Kinſwoman and next Heir to the Queen of* England, *adorned with Royal Virtues and a Princely Spirit; having often, but in vain implored to have the Right done her that was due to a Prince, the Ornament of our age and mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical cruelty is cut off; and by one and the ſame infamous judgment, both* Mary *Queen of* Scotland *is puniſhed with death, and all Kings living made liable to the ſame ſtroke. A ſtrange kind of Grave is this, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the aſhes of this bleſſed* Mary *thou ſhalt know, that the Majeſty of all Kings and Princes lies here depreſſed and violated. But becauſe the Regal Secret admoniſhes all Kings of their duty, Traveller, I will ſay no more.* The Author hereof being unknown and not to be found, it was taken down. A. D. 1587

As ſoon as the report of her death reached *Queen Elizabeth*'s knowledge, who little thought ſuch a piece of Cruelty had been acted, ſhe heard it with ſuch a mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew Pale and Sorrowful, her Speech faultred, her Spirits failed her, and ſhe was under ſo great an Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion that ſhe had no enjoyment of her Life, Company ſeemed a burden, and her whole mein was diſcompoſed, inſomuch that ſhe gave her ſelf up to Grief and Melancholy, put on cloſe Mourning, ſhed abundance of Tears, ſeverely rebuked her *Council*, commanded them out of her preſence, and ordered *Daviſon* to be tried in the *Star-Chamber*. Thus ſhe continued for ſome time, but as ſoon as Grief would give her leave ſhe wrote as follows to the King of *Scots*, and ſent it by Mr. *Robert Cary*, a Son of the Lord *Hunſdon*. *Queen Elizabeth troubled at it.*

My deareſt Brother, 'I would to God thou knew-
'eſt, but not that thou felteſt the incomparable grief
'my mind is perplexed with upon this lamentable ac-
'cident, which is happened contrary to my meaning
'and intention, which ſince my Pen trembles to men-
'tion, you will fully underſtand by this my Kinſman.
'I requeſt you, that as God and many others can wit-
'neſs my innocency in this matter, ſo you will alſo be-
'lieve that if I had commanded it, I would never de-
'ny it, for as I know it has deſervedly happened to *Her Letter to the King of Scots.*

A. D. 1587

'her, ſo if I had intended it I would not have laid 'it upon others, but I will never charge my ſelf with 'that which I had not ſo much as thought of. God 'preſerve you long in Health and Safety.

When Mr. *Cary* arrived in *Scotland*, the King refuſed to give him Audience, or receive his Letter, which he acquainting the Queen with, ſhe directed him to apply himſelf to the *Council*, for poſſibly the King might take information from them, tho he denied her Agent acceſs to his Perſon; which after ſome delay had effect, and with the Queens Letter he alſo delivered the following Writing. *Ms. Cary's Declaration.*

'Whereas 'the Queens Majeſty my Miſtreſs deſires to have 'your Majeſty truly informed of the Death of the 'Queen your Mother, and how it came to paſs, and 'has commanded me ſince I am denied your Preſence, 'to declare my Meſſage to ſome of your Council, I 'have thought fit to put it into Writing, becauſe words 'may be miſtaken, and my charge may be better per-'formed by this method. Firſt, ſhe commanded me 'to aſſure your Majeſty, that it never entred her 'thoughts to put your Mother to Death, notwith-'ſtanding the daily perſwaſions of her Council, the 'ſupplications of the Nobility, Knights and Gentle-'men, and the daily Out-cries of her poor People 'and Commonalty, wherewith ſhe was wearied, and 'out of meaſure grieved to ſee their determinations 'fixed that way. And that upon advertiſements co-'ming every day unto her, that Ships and Men were 'preparing in *France* and *Spain*, to invade her Realm, 'and reports of breaking open *Fotheringhay Caſtle*, 'and the Queen your Mother's eſcape. Now leſt ſhe 'ſhould be unprovided in any ſuch extremity, ſhe 'ſigned a Warrant to her Council to do what they 'thought beſt with your Mother: Which Warrant 'ſhe delivered to her Secretary Mr. *Daviſon*, to be 'kept, not intending he ſhould deliver it out of his 'hands, unleſs ſome Invaſion from abroad, or Inſur-'rection of Rebels at home, were made to procure 'her Liberty. But her Secretary, contrary to her 'commands, having ſhewed the Warrant to two or 'three of the Council, they call'd the whole toge-'ther, and preſently ſent a Mandate for her Execu-'tion; which was done, ſhe proteſts to God, before 'ſhe knew of it. Hereupon the Secretary is commit-

'ted

'ted, and will not escape her high Displeasure. This 'is the effect of my Message, which if I could express 'so dolefully as a heavy heart made her utter it, I be- 'lieve your Majesty would rather pity her for her ex- 'tream grief, than blame her for an Act which she 'never consented to. A. D. 1587

This Declaration gave the King no satisfaction, for 'twas a Jest to think the Council would presume to take away his Mothers Life, without the Queen's knowledge; and for the prosecution of the *Secretary* he accounted it but a sham, which could no way repair the injury he had suffered. Nor wanted he some Malecontents about him to encourage him to revenge it, as an indignity put upon the whole Nation: Which the Queen understanding, she laboured by her able Ministers, of which she was never unprovided, to appease his mind and divert him from the War he intended. These working privately with the King of *Scots* chiefest Councellors, and those of his *Chamber*, which he was known to affect, they kept off things from breaking out into open Hostility, which was every day expected. First, Secretary *Walsingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlstane*, who was then most in Credit, and had the chief Administration of Affairs, proposed divers weighty and important considerations to keep the King from such Resolutions, and because his Letter contained the true Reasons that in the end perswaded his Majesty to forbear any violent course, and take more calm and prudent measures, I thought fit to accommodate the Reader with the Principal Contents of it.

Secretary Walsingham's Letter.

'*Sir*, Being absent from Court at the late Execu- 'tion of the Queen your Soveraign's Mother, at my 'return I wrote to Mr. *Douglass*, what course the 'King's best Friends here, thought was fit for him to 'take in this remedileſs accident, for continuance of 'Peace and Amity between the two Crowns; but 'finding him unwilling to concern himself, I thought 'good to write to you for the same purpose. And the 'rather because I hear your King seems inclined to '*War*, to revenge his Mothers death, which as I am 'sorry to hear, so I have reason to hope that his Maje- 'sty being of such an excellent Judgment himself, by 'the good Advice of such as you are, in Credit and Au-

A. D. 1586

'thority about him, Men of Wiſdom and Experience, 'whom he will hear, this miſchief may be prevented, 'if all things are duly conſidered; for not to ſtand 'upon the Juſtneſs of the Quarrel, conſider how your 'Sovereign will be able to go through with ſuch an 'enterpriſe if he undertake it, ſince the Forces of 'his own Kingdom are far inferior to thoſe in *England*, and to expect aſſiſtance from *Spain* or *France* 'is a meer Chimera; for conſidering the accuſtomed 'delays, and after long ſolicitation the ſimple Supplies that are commonly found at theſe Princes hands, 'as alſo how doubtful the ſucceſs of War may prove, '*England*, God be thanked, being ſo well able to defend it ſelf, and being aſſiſted by Sea with *Holland* and *Zealand*, need not fear what all the Potentates of *Europe* can do to annoy her. This being 'thought of, your Sovereign will ſcarce embark himſelf and Eſtate in ſuch an unneceſſary War: But 'much more if you conſider what a *Train of Dangers* it carries along with it; for if he ſhould eſcape being ſlain in the field, yet if he ſhould be taken Priſoner, or be forced to fly the Kingdom, for 'ſuch things have often happened, having incenſed 'all *England* againſt him, he will be put by any Right 'in the Succeſſion of this Crown, (as Authority is 'given to do it by the ſame Statute whereby they 'proceeded againſt the Mother) for attempting to 'Invade this Kingdom, what extremity would he be 'reduced to. Beſides, the *Nobilty* by whoſe Judgment the late Queen was Condemned, and the *Gentry* that confirmed it in *Parliament*, would adventure 'any thing, even to the marching over their Bellies, 'rather than yield to his Government, who being ſo 'vindictive, they might doubt would one day call their 'Lives and Honours in queſtion,

'For theſe Reaſons it will appear moſt reaſonable 'to all Men of Judgment, not tranſported with paſſion or byaſſed by private reſpects, that your Sovereign ſhould treat the Queen with a Princely moderation on this unhappy occaſion, and ſeek to 'win the good will of the Engliſh Nation, as his 'beſt aſſurance of their future reſpects; to depend 'either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain* 'to gain the poſſeſſion of this Crown, would be a 'very deſperate courſe; for 'tis unſafe for any Prince

'to

'to repoſe his ſtrength upon their aſſiſtance and fa-
'vours, whoſe greatneſs may impeach their own de-
'ſigns, and 'tis againſt common reaſon to expect they
'will aſſiſt him further than conſiſts with their own
'pretenſions, whereof neither of the two Princes can
'joyn with your Sovereign for his good. A.D. 1586

'Firſt, Becauſe his *Religion* is odious to them both,
'and likely to prove moſt prejudicial to the *Popiſh In-*
'*tereſt*, when he ſhall be ſo great as the Union of the
'two Crowns will make him. Next it is wholly re-
'pugnant to the *Intereſt* and *Policy* of *France* to ſuf-
'fer the uniting of *England* and *Scotland*, were it
'but meerly out of Conſideration of the *Ancient*
'*Claim* that *England* makes to that Crown, wherein
'much *Scotiſh* Blood has been formerly ſpent in *French*
'Quarrels about it. As for the King of *Spain*, the
'Donation of this Crown made him by the late Q.
'of *Scots* in her Letters, with a Promiſe to confirm
'it by her Teſtament, ought to breed ſuſpicions in
'your Sovereigns Head, and give him opportunity
'to conſider how he would be treated by ſuch an
'aſſiſtant. *Auxiliary Forces* have always been repu-
'ted dangerous, if either in Number, or Policy, they
'were ſuperior to them that called them in. The
'aſſiſtance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being di-
'rectly of this nature, as your Sovereign ſtands in
'need of neither, ſo for his own eaſe he would do well
'to forbear them both.

'It may be ſome will pretend, that by *changing his*
'*Religion* your Sovereign will be in a better conditi-
'on, in regard of thoſe Foreign Princes, beſides a
'great party within this Realm that will thereby
'be drawn to depend wholly on his Fortune: But
'the poor diſtreſſed *don Antonia* being a Romiſh
'Prince, ſpoiled by a Papiſt, and receiving ſo little
'ſuccour at Popiſh Princes hands; is a ſufficient bar
'to all that can be alledged in that behalf. And as
'to the *Engliſh Papiſts*, they never could be brought
'to draw all in one Line in his Mothers time, much
'leſs will they be brought ſuddenly to rely upon him,
'if he ſhould alter his Religion (*which God forbid*);
'but would utterly ruin him with both the Parties,
'neither of them having cauſe to repoſe any confi-
'dence in him, but to forſake him, for Diſſembling
'with God and Man. And whereas ſome inſinuate

'that

A.D. 1587

'that your Sovereign is obliged in *Honour*, to give 'some remarkable teſtimony to the World of his 'Duty to his Mother, in revenging her Death; but 'your King cannot be ignorant, that Paſſion and 'Fury often uſurps that name, and therefore ought 'to conſider, whether the attempt be within the li-'mits of *Poſſibility*, *Decency* and *Juſtice*. If the late 'Queen had been Innocent, Revenge had been neceſ-'ſarily Juſt, and Honourable; but being culpable, 'that conſideration diſcharges the Duty of a Son, 'from hazarding his own ruin unjuſtly. 'Others I 'hear perſwade the King that by mediating for his 'Mother againſt the mind of the *Parliament*, he has 'already ſo diſtaſted the Nobility and People of '*England*, that he muſt be forced to procure Fo-'reign Aid; but theſe *Incendiaries* groſly abuſe both 'his Highneſs and this Realm; for as they were 'not unſenſible, what *Nature* might require of him, 'ſo long as his Mother was alive, and there was a-'ny hope of Life; ſo they doubt not but that rea-'ſon will induce him to leave ſorrowing in due time. 'Thus have I troubled you with a long diſcourſe, 'to which my deſire of continuing friendſhip be-'tween the two Crowns has carried me unawares, 'farther than I intended, which I refer to your good 'Conſideration, not doubting but you will readily 'contribute all good Offices, that may tend to the 'common good of both Iſlands; and ſo I commit you 'to God.

'*From the Court at* Greenwich, *the 4th. of* March, 1586.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured Friend

Fr. Walſingham.

Whilſt

A. D. 1587

Whilſt Mr. *Cary* was in *Scotland*, *Daviſon* was brought into the Star Chamber before certain Commiſſioners choſen to that purpoſe, where he was charged *with cauſing the Queen of* Scots *to be executed againſt or without the Queen's knowledge*. *Daviſon* anſwered, that if he ſhould confeſs himſelf guilty of the Crimes objected againſt him, he ſhould injure his own Reputation, which was dearer than his Life, and if he ſhould conteſt with the Queen in his own defence, he ſhould do what was unbecoming the obedience of a Subject, the behaviour of a Servant, and the Faith and Office of a Secretary. He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, that he had done nothing in this matter but what he had perſwaded himſelf was the Queen's Will and Pleaſure, wherein if he had wronged himſelf, either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly troubled, and patiently undergo the Commiſſioners Cenſures.

Daviſon. *try'd for it.*

The Commiſſioners were all agreed that *Daviſon* was an honeſt Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great ſervice; but for the manner of doing it without the Queens knowledge, they fined him Ten thouſand pound, and impriſonment during the Queens pleaſure.

Thus was *Daviſon* an ingenious man, but a ſtranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage on purpoſe (as ſome thought) to ſerve a Turn, but miſcarrying in the laſt Act, was thruſt off again, and tho' not without the pity of many good and thinking men, kept a long time in Priſon; which, if you believe his private Apologetical diſcourſe to *Walſingham*, you will alſo think he had very hard meaſure. 'The Queen, *ſaith he*, after the departure 'of the *French* and *Scotch* Ambaſſadors, commanded 'me to deliver her the Warrant for Executing the 'Sentence upon *Mary* Queen of *Scots*: When I had 'deliver'd it, ſhe readily ſigned it with her own hand, 'and commanded it to be Sealed with the Great Seal 'of *England*, and jeſtingly ſaid, go tell all this to *Wal-* 'ſingham, who is now ſick, tho' I fear he will die for 'ſorrow when he hears it. She added alſo the reaſons 'for deferring it ſo long, namely, that ſhe might not 'be ſuſpected to do it out of Malice, tho' ſhe was not 'ignorant there was a neceſſity for the doing it. More-

Daviſon's *private Apology.*

'over

A. D. 1581

'over she blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that they had 'not eased her of this care and trouble, and wished 'that *Walsingham* would feel their Pulses about it. 'The next day after it was under the Great Seal, she 'commanded me by *Killigrew* that it should not be 'done, and when I told her it was done already, she 'found fault with making such great haste, telling me 'that in the Judgment of some Wise Men, *Another course 'might be taken.* I told her that course was best and 'safest which was most Just; but fearing she should 'lay the fault on me (as she had laid the putting the 'Duke of *Norfolk* to death upon *Burleigh*) I acquainted *Hatton* with the whole matter, protesting I would 'plunge my self no deeper in so great a business. He 'presently imparted it to *Burleigh*, and the Lord *Burleigh* to the rest of the Council, who all agreed the 'Execution should be hastened, and every one of 'them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and 'sent *Beale* away with the Warrant and Letters. 'The third day after, when by a dream which she 'told of the Queen of *Scots* death, I perceived that 'she wavered in her resolution, I asked her whether 'she had changed her mind? *she answer'd*, No; but 'another course, said she, might be taken, and withal, 'asked me whether I had received any answer from '*Powlet*: Whose Letter when I had shewed her, where'in he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not 'with Justice and Honour; she growing angry, accu'sed him and others (who had bound themselves by the 'Association) of Perjury, and breach of their Vow, 'as those that had promised great matters for their 'Princes safety, but would perform nothing. Yet 'there are those, *says she*, that will do it for my sake. 'But I shewed her how dishonourable and unjust a 'thing this would be, and withall into how great 'danger she would bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by it: For if she approved the Fact she would draw Danger 'and Dishonour upon her self, besides being accused of 'injustice: And if she disallowed it, she would utterly 'undoe Men of great Desert, and their whole Poste'rity. And afterward she gave me a light check the 'same day, because the Queen of *Scots* was not Exe'cuted.

Now though the King of *Scots* took no notice of the displeasure against *Davison*, nor how great grief

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* conceived or pretended, for the death of the Queen of *Scots*, nor would ſuffer *Robert Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, who was ſent to excuſe the Queen, and lay the blame upon her Council and *Daviſon*, to enter into *Scotland*, nor ſcarce give him the hearing by another, nor without much adoe receive the Queens Letter; but called home his Ambaſſador out of *England*, and threatned nothing but a direful Revenge, for the death of his Mother: Yet he was ſo well ſatisfied with *Walſingham*'s reaſons, and the Queens lulling him aſleep with fair promiſes, and the hopes of being her Succeſſor, which conſidering his preſent circumſtances among a divided Nobility, a Factious Clergy, a Diſcontented People, and a Barren Country, was an unanſwerable Argument to induce that King to conſult his own Intereſt, and to compound the matter without blows, ſince he was no great admirer of Fighting.

A. D. 1587

The K. of Scots reſentments.

Whilſt with theſe important Suggeſtions ſhe cooled the heat and anger of the King of *Scots*; to prevent a War threatned by the *Spaniard*, ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Drake*, with four of her own Ships, and others to the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſurprize and deſtroy his Shipping in his Harbours, and intercept his Proviſions: In which he had ſuch ſucceſs, by burning about a hundred Veſſels at *Cadiz*, taking two Galleons richly laden, a great Ship called the *St. Phil p*, and a Carack at the *Azores*, that from this ſhort Voyage great advantages redounded to the Engliſh; for the *Spaniards* ſuffered ſo great a loſs, were conſtrained for this year, to give over their deſign of invading *England*. And by taking the Merchants Books and Papers in the *Indies*, the *Engliſh* were made ſo ſenſible of the advantages of Trading thither, that they afterwards ſet up a Company of *Eaſt India* Merchants. No leſs ſucceſs had *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolk* againſt the *Spaniard*, upon the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *New-Spain*, who this year brought home the Plunder of Nineteen Merchants Ships, and was the ſecond after *Magellan* who ſailed round the World.

Drakes *exploits.*

Sluys being beſieged by the Prince of *Parma*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſent for out of *England*, by the States to relieve it. This Town being furiouſly batter'd with 17000 great ſhot, which made a wide Breach,

A. D. 1587

Breach, was bravely defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere* and Captain *Nicholas Basquerville*, with a Garrison of *English* and *Walloons*, but was at last surrendred, when *Leicester* who was drawing near to succour them, being too weak to encounter the Enemy, was forced to retire, which was the States fault, who would not allow him a sufficient Force. Who afterwards attempting to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his own Power, was complained of by the States, called home, and *Grave Maurice of Nassau, Son to the Prince of Orange*, being Twenty years of Age, was in *Leicester's* room, made *Governour of the United and Confederate Provinces* by the States, and *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby* was made General of the *English* Forces in the Low-Countries, by the Queen.

Leicester called home.

A. D. 1588.

Now we are come to the memorable year 1588, wherein the King of *Spain*, by the Instigation of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* and others, provided a Fleet and an Army to invade *England*, which was so vast and formidable, in the opinion of all the World, that they gave it the Arrogant Name of the *Invincible Armada*. To these Preparations in *Spain*, the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* assisted, by building many Ships and flat bottom'd Boats, big enough to carry thirty Horse, and having an Army in readiness of a hundred and three Companies of Foot, and four Thousand Horse, to be transported into *England*, and joyn the Land Forces that were to be brought for the same purpose out of *Spain*, and which was valued of greatest force, a Consecrated Standard and Benediction of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who thought by employing the *Spanish* Arms abroad, to get the advantage of wresting the City of *Naples* out of their possession, and lay it to the Church's Demeasns.

The Spanish *preparations.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might not be surprized, imployed her utmost care in providing as strong a Fleet as she could, and all other necessaries for War. The command of the Navy she gave to *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, as Lord Admiral of *England*, and sent him early to the Western parts of *England*, where *Drake*, whom she made his Vice-Admiral, was to joyn him. The Lord *Henry Seymour*, Son to the Duke of *Sommerset*, she commanded to lie upon the Coasts of *Holland* with Forty Ships, to prevent the Prince

The Queen provides against them.

Prince of *Parma* from putting to Sea with his forces to joyn the *Spaniards*. For Land Service Twenty thousand Men were appointed to attend the Southern Coast, besides two Armies of well disciplined Soldiers: The one commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, which encamped at *Tilbury*: the other under the command of the Lord *Hunsdon*, consisting of thirty four thousand Foot and two Thousand Horse, to guard the Queens Person. However, in the midst of these Preparations for War, Projects for Peace were not quite neglected, and to that end, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, Comptrouler of the Queens household, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers* Doctors of Law, were Commissioners into *Flanders*, to treat with the Prince of *Parma*'s Commissioners. They met in Tents near *Ostend*, and dallied so long with the *English* about a Truce and other Preliminaries, till the *Spanish* Fleet were upon the Coasts of *England*, and the Thundering Canons were heard from the Ocean. Thus this Treaty came to nothing, which was first begun by the Q. to divert the *Spanish* Fleet, and continued by the *Spaniards* that they might surprize *England* at Unawares and unprovided, both Parties sewing the Foxes tail to the Lyons skin. A. D. 1588

The *Spanish* Fleet consisted of 130 Ships, in which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Seamen, 2080 Gally-slaves and 2630 great Guns. *Don Alphonso Perez d' Gusman* Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and under him *Juan Martinez d' Recalde* an experienced Navigator. *The* Spanish *great numbers.*

On the 29th. of *May* they put to Sea out of the River *Tayo*, and steering their course toward the *Groyn* in *Galicia*, they were dispersi by a Tempest, and so shattered and weather Beaten, that the *English* concluded the design was at an end for this year; but the Lord Admiral would not trust to such opinions; and therefore kept his Fleet together. *July* the 12*th.* the *Spaniards* put to Sea again, and met with another storm, which so scatter'd them that they could hardly recollect their Fleet, till they came within sight of *England*. The Lord Admiral having certain Intelligence that the *Spanish* Fleet was in the Channel, and was seen off the Lizard Point, he Towed his Fleet out of Harbour

A. D. 1588

bour and put to Sea. The next day the *Engliſh* ſpyed them, and ſuffered them to paſs by, that they might chaſe them before the Wind. The next day the Lord Admiral with his own Ship, fell (as he thought) upon the *Spaniſh* Admiral, tho it proved to be *Alphonſo de Leva*'s Ship. Soon after *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher* engaged their Rear Squadron commanded by *Recalde*, and ſo ſcattered them that they were forced to fly into the headmoſt Fleet for ſhelter, and now a ſmart fight continued for two hours, which the Lord Admiral thought fit to hold no longer, forty of his Ships being not yet come in to him. The 23*d*. betimes in the morning the *Spaniards* Tacked about upon the *Engliſh*, and each Fleet ſtriving for the Weather-gage, they fought ſmartly, but in great confuſion, and what advantage there was, fell to the *Engliſh*, for the *Spaniſh* Fleet being Huge, Heavy, Unweildy, High Ships, they ſhot over their Enemies, while the *Engliſh* Low and Light Frigots, ſorely gauled and wounded the *Spaniſh* moving Caſtles.

The firſt Engagement.

On the 27*th*. the *Spaniſh* Fleet came to Anchor before *Calais*, and the Lord Admiral with two other Squadrons within Cannon ſhot of them. From hence they ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to ſend them forty Fly-Boats, and deſired him to put to Sea with his Army, and Land it in *England*; but he was ſo ſtrictly watched by the *Holland* and *Zealand* Fleets, that he could not come out without throwing his Fleet and Land Army upon certain Deſtruction. The *Engliſh* Squadrons being now reinforced by the young Gentry, who out of love to their Queen and Country, had hired Ships at their own proper charges, in conſiderable numbers, among others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blount*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality, and ſeeing the *Spaniards* were unwilling to hazard a Fight at Sea; the Admiral, in the dead of the night, ſent Eight fire Ships, under the command of *Young* and *Prowſe* into the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which the *Spaniards* eſpying, raiſed a hideous Outcry, Weighed Anchor, Cut their Cables, and in a terrible fright and great confuſion put to Sea. A great Galloon having broken her Rudder, after a ſharp fight, wherein the Captain

The invention of Fire-ſhips.

Don

Don Hugo de Moncado was killed, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh* with a conſiderable quantity of Gold, which was ſhared among the Sailors. *Drake* and *Fenner* chaſed the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and fell upon them as they were gathering together at *Gravelin*, with whom quickly joyned *Feuton*, *Southwel*, *Breſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and not long after, the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffeild*. The Duke *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde* and others, having got clear of the ſhallows, endured their ſhot to their great damage; but the Galleon St. *Matthew*, commanded by *Don Diego Piementelli*, which was ſorely raked and battered by *Seymour* and *Wintour*, drove near *Oſtend*, and was taken by the *Fluſhingers*. A. D. 1588

The laſt day of the month, the Wind blowing hard at Weſt North Weſt, drove the whole *Spaniſh* Fleet towards *Zealand*, and the *Engliſh* ſeeing them hurrying ſo faſt to their own ruin upon the Sands and Shelves of *Zealand*, they gave over the Chace; but the Wind ſhifting to the Southward, they eſcaped that danger, and holding a Council of War, reſolved to return into *Spain* through the Northern Sea, but ſome being of opinion that they would return, Queen *Elizabeth* came to *Tilbury*, and with a Maſculine Bravery, with a Leaders Truncheon in her hand, rid from rank to rank among the Army, where it was a pleaſant ſight to ſee how her preſence encouraged both her Officers and Soldiers, who made the Heavens Echo their joyful Acclamations. The *Spaniards* having now thrown off all hopes of coming back again, and placing their ſafety in their flight, made no ſtay till they arrived in *Spain*. Thus this great and falſly called *Invincible Armada*, which was at a vaſt charge, three whole years, fitting out, was in a months time totally overthrown: Upon which Medals were Coined in *England* in memory of this ſignal Victory: *A Fleet of Ships flying*, with this Inſcription, *Venit*, *Vidit*, *Fugit*, *It came*, *it ſaw*, *it fled*. Other Medals with *Fire ſhips and a Fleet in confuſion*, Inſcribed, *Dux fœmina facti*, *A Womans Conduct accompliſhed it*. The *Spaniards* that through great Difficulties got home, imputed their misfortunes to the Prince of *Parma*'s negligence, and their own too obſequious obeying Orders, which left them no liberty to act by their own Prudence as unthought of emergencies might intervene. The King of *Spain* took

The Spaniards defeated.

Medals Coined.

A. D. 1588 his loss patiently, and the Queen of *England* joyfully, and both of them caused publick thanks to be given to God in all their Churches: Queen *Elizabeth* because it was so well, and King *Philip* because it was no worse. Nor was the joy less in *Scotland*, for that King hearing the News, said merrily, *That he expected no other favour from the* Spaniard, *than what* Polyphemus *promised* Ulysses, *that he should have the honour of being last devoured.*

The Earl of Leicester's death.

Now died the Earl of *Leicester*, which the Queen laid much to heart, he being her special Favourite. He was ~~first~~ fourth Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, Privy Councellor to *Edward* VI. Master of the Ordnance to Queen *Mary*, Master of the Horse to Queen *Elizabeth*, who, as 'twas reported, loved him dearly; Knight of the Orders of St. *George* and St. *Michael*, of the Queens Privy Council, Lord Steward of her Houshold, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, Justice in *Eyre*, Lieutenant and Captain General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, Governour and Captain General of the United Provinces, and this year General of the *English* Army against the *Spaniards*. He was esteem'd an exquisite Courtier, but his Character is so divided between extreams of Good and Evil, that I shall not meddle with it. He died in the Queens Debt, and his Goods were sold to discharge it; for the Queen, tho' she was otherwise kind enough to her Subiects, she would abate no Debt due to her Treasury.

1589

The *Spaniards* meeting with this Disappointment, they have another Plot upon *England*, and intend to infest it by the way of *Scotland*. In this affair they imployed *Bruce* a Priest, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jesuits, who easily inveigled into their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol* and *Crawford*, who were bigotted to the Popish Religion, and *Bothwel*, a man of an Unsteady and Disloyal Temper; the sum of their design was *To seize upon the Kings Person, to let in Foreign Troops, to restore Popery, and to invade* England, *and revenge the death of the Q. of* Scots; but the K. by a speedy march against them, overthrew that design in *Scotland*; and the Queen by Apprehending, Trying, and Condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who favour'd the *Spanish* Party, tho' she gave him his life, put an end to the whole Enterprize.

The Earl of Arundel *condemned.*

This

This being done at home, the Queen sent out a Fleet, wherein were 11000 Soldiers, and 1500 Mariners, under the command of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who took the lower Town at the *Groyn*, and plunder'd all the Villages about it, and slaughtered the flying *Spaniards* three miles together. At this time, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, a young Gentleman ambitious of Military Glory, despising the Ease and Pleasures of the Court, at his own charge put himself (against the Queens consent) to Sea, and came to them. The next day they all sailed to *Penicha*, a Town in *Portugal*, and took it, and from thence the Land Army marched to *Lisbon*, upon whom the *Spanish* Garrison sallied, and *Bret* with his Men sustained the charge with great Courage, till they were reinforced by more *English* and *Portuguese*, and then the Earl of *Essex* drove them back and slaughter'd them to the Gates of the City. In the mean time *Drake* took *Cacaies*, afterwards *Vigo*, and then a deadly sickness falling among the *English*, they returned home. A. D. 1589

Now began the *Holy League* in *France*, against the King and the Protestants, whereof the Duke of *Guise* was the head, with design to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and his Cousin *Conde* from the succession. *Guise* coming to *Paris* raised such a tumult, that the *French* K. was forced to summon a meeting of Parliament at *Blois*; and now finding the Duke of *Guise* too big to be questioned by Laws, and suspecting that the Duke had laid a Plot to take away his Life, he caused him Treacherously and Unawares to be stab'd in the Court, and soon after his Brother the Cardinal to be strangled; In requital whereof, the Leaguers seeing the King adhere to the Protestants, procured him to be barbarously murdered by *James Clement* a Monk, excluded the King of *Navarre* from succeeding to the Crown, tho' it was his undoubted Right, and proclaim'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, K. of *France*. The Queen gave *Navarre* what assistance she could, and to strengthen the Alliance among Protestants, proposeth the K. of *Scots* to marry with the Lady *Catharine* his Sister; but that King having a greater affection for *Ann* daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*, he sailed thither, and consummated a Marriage with her in *October* 1589. *The French Holy League.*

A. D. 1590

Sir Francis Walsingham's death.

In this year happen'd little of moment, and is most considerable for the loss of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Principal Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and the Order of the Garter. He was a Wise and Vigilant States-man, had performed several Honourable Embassies, was a resolute maintainer of the Protestant Religion, and had a peculiar Talent in discovering Conspiracies, and secret Practices against Religion, his Prince and Country, by which he preserved his Mistresses life from daily Attempts and Plots against her, and by a refined piece of Policy, defeated for a whole year together the measures *Spain* had taken for fitting out their *Armado* to invade *England*. He had his Spies in most Courts in *Christendom*, and allowed them a liberal maintenance. The Court of *England* had reason to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and therefore he planted one *Wigmore* there, that gave him a full account of all his Publick and Private Transactions, and yet lived nine years in the greatest Favour and Familiarity with King *James*, without the least suspicion of being a Spy upon him. *Walsingham* also laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars in *France* and in the *Low-Countries*, which put a final stop to the vast designs of the House of *Austria*. Upon which occasion he told the Queen at his return from his Embassie into *France*, 'That she 'had no reason to fear the *Spaniard*, for tho he had 'a strong Appetite and a good Digestion, he had gi-'ven him such a Bone to pick, as would take him up 'twenty years at least and break his Teeth at last: So 'that her Majesty had no more to do, but to throw 'from time to time, some *English* Fuel into the Fire he 'had kindled, to keep it burning. This great Man, after all the Services he had performed for his Q. and Country, gave a remarkable proof at his Death, how far he had preferred the publick Interest before his own; for he died so poor that his friends were obliged to bury him privately in the night, for fear his body should be arrested for debt. *A fault which few States men since his time have been guilty of.* He left behind him only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands, the greatest men of note in their time. The first was Sir *Philip Sidney*, the second *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the third the Earl of *Clanriccard*,

riccard, who was by King *Charles* made Earl of St. *Albans*. A. D. 1591

About this time appear'd a great *Blaſphemer* named *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, who with *Wiggington*, *Coppinger* and *Arthington* laboured to introduce the Presbyterian Diſcipline of *Geneva* into *England*, and to that end declared, *That he was divinely Inſpired, nay, was the Meſſias himſelf*: Alſo, *That* Hacket *was the Supreme Monarch of the World; That he only was to be obeyed, and the Queen depoſed.* Shortly after being apprehended, he was Indicted of Treaſon, confeſſed himſelf Guilty, and by his blaſphemous anſwers ſtruck the Auditors into horrour and aſtoniſhment. Being condemned he was laid upon a Hurdle and drawn thro the Principal Places of the City, inceſſantly roaring out, *Jehova, Meſſias, Jehova, Meſſias, behold the Heavens open, behold the ſon of the moſt high deſcending to deliver me.* Being at the Gallows and admoniſhed to acknowledge his Sins againſt God and the Q. the execrable wretch inveighing bitterly againſt the Q. called aloud to God, *To ſhew ſome miracle from the Clouds to convert the Infidels, and to reſcue him from his Enemies; but if thou wilt not do it*, ſays he, *I will ſet the Heavens on Fire, and with theſe hands pluck thee from thy Throne.* Then turning to the Hangman as he was putting the Rope about his neck, he ſaid, *Thou Baſtard, wilt thou hang* Hacket *thy King?* And when the Rope was about his neck, he caſting up his eyes to Heaven, and grinning, ſaid, *Doſt thou pay me with this inſtead of a Kingdom? I am coming to revenge it.*

Hacket *the blaſphemer.*

While the King of *Spain* was carrying on his Wars, and the Queen knowing he carried on deſigns more by the power of the Gold of *America*, than the Strength of *Spain*, ſhe reſolved to ſend Sir *Walter Rawleigh* with 15 Ships to take *Panama*, but being kept in the Harbour three months by contrary Winds, that deſign miſcarried; however, in their return home they took a huge Carack, call'd the *Mother of God*, valued at One hundred and fifty thouſand Pound Sterling, beſides other ſmall Veſſels worth the Voyage. 1592

The Q. ſtill continued ſupplying the *Fr.* K. with Men and Money, and at length hearing to her great Affliction, that he had forſaken the Proteſtant Religion, and 1593

A. D. 1593

to please his Factious Subjects, embraced Popery, she sent him this Letter. 'Alas, what deep sorrow, what 'vehement grief, what sighs have I felt at my heart, for 'what *Morlant* has told me? Is the World come to 'that pass? Is it possible that any Worldly matters 'should make you quit the fear of God? Can we ex- 'pect any happy issue of such a fact, or could you think 'that he who has hitherto, with his own right hand 'upheld and preserved you, would now forsake you? 'It is a dangerous thing to do evil that good may come 'thereby; yet I hope sober thoughts will put you in- 'to a better mind. In the mean time I will not omit 'to make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recom- 'mending you to God, beseeching him that the hands 'of *Esau* may not disappoint you of the Blessing of '*Jacob*. And whereas you do religiously and solemn- 'ly offer me your Friendship, I am very sensible, 'to my great cost, that I have well deserved it, nor 'should I repent that, had you not changed your Fa- 'ther. Verily from hence forward I cannot be your 'Sister, by that Father, for the truth is, I shall for 'ever dearly love and honour my own Father, rather 'than a false and counterfeit one, which God knows 'very well, whom I beseech to bring you back to a 'better mind. Subscribed,

The Queens Letter to the French K.

Your Sister, if it be after the old manner,
as for the new, I have nothing to do with it.
Elizabeth R.

The *Spaniard* not prevailing against the Queen by force of Arms, began to attempt her death by Poyson, and to that end employed *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, one of the Queens Physicians in ordinary, to effect it, to whom they joined *Stephen Ferreira*, *Gama*, and *Emanuel Loisie*, *Portugueses*. The Plot was dis- cover'd by intercepted Letters, and the Offenders being apprehended, were arraigned at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confessions, Convicted of a design to Poyson the Queen. At the Bar *Lopez* said little for himself, but charged the fault upon *Ferreira* and *Emanuel*, and the others charging the blame upon him, all saying they had no ill design upon the Queen, but only thought to get some money from the *Spaniard*. They were all of them Condemned, and three months after put to death at *Tyburn*, where *Lopez* affirmed, that he loved the Queen as well as Jesus Christ, which coming

An attempt to poyson the Queen.

1594

coming from a profeſs'd *Jew* gave an occaſion of Laughter. A.D. 1595

This year the *Spaniards*, under the Conduct of *Didaco Brochin*, put to Sea with four Gallies, and arriving in *Cornwal*, went aſhore and fired a Church that ſtood alone in the field, *Mouſe Hole*, *Newlin* and *Penſance*, three poor Fiſher Towns, and retired with great precipitation, without killing or taking ſo much as one man. And theſe were the firſt and laſt *Spaniards* that ever made any Hoſtile Attempt by Invading *England*; but greater matters were undertaken againſt the *Spaniards* by the incomparable Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others, who ſailing to the Iſle of *Trinidado*, took the City of St. *Joſeph*, and the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, but found not ſo much as one piece of Silver Coin among them. At the ſame time *Amias Preſton* and *Sommers* ſack'd the Iſland *Porto Santo*, near *Madera*, *Coke* near *Margarita*, the little Town of *Coros*, and the City of St. *Jago de Leon*, but ſpared *Cumana*, for a ſum of money: A few months after, the Earl of *Cumberland*'s three Ships ſet upon a huge Carack, called *the five wounds of Chriſt*, who unfortunately took fire in the fight, and was burnt with all her Merchandice.

A general report being ſpread that the *Spaniard* was preparing for another attempt upon *England*, the Queen to diſperſe the ſtorm that was gathering, thought it adviſeable to attack the Enemy in his own Ports, and to that end rigg'd out a Fleet of 150 Ships, in which were 6360 Soldiers under pay; Voluntier Gentlemen 1000. and 6772 Seamen. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, who were both at great Charges in this Expedition, were Commanders in chief; to whom were joyned for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Coniers Clifford*, and the whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons. On *Sunday* the 20th. of *June* early in the morning this Fleet came to an Anchor in *Cadiz* Bay. *Eſſex* full of Courage and youthful heat, was for landing immediately, but the Lord Admiral and *Rawleigh* oppoſed it. The next Tide the *Spaniſh* men of War ſailed up to *Pointal*, the Merchants Ships toward *Port Royal*, and the *Engliſh* Anchored in their places. The next Tide they weighed and diſperſed

1596 *An Expedition into* Spain.

A. D. 1596

the Gallies, and fell upon the Men of War at *Pointal* with so much fury that being shot through and miserably torn, the *Spaniards* resolved to fire their Ships or run them aground. The *Spanish* Admiral called St. *Philip*, was burnt, but the St. *Matthew* and the St. *Andrew* were both saved and taken. The Sea Fight being ended, *Essex* landed 800 men at *Pointal*, about a League from the City of *Gades*, and having broken down the Bridge *Suaeo*, march'd directly to the City, and forcing the Gates, a sharp fight began in the streets, and in half an hour, the *English* led by the Earl of *Essex*, gained the Market place, and being reinforced by the Lord Admirals Seamen, the *Spaniards* retir'd into the Castle and Townhouse. The latter was presently yielded, and the Castle the next day, upon these Conditions, *viz. That the Citizens should depart in safety, with the Cloths they had on: That* 520000 *Ducats should be paid for their Ransom, and forty of the Principal Citizens should be sent Hostages into* England *till the Money was deposited.* The Women, Churchmen and Citizens were conveyed to *Porta Santa Maria.*

Gades taken by the English.

Rawleigh in the mean time with his lesser Ships, was commanded to burn the Merchants Ships at *Port Royal.* Two Millions of Ducats was offered for their Redemption, but the Lord Admiral refused all Composition, saying, *He was sent to destroy the Shipping, and not to release them for Money*; and it was done accordingly. In the City was found vast Provision for War, and great Sums of Money, of which every one caught what they could. In this Expedition, by a very modest Computation, the *Spaniard* lost above the value of twenty Millions of Ducats. Of the *English* no man of Note miscarried but Sir *John Wingfield*, who was honorably interr'd in the principal Church of the City. *Essex* only was of opinion that the Town ought to be kept, but being over ruled, after they had ransack'd the Island, razed the Forts, and burnt many of the Houses, they quitted the place, with this Commendation from the *Spaniards, That tho' in sacred things the* English *shewed themselves like Heretics, yet in all other matters they behaved themselves like stout Soldiers, wise Counceliors and Men of Honour.* The Queen at their return received them all very graciously, especially *Essex* and the Admiral, whom she extoll'd with the highest acknowledgments.

The

The *Spaniard* attempting to make a more ſucceſsful invaſion on *England*, and to recover his loſſes at *Gades*, ſet out another Fleet, but were ſo ſcattered by a violent ſtorm, that they were forced to return. The E. of *Eſſex* in the beginning of the Spring was ſent out with a Fleet of Ships which were divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by *Eſſex* himſelf, the ſecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were to ſteer to *Farol* and the *Groin*, to ſurpriſe the *Spaniſh* Fleet in their Harbours, and intercept the *Indian* Fleet at the *Azores*, but they had ſcarce got 40 Leagues when they were driven back by a terrible Tempeſt, and afterwards ſtayed by contrary Winds till the 17th. of *Auguſt*, when the Fleet puts to Sea, but by accident at the Lands end *Rawleigh* is left behind, and *Eſſex* and *Howard* proceed on their Voyage. *Rawleigh* follows after but loſeth them and Landeth at *Fayall*, which he taketh, and thereby offendeth *Eſſex*, to whom however he is reconciled. *Gratioſa* and *Flores* yield to *Eſſex*, but they unfortunately miſs of the *American* Fleet, of which they only take three and vainly attempt the reſt in the Haven, and afterwards burn a Carack, in their way home are ſcattered by a Storm. When *Eſſex* came home he was diſpleaſed to find Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and that *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral was honoured with the Earldom of *Nottingham*, and grew very uneaſie at Court; but the Queen, who had always a great eſteem for *Eſſex*, appeas'd his diſcontent by dignifying him with the Title of *Earl Marſhal of* England.

A. D. 1596

1597

Eſſex *made Earl Marſhal.*

Propoſals of Peace being made between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which the Queen obſtructed what ſhe could, and being now almoſt brought to a happy iſſue, the ſame offers were made to *England* and *Holland*, which the Queen ſeemed to accept, but *Holland* oppoſed it to the utmoſt. *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer enclined to have Peace with the *Spaniard*, and by many ſolid Arguments preſs'd the acceptance of it, as a great good to *England*. *Eſſex* argued to the contrary with all the force he was maſter of, inſomuch that the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, he breath'd nothing but Danger, War and Blood; and, after a hot diſpute, drew out his Pſalm Book, and ſaying nothing, pointed

1598

A. D. 1598

ed *Essex* to these words, *Men of Blood shall not live out half their days.* In carrying on this business of the Peace, and chusing a fit Person to manage the affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great disorder, there grew a hot debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, none being present but the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank*, Clerk of the Signet. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, *Essex*'s Uncle, to be the fittest person to be sent into *Ireland*, and *Essex* obstinately asserted, that Sir *George Carew* was a fitter; and since he could not perswade her Majesty to be of his opinion, the Earl quite forgetting himself, and neglecting his duty, uncivilly, and in contempt, turn'd his back upon her, and gave her a scornful look. The Queen not enduring such a rude behaviour, *gave him a box on the ear, and bid him get him gone and be hang'd.* He presently laid his hand upon his Sword, the Lord Admiral stepping between, he swore he would not put up the Affront, nor would have taken it at King *Henry* VIII.'s hands, and in great passion withdrew himself from Court.

The Queen strikes Essex.

In his retirement the Lord Keeper by a Letter gave him this good advice, to submit himself to the Queens mercy, and remember that of *Seneca*: *If the Law punish one that is guilty, he must submit to Justice: If one that is Innocent, he must submit to Fortune.* If he had justly offended his Prince, he could not make her satisfaction; if she had offended him, Prudence, Duty and Religion required he should submit, where he was under such great Obligations, since there is no equality between a Prince and a Subject. He answered the Lord Keepers Letter very passionately, using these and the like indecent expressions. 'No Storm is more 'violent and outragious than the anger of a passio-'nate Woman; the Queens heart is hardened. I 'know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl, 'and Earl Marshal of *England*; but how to serve as 'a Drudge and a Slave, I know not. If I should ac-'knowledge my self Guilty, I should wrong the 'Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole body 'is wounded by that one blow, and having received 'this Indignity it were Impiety to serve longer. Can-'not Princes Err? Can they not wrong their Subjects? 'Is any earthly power Infinite? *Solomon* says, a Fool 'laughs

His Answer to the Lord Keeper.

'laughs when he is ſtricken! They who get advantages 'by Princes Errors and Miſdoings, let them take In-'juries at Princes hands. They who believe not the 'Infinite Omnipotency of God Almighty, may acknow-'ledge an Infinite Power in Royal Majeſty. I that 'have been torn and rent with ſo many wrongs, have 'long enough endured the bitterneſs of injuries in my 'very Bowels. However, not long after he became more ſubmiſs, obtained his Pardon, and was received into Favour; the Queen being of ſuch an excellent diſpoſition, that ſhe always thought it leſs beſeeming her Majeſty to offend and anger a Man than to hate him; yet from this diſaſter his Friends ſuſpected his ruin, for Fortune is ſeldom reconciled to her Foſter Children whom ſhe has frowned upon, and ſeldomer are Princes propitious to thoſe whom they have offended. A. D. 1598

The Death and Character of the Lord Burleigh.

About this time died *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, being worn out with labour of mind, the Gout and old Age, and now falling ſick, wrote a Letter to the Queen, for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen viſited and comforted him; but within a few days, having lived long enough to Nature, long enough to his own Glory; but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably reſigned his ſoul to God. He was a moſt excellent perſon, who to ſay nothing of his Reverend Perſon, and his calm and undiſturbed deportment, was ſo diſpoſed by Nature, ſo poliſhed by Education, and enriched with Learning, that for Wiſdom, Piety, Honeſty, Integrity, Gravity, Temperance, Induſtry, and Juſtice he had no ſuperior. To add any thing after this would look like flattery, and therefore to ſum up all, the Queen was happy in ſuch a Councellor, and the Nation happy in ſuch a States-man.

Treaſurer

1599

A Rebellion in Ireland.

In the former years the Rebellion grew very hot in *Ireland*, and now the *Engliſh* Intereſt there was looked upon as deſperate, for the whole Nation was almoſt up in Arms, and ſo enraged with their diſcontents, that they threaten'd to throw off the *Engliſh* yoke. For prevention of this miſchief, and to extinguiſh the Rebellion, the Queen thought of ſending *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, to be Deputy there; but the Earl of *Eſſex* intimated that he was a man but of a mean Eſtate, of no experience, and too Bookiſh

for

A. D. 1599

for such a Martial Employment; and in making the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he so artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately resolved to make him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army: Which yet he made a shew of refusing, praying the Queen to bestow it upon some abler Person, and yet if any other Person was named, he still made Objections against him, and behaved himself in such a manner, as gave his Enemies the advantage of saying, he wanted nothing but an Army at his command, to set up a Title to the Crown, that his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers who had rather have his room than his company, push'd him forward to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Heat, and ambition of Glory would hasten his ruin; there being no such effectual way to destroy a Popular and Aspiring Man, as by thrusting him upon business he is unfit for; but all these Arts he either did or would not perceive, and therefore to the general rejoycing was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Essex made Lord Deputy.

An Army of 16000 Foot, and 1300 Horse was appointed for him, and whatever else he could wish was obtained by the officious, but deceitful, Intrigues of his secret Enemies, who were raising him on high that his fall might be the greater. The Earl went over in *March*, and having received the Sword according to custom, he presently made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse, contrary to his Instructions, and march'd against Petty Rebels, neglecting the Arch-Rebel *Tir Owen*, against whom he was particularly sent over, and all without acquainting the Queen with his reasons for so doing, which caused her to be extreamly dissatisfied with his Conduct. Two considerable defeats the *English* suffered in *Ireland*, and at length the Earl contrary to order concluded a Peace with *Tir Owen*, which the Queen having notice of, and that with so strong an Army, in so long a time, and at so great expence of Money *Essex* had done nothing, she was angry at it, blamed his Counsels and Resolutions as over-rash, unfortunate and full of contempt and disrespect to her Majesty, yea she stuck not to say, *That he had something else in his mind than to do his Prince and Country service in* Ireland; nor were her suspicions ill grounded, for now he began to contrive

He is suspected by the Queen.

trive a wicked Design of returning into *England* with a Party of select men to reduce his adversaries into his power by force of Arms, being perswaded that many would joyn with him, either out of love, or a desire of Innovations: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* had not disswaded him from it, as a Wicked, Bloody, Hateful and Dangerous Project. Whether the Queen had intelligence of this matter or not, does not appear, tho it is reasonable to think she had, for at the same time an Army of 6000 Men were raised in *London*, whereof 3000 were appointed to Guard the Queen's Person, and the rest to be always near and ready upon all occasions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few days after, this Army was Disbanded. A. D. 1598

Within a month the Earl of *Essex* posted into *England*, accompanied with several of his Choice Friends, went to *Nonsuch*, where the Queen then lay, and early in the morning presented himself on his Knees before the Queen in her Privy Chamber, when she little thought of it. She entertained him somewhat graciously in a short Conference but not with so pleasant a Countenance as formerly, and at his departure commanded him to keep his Chamber; for as she was before displeased with his ill Conduct, he had now incurred her further displeasure in leaving *Ireland* without Licence. Afterward his proceedings being generally disliked by the Council, and aggravated by fictions and inventions of his Adversaries, he was committed to the custody of the *Lord Keeper*, that he might not be farther withdrawn from his duty by seditious Counsels. *Committed to Custody.*

But let us return to the *Irish* affairs. Scarce was the Truce from six weeks to six weeks expired, but *Tir Owen* prepared again for open Hostility, and being accused by the Council for breach of Faith, he said he had just cause to renew the War, since the Earl of *Essex* on whom he solely depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Custody in *England*, nor would he for the future have any thing to do with the Council of *Ireland*, who had dealt fraudulently with him heretofore. In the mean time rumours flew abroad among the Rebels, that *England* e're long would be embroiled in Civil Commotions, and therefore he gave encouragement to the *Irish* Rebels to joyn with

A.D. 1599

with him, to the destruction of the *English* power in *Ireland*; to which he was incouraged by the *Spaniards* who had sent him both Money and Ammunition, and also by the Pope, who had encouraged him by large Promises and Indulgencies, all which Rebellious practices in *Tir Owen* were either directly or indirectly charged upon the Earl of *Essex* by his Enemies. Now the Queen sends the Lord *Mountjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*, who with great care and industry fortified the most important places in *Ireland*, and so assaulted *Tir Owen* with continual skirmishing, that he changed the fortune of War, drove the Arch-Rebel into his fastnesses and lurking places, subdued the Rebels in *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and where-ever he came proved a Conqueror. No worse success had Sir *George Carew* in *Munster*, the southward part of *Ireland*, against the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and so absolutely quieted those parts, that not so much as one Fort held out against the Queen.

The Irish affairs bettered.

The Earl of *Essex* had been in Custody at the Lord Keepers six Months, and now out of his own good nature, the sense of his afflictions, and the good advice of his friends, especially of the Lord *Henry Howard*, he began to repent of his ill designs, and made such a shew of Piety, Patience, Modesty and Humility, that his Friends were in good hopes of his Conversion, his Adversaries envied him, and the Queen being pacified with his Submission and Penitent Letters, suffered him to go to his own House, under the free Custody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, protesting oftentimes that she would do nothing against him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation. But since the vulgar sort had openly proclaimed his Innocency: That the Q. might not be suspected of Prejudice or Injustice, she thought fit to have his Cause heard, not in the *Star-Chamber*, lest he should be severely Fined, but in the Lord Keepers House, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that some Censures should be given upon his Actions, yet without any charge of *Perfidiousness*. The heads of his Accusation were the same that have been formerly mentioned, which were highly aggravated by the Queens Council. The Earl kneeling at the Table, gave thanks to God for all his mercies, and to his Gracious Princess, that proceeded so mildly against him,

The Earl's Cause heard.

protest-

proteſting that he would not contend with her, nor in whole nor in part excuſe the errors of his young and inconſiderate years; and by ſolemn aſſeverations proteſted, that he had ſincerely kept his Allegiance and Duty to her, never had a thought to diſobey her, and that his meaning was good in all things tho it fell out otherwiſe. In concluſion the Lord Keeper pronounced this Sentence, *That he ſhould be removed from his place of Privy Councellor, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordnance, and be detained in Cuſtody during the Q.'s pleaſure.* This Cenſure all the reſt approved, and many were in hopes that he would be received again into Favour, ſince the Queen had expreſly commanded, that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from being Maſter of the Horſe, and that this Cenſure ſhould by no means remain upon Record. A. D. 1599

He is Sentenced.

After this the Earl made a ſhew of extraordinary humility, which the Queen was pleaſed to hear of, and thereupon removed *Berkley* his Keeper from him, ſet him at liberty, and gave him leave to retire into the Country; but admoniſhed him for the future to make his own diſcretion his Keeper, and by no means come to the Court, or near her Perſon. But as ſoon as his Servant *Cuff* had acceſs to him, he began to poyſon his Ears, and corrupt his Heart with ill Principles. The Earl at preſent gave little regard to what he ſuggeſted, being in hopes that he ſhould recover the Queen's Favour, and get a new grant for his Farm of the ſweet Wines (for ſo were called all Wines but *French* and *Rheniſh*) which brought him great Profit, and was now almoſt expired. The Queen gave him hopes of her Favour both by Words and Letters, but as to the Farm ſhe gave him theſe brief and biting anſwers: That ſhe muſt firſt underſtand the value of it. That Benefits are not to be beſtowed blindfold. That a reſtiff Horſe muſt be kept ſhort of Provender that he might be the more eaſily managed, and commended that Aphoriſm of the Phyſicians, which tells us, that corrupt Bodies are injured by feeding plentifully. Theſe anſwers ſo enraged *Eſſex* that they threw him into his former Frenſie, fired him with Indignation, and ſubjecting his Reaſon to his Paſſion made him liſten to the ſuggeſtings of *Cuff*, *Merick* and other Incendiaries, whoſe deſperate malice led them to their Maſters and

The Queen is reconciled.

1600

Eſſex relapſeth.

A. D. 1600

and their own deſtructions: Of ſuch ill conſequence are Ear-Wigs to greatneſs. Their provoking ſpeeches to him, made him too often chime in with them, and let fall ſuch dangerous Words as favoured more of Paſſion than Prudence, which coming to the Queen's knowledge, and no doubt ſometimes aggravated too with malitious Comments, and ominous Inferences, alienated the Queen's affections from him; but that which made an irreparable breach, was his undervaluing and reflecting undecently upon her ſhape, for to mention nothing elſe, he gave out, *That the Queen was now grown an old woman, and was no leſs crooked and deſtorted in her mind than in her body*, which ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in matters of Love and Courtſhip, taking up at the rebound, aggravated it ſo ſpitefully, that they kindled new flames of Diſcontent between them, and ſo ſting'd his already diſtracted mind, that he began to revive the clandeſtine deſigns that he had firſt hatched in *Ireland*, tampered with the Puritans and their factious Miniſters, and alſo with the Papiſts, by ſeeming to commiſerate their affliction. He ſecretly entertained Soldiers, and bold daring ſpend-thrifts, whoſe poverty made them fit for any unlawful enterprize, and kept them near his Houſe. He and his particular friends, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Davis*, and *John Littleton* of *Frankel* had their private Cabals in *Drury* Houſe, where they took up reſolutions *To ſeize the* Tower, *the Court, the Queens Perſon, and call a Parliament to ſet up another Government*. Theſe frequent meetings and the great reſort to *Eſſex* Houſe under pretence of hearing Sermons, encreaſed the ſuſpicions of him, and cauſed him to be ſent for to appear before the Council, which he refuſed to do, being reſolved to preſerve his Liberty, tho with the loſs of his Blood, and to that end had gathered to his own houſe the Lords *Sands*, *Parker*, and *Mont-Eagle*, and about 300 Gentlemen of good quality.

Raiſeth Soldiers.

1601

Impriſons the Privy Councellors.

The Q. having ordered the Ld. Mayor to keep the Citizens in a due obedience to her Commands, ſent the Ld. Keeper, the E. of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolls* and *Popham* Ld. Chief Juſtice, to know the cauſe of this Riotous Aſſembly. With much trouble they were admitted into *Eſſex*'s houſe through the Wicket, and in the *Court-yard* found a confuſed multitude with *Eſſex* in the middle

of

of them, and the Lord Keeper demanding the cauſe of that tumult, aſſuring him that if any had injured him he ſhould have equal juſtice againſt them, *Eſſex* anſwered, *there was a Plot laid againſt his Life*; and when the Lord Keeper preſs'd him to be particular, the multitude interrupted him, ſaying, *Let us go, they abuſe your Patience and betray and undo you.* Hereupon *Eſſex* retired into his Houſe, and when the Lord Keeper and the reſt followed him, the multitude cryed out, *Kill them, throw away the Broad Seal, ſhut them up in Cuſtody*; then *Eſſex* commanded to bolt the doors and ſhut them in, ſaying, *have patience a little, I will go into the City and adviſe with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and return immediately.* A. D. 1601

Excites the Citizens to Rebellion.

Coming into *London*, *Eſſex* cryed out *for the Queen for the Queen, a Plot is laid for my Life*, and went directly toward Sheriff *Smith*'s Houſe in *Fan-Church-ſtreet*, and ſeeing the Citizens run and gaze, he bid them, *Arm themſelves or they could do him no good*; but not one Man took up Arms for him, and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming withdrew himſelf out at a back door to the Lord Mayors, and would not ſee him. In the mean time *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Traytor in all parts of the City, and ſeeing none would eſpouſe his quarrel, and that his own Party began to deſert, he gave *Gorges* leave to ſet the Privy Councellors at liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Eſſex* returning to his Houſe, found a Chain drawn croſs the Street at St. *Paul*'s, and Pikes and Muſqueteers planted againſt him by the Biſhop of *London*, under the Command of Sir *John Leviſon*. The Earl drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall upon them, which he did very reſolutely, killed *Waite*, and was himſelf deſperately wounded and taken Priſoner. There fell alſo *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman whom *Eſſex* dearly loved, and one or two Citizens. Being thus repulſed at this place, his Hat ſhot through, and many ſlinking from him, he returned to his Houſe by Water, burnt ſeveral Papers that they might tell no Tales, and Fortified his Houſe on all ſides.

Eſſex Houſe Beſieged.

The Lord Admiral preſently beſieged it by Land by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others. He himſelf with the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stan-*

A.D. 1601

hop, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil* entred into the Garden by the *Thames* ſide, and being ready to aſſault the houſe, he ſummoned him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* asked to whom they ſhould yield: To their adverſaries, that were to run themſelves headlong into ruin: To the Queen, that were to confeſs themſelves guilty; but ſays he, if the Lord Admiral will give us Hoſtages for our ſecurity, we will appear before the Queen; if not, we are reſolved to ſell our lives as dear as we can. The Lord Admiral anſwered, That ſuch conditions were not to be propoſed by Rebels, but in compaſſion to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Counteſs his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Siſter, and their Women, who filled the Air with their Shrieks and Lamentations, to go out. This *Eſſex* took as a favour, only deſired an hour or two's time to fortifie the place they ſhould go out at, and that was alſo granted.

Eſſex and his aſſociates ſurrender.

Now the Earl of *Eſſex* looking upon all things as deſperate and loſt, once reſolved to force his way out, to which he was encouraged by the ancient Lord *Sands*, who ſaid, *That the reſoluteſt courſes were the ſafeſt, and that 'twas more honourable for Noblemen to die fighting, than by the hands of an Executioner*; but *Eſſex* wavering in his mind, and having the Lord Admiral's promiſe that they ſhould be treated civilly, all the Noblemen at ten a clock a night, falling upon their Knees delivered up their Swords, and themſelves Priſoners to him. *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were firſt confined in *Lambeth-houſe*, and ſhortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwel*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley* were committed to the *Tower*.

Are brought to their Tryals

On the 19th of *February* 1602, *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, and for that Tryal Lord High Steward, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, *Suſſex*, *Hartford* and *Lincoln*: The Lord *Viſcount Howard* of *Bindon*, the *Barons* of *Hunſdon*, *De Warr*, *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Windſor*, *Rich*, *Darcy*, *Chandois*, *St. John*, *Burleigh*, *Compton*, and *Howard* of *Walden*, to whom as aſſiſtants, ſate the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, *Periam* Lord Chief Baron, *Gawdy*, *Fenner*, *Walmſley*, *Clark* and *Kingſmill*. Their charge was High Treaſon, the Heads of which

which were, *That they had plotted to deprive the Q. of her Crown and Life, and had broken out into open Rebellion*; to which they pleaded *Not Guilty*, *Essex* averring that he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent necessity. A. D. 1601

Yelverton the Queens Sergeant and *Edward Coke* her Attorney opened the Indictment, and according to the Custom of Lawyers, tho not very commendable, upbraided *Essex* with the Queen's Favours, compared him to *Catiline*, and made (as some thought) too indecent Reflections and Insults upon Men of their Quality, under such unhappy circumstances; for *Coke* ended his Harangue with this ill natured conclusion. *It were to be wished that this* Robert, *might be the last of this name, Earl of* Essex, *who affected to be* Robert *the first of that name King of* England.

The Earl of *Essex* with great Courage and Modesty answered, that this Art of scandalous Oratory was common with Men of their profession, who accounted it their glory, to run down Innocent Men with multiplicity of words, and therefore prayed the Lords not to regard their Clamours and Noisie Suggestions; but weigh the matter according to Truth, and not by *Rigour* and *Quirks* of Law: Which was added by *Southampton*. The evidences against them being heard, and the whole proved against them, *Southampton* indeavoured to excuse himself out of his love to *Essex*, and his ignorance of the Laws, and with great humility begged the Queens Mercy, whom he had always looked upon as a lively Image of the Divine Goodness, and against whom his heart had never harboured a disloyal thought. *Essex*, when the Heat was over between him and *Cecil*, answered more calmly, that he had no design but to repel Force by Force; nor would he have entred the City so inconsiderately, if he had not thought his Life in danger; nor with so small a number, if he had intended any thing but to defend himself against his private Enemies.

The Prisoners having now made their defences, the Lords withdrew, and in an hour returned to their places, where every one of them pronounced *Essex* and *Southampton* Guilty: who being brought again to the Bar and acquainted with it, *Essex* humbly begged the Lords Favours, that they would intercede with the Queen for *Southampton*'s Pardon, who might do hes *And Condemned.*

A. D. 1601

good Service. *For my own Life*, ſaith he, *I care not; for I deſire nothing more than to lay it down with ſincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have no Man tell the Queen that I ſlight her mercy, tho I believe I ſhall never fawningly beg it. And I beſeech you my Peers, tho you have condemned me by Law, that you would abſolve me in your Conſciences, who never intended any ill againſt my Prince.*

The next Day Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, Knights, *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuff* the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, and *Orel* an old Soldier, were Arraigned, and as ſoon as they had held up their hands, and the Queen was told they were unwarily drawn in, ſhe commanded that none but *Littleton*, *Bainham* and *Orel* ſhould be tryed, and that the reſt ſhould be remanded to Priſon, and tho' Sentence was pronounced againſt thoſe that were Tryed, yet at laſt all their lives were ſpared. *Bainham* redeemed his by a Sum of Money paid to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Littleton* dyed of a Diſeaſe, and *Orel* was Pardoned.

In the mean while the Earl of *Eſſex*, either troubled in his own Conſcience, or terrified by the Miniſter that attended him, if he concealed the Truth, and did not diſcover his Acceſſaries. He deſired to ſpeak with ſome of the Privy Council, and particularly with Secretary *Cecil*. Upon this requeſt the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral and *Cecil* went to him, and after he had asked the Lord Keepers pardon for detaining him in Cuſtody, and *Cecil*'s for accuſing him in the matter of the *Infanta*, he told them, *That the Queen could never be ſafe as long as he lived*, and therefore deſired he might ſuffer privately in the Tower. Some of his Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy he diſcovered: He deſired to ſpeak with *Blunt* and *Cuff*, and as ſoon as he ſaw them, broke out into theſe words, *O* Cuff! *Ask Gods and the Queens Pardon, and ſee you deſerve it. For my part I am reſolved to deal ſincerely before God and Man, and cannot but tell you plainly, that you were the Perſon that chiefly moved me to this diſloyalty.* Nor was he ſatisfied with this verbal Confeſſion, but under his hand diſcovered the Conſpirators.

His Confeſſion.

February 25th. the day appointed for his Execution, *Tho. Montford*, and *Wil. Barlow*, Drs. of Divinity, with

with *Ashton* Minister of the Church in the Tower, were sent to him early in the morning, to prepare him for Death. In these mens presence he gave thanks to God that his designs, which were so dangerous to the State, had no success. He told them he had now look'd seriously into his sin, and was heartily sorry, that he had so obstinately defended an unjust cause at the Barr. He thanked the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, lest his mind, which was now composed, might be disturbed by the Peoples Acclamations, saying, He had now learned how vain a thing Popular Breath and Favour was, and how he deserved to be spued out by the Common-wealth, for the wickedness of his Enterprize, which like a Leprosie had spread far and near, and infected many. A. D. 1601

The Queens mind in the mean time waver'd concerning him, her former affection and favour towards him, recall'd her to some degree of Compassion and Clemency, and she sent her commands by Sir *Edward Cary*, that he should not be Executed: On the other side, his perverse obstinacy who scorned to ask her Pardon, and had openly declared that his Life would be the Queens Destruction, did so push her on to use severity, that soon after she sent a fresh command by *Darcy*, that he should be Executed. Accordingly he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower, accompanyed by the Divines aforenamed. Near the Scaffold sate the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Compton*, some of the Aldermen of *London*, and several Knights, amongst whom was *Rawleigh*, with a purpose, if you believe himself, to answer if the Earl should object any thing against him at his death; but others interpreted his being there in a worse sense, that he might please his Eyes with a sight of the Earls sufferings, and satiate his malice with his Blood, and therefore being told of it as a fault, he withdrew into the Armory, and there beheld the fatal Tragedy. *The Queens mind changes.*

The Earl as soon as he came upon the Scaffold, uncovered his head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confess'd his sins, and begged mercy for them, especially this last sin, which he call'd a *Bloody, Crying, and Contagious sin.* He prayed the Queen and her Ministers to forgive him, and that God would give *His Execution.*

A. D. 1601

her a long and happy Reign, protesting that he never intended to lay violent hands on her Person. He prayed God to strengthen his mind against the terrors of Death, and entreated the Spectators to joyn with him in a short Prayer, which he uttered with great Devotion. Then he rehearsed the *Apostles Creed*, and, laying himself down, placed his Neck upon the Block, and having repeated the first verses of the 51st. Psalm, his Head was struck off at the third Blow; but the first took away both sense and motion.

Extraction.

Thus Dyed *Robert de Evereux* Earl of *Essex*, in the 34th. year of his Age, who was accomplished with all those vertues that compleat and become a Noble Man. He had a high and towring mind, and an obliging Affability, which was too greedily imbibed by the popular Eye, and being a great Ingrosser of Fame, it procured him many Enemies, and made his mind boyl into undecent Passions, more suitable to his Enemies designs than his own; for they lighted their Candle at his Fire, and this heat being blown into a flame by some fiery Spirits about him, stained the goodness of his Nature with a tincture of Revenge, which his Enemies made reflect upon the Queen, so that the Coal which he designed to burn his Enemies Nests, kindled his own Funeral Pile. His Genealogy was ancient and illustrious. His Estate and Dignity of Baron came by a Marriage with *Cecily*, Daughter of *William Bouchier*, whose Grandmother was Sister to *Edward* IV. King of *England*. Her great Grandmother was Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Son of King *Edward* III. born of a Daughter of *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, upon which the Title of Viscount *Hereford* was conferred upon his great Grandfather *Walter*, by King *Edward* VI. and the Honour of Earl of *Essex* upon his Father, by Queen *Elizabeth*. This Earl had a Liberal Education in *Cambridge*, and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Leicester*, and made Master of the Horse; he had great difficulty to get into her Favour, but when he had gained it, she loaded him with Preferments, and afforded him a great share in her affections, which begot him many Enemies, and 'tis no wonder, considering he was not born for a Courtier; for he could neither flatter nor dissemble, but always carryed his Love and Hatred on his Brow. He married *Frances*

the

the Daughter of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Widow of Sir *Philip Sidney*, by whom he had a Son named *Robert*, and two Daughters, *Frances* and *Dorothy*, beſides a Son by his Miſtreſs *Southwell*, who was named *Walter*. A. D. 1601

March 5. Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick* Knights, and *Cuff*, being accuſed of the ſame Crimes with *Eſſex*, were brought to their Tryals, and being Convicted by the Jury, received the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at Tyburn, except Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* and Sir *Charles Danvers*, who being nobly deſcended, were beheaded upon Tower-Hill. To this cauſe alſo belongs a Cenſure, given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*. The Earl of *Eſſex* complained at his Tryal, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon diligent enquiry into that matter, a bold Impoſture was diſcovered. The Counteſs of *Eſſex* being afraid, that in thoſe troubleſome times ſome evil might befall her Husband and her ſelf, put ſome Letters which ſhe had received from him into a Cabinet, and intruſted it in the hands of a *Dutch* Woman called *Rihove*, who hid them in her Houſe. By chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, found them, read them over, and obſerving that there was ſomething in them that might incenſe the Queen, and endanger the Earl, cauſed them to be tranſcribed by one that was expert at *Counterfeiting Hands*. And when the timorous Counteſs was ready to lie In, he told her that unleſs ſhe would give him three thouſand pounds, he would deliver them into the hands of her Husbands Enemies. The good Lady to prevent that danger, immediately gave him 1100 and ſeventy pounds; and yet for that great Sum, the Villain gave her only the Copies, and kept the Originals to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, Fined in 3000 pounds, two of which was to be paid to the Counteſs, and to ſtand with his Ears Nailed in the Pillory, with this Inſcription on his Breaſt, *A Wicked Forger and Impoſtor*.

A peice of Forgery.

About this time the Arch-Duke *Albert* beſieged *Oſtend*, and the Confederate States being obliged, for their own preſervation, to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governour of it, under the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without* Oſtend. This place in the memory of Man, was but a few Cot-

Oſtend beſieged.

A. D. 1601

tages for poor Fiſhermen on a naked ſhore; but at the beginning of the Low-Country Wars, was fortified by the States, firſt with a Paliſado; afterward the Sea working in, and making it a very convenient Harbour, they added a trench to it, and placed an *Engliſh* Garriſon in it. Theſe Men, firſt under *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *John Norris*, ſo diſturbed and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay ſiege to it, but in vain. *Le Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was beaten off with great loſs of men; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* ſurrounded it with ſeventeen Sconces. But when the Garriſons and theſe Sconces proved as Burthenſome and vexatious to *Flanders*, as the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient both to Harbour the *Spaniſh* Gallies, and diſturb the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and *Zealanders*, the *Spaniards* reſolving to take it, whatever it coſt them; and the States on the other hand reſolved to defend it. Never in our age was a Siege more obſtinately maintained, or more gallantly defended: nor a greater ſlaughter of men, nor a piece of ſervice that laſted longer; but the Journal being extant, I will not here repeat it. At five months end Sir *Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminiſhed by frequent Sallies, the Enemies Shot, and the Peſtilence, a part of the old Town ſwallowed by the Sea, their Proviſion almoſt ſpent, and by reaſon of contrary Winds no hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded, and underſtanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Aſſault upon the Town, he deſired a Parly with the Arch Duke about yielding the place, who, after Hoſtages were given on both ſides, Commiſſioners were ſent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only delayed the time, and fed them with hopes of a Surrender, till freſh Supplies of Men were come to him, and then ſent back the Commiſſioners, excuſing himſelf by that Military Axiom, *That to delude and over-reach an Enemy is pleaſant and advantageous*, and therefore deſired their Pardon, if in caſe of the like neceſſity he ſhould make uſe of the ſame Stratagem. The *Arch-Duke* in revenge made a furious Aſſault the next day, but was beaten off; and General *Vere* when he had made good the ſhaken and battered places, was called away by the States, who thought fit every

every five months to send a new Governour and fresh supplies of Men, leaving his Office to *Frederick Dorpe* Which Generals and their Successors, with great Prudence and resolution defended the Town three years, and about a hundred days, against the furious assaults of the *Sea* and the *Enemy*, and happy had it been if the Sea had been let in and had swallowed it; for the stoutest and bravest Soldiers of the *Low-Coontries*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Italy*, whilst they contended for a barren plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' withal it was an eternal Monument of their Valour. A. D. 1601

A three years siege.

The *Irish* had been long in expectations of assistance from *Spain*, and now to their great joy they arrived in great State at *Kingsale*, and having peaceably entred the Town and refreshed themselves, *Don Juan d' Aquila*, who Commanded them, with the Title of *Master General and Captain of the Catholick King in Gods War, for maintaining the Faith in* Ireland, published several Papers, wherein he endeavoured to perswade the People, that Queen *Elizabeth* was by several Sentences of the Pope deprived of her Crown, that her Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to deliver *Ireland* out of the Jaws of the Devil; and by that specious pretence he drew great numbers of Lewd and Dissolute Fellows to joyn with him. The Lord Deputy having drawn together what Troops he could, besieged *Kingsale*, forced the *Castle* of *Kincurran* to surrender, and with the help of Vice-Admiral *Levison*, begirt the Town with a closer siege, which notwithstanding was soon after somewhat slackned, in regard *Levison* with his Fleet was fain to sail hence against 2000 *Spaniards*, which were Landed at *Bere Haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Castle Haven*, five of whose Ships he sunk. About the same time *O Donel*, *Tir Owen*, *O Rork*, *Reymund Burk*, *Mac Mahon*, *Randal Mac Surley*, and the chief Rebels drew near, and joyning the new Landed *Spaniards* made up 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and were puffed up with such a Confidence of Victory, as being more in number, fresh men, and well provided with all necessaries, whereas the *English* were tired out with a Winters siege, destitute of Provisions, and their Horses spent with hard Service and want of Hay and Corn. However, when both Armies came to engage they found

The Spaniard invades Ireland.

They are beaten.

A. D. 1601

found to the contrary; for the *Spaniards* were slaughter'd, the *Irish* betook themselves to flight, throwing away their Arms. *Don Alphonso O Campo* was taken Prisoner, with three *Spanish* Leaders and six Ensigns. Twelve Hundred Men were slain, and nine Colours taken, whereof six were *Spanish*. Of the *English* few were kill'd, but many wounded.

Great and many were the advantages of this Victory, for *Ireland* that was staggering and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in obedience; the *Spaniards* were driven out of that Country; the Arch Rebel *Tir Owen* was forced into his shelters; *O Donel* was forced to fly into *Spain*; the rest of the Rebels were dispersed; the Queens Authority was restored; the hearts of honest men revived, and a solid and perfect Peace established in all *Ireland*.

1602

They Capitulate and leave Ireland.

The next day the Lord Deputy commanded *Josias Bodley* to survey the works about *Kingsale*, to finish the Mount and draw the Trenches nearer the Town, which was six days a doing; in the mean while *D' Aquila* sent a Trumpeter to the Lord Deputy, desiring a Parley. Sir *William Godolphin* was chosen for that purpose, to whom *D' Aquila* signified, *That he had found the Lord Deputy a smart but honourable Enemy; that the* Irish *were Weak, Rude, and Perfidious; that the Catholick King had sent him to assist two Earls, but now he questioned whether there were any such Earls in the World, since one blast of War had blown one of them into* Spain, *and the other into the North, where neither of them were to be found, and therefore he was willing to treat of a Peace, which might be advantageous to the* English, *and not prejudicial to the* Spaniards; *tho' he wanted nothing for a Siege, and every day expected Succors to enable him to do what he came for.* Briefly it was concluded that the *Spaniards* should surrender *Kinsale*, the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bear-haven* and *Castle-haven* to the Lord Deputy, depart with their Lives and Goods, and Colours flying, and not be molested by any *English* Ship in their voyage to *Spain*. These Articles being ratified the *Spaniards* took the first opportunity of returning home.

A Quarrel between the Jesuits and the Monks.

And that they might have no temptation to make another Descent in *Ireland*, the Q. sent a Fleet of Ships into *Spain*, which harrass'd their Coasts and took a Carack valued at a Million of Ducats, with the loss of

five

five men only. Now there happened a great Quarrel between the Jeſuits and the Secular Prieſts in *England*; for *Blackwel*, who was wholly at the command of *Garnet* General of the Jeſuits in *England*, uſurp'd Authority over them, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procured a *Breve* from the Pope, wherein they were declared Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, which they cleared themſelves of by a Cenſure of the Univerſity of *Paris*. Publiſhing one Book after another, the Secular Prieſts highly extolled the Queen, and made it appear, That in the firſt 11 years of her Reign, there was not one Papiſt had his life call'd in queſtion for his Religion; and that in 10 years after the Publication of the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion of the Papiſts, not above twelve Prieſts were put to death for Treaſon, till in the year 1580, when the Jeſuits firſt crept into *England*. Then they ſhewed at large, that the wicked deſigns of the Jeſuits confounded all, and enforced the making of ſevere Laws againſt Papiſts. That after Seminaries for *Engliſh* Fugitives were made in *Spain* by the procurement of *Parſons* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, and fifty every year were ſent into *England* to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. That *Parſons* excited the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and ſet up the *Infanta* of *Spain*'s Title to the Crown of *England*. That *Holt* a Jeſuit perſwaded *Hesket* to raiſe a Rebellion, hired *Cullen*, *York*, and *Williams* to kill the Queen. That *Walpool* a Jeſuit perſwaded *Squire* to Poyſon her: Inſomuch that the Queen, whoſe Judgment was, that Conſcience ought not to be forced, was neceſſitated to uſe ſeverity, or betray her own and her Kingdoms ſafety. *Parſons* they reproached with being a Baſtard, the Dregs of the People, and a Turbulent, Seditious Sycophant and Equivocator. The Defamatory Libels which the Jeſuits made againſt the Queen, they condemned of Falſhood, and the Authors as Traytors to God and her Majeſty, and deſired the *Engliſh* Papiſts not to ſend their Children to be Educated in the Jeſuits Colleges, where they ſuckt in the Poyſon of Treaſon and Rebellion with their firſt Rudiments. A. D. 1602

They are baniſh'd.

While theſe Contentions were on foot, and were encouraged by the Biſhop of *London*, the Privy Council were of opinion, that notwithſtanding this pretended Animoſity, they were both agreed to pervert her

A. D. 1602

her Majesty's Subjects, and therefore were both banished by Proclamation; and it came out but in time, for while they were managing these disputes, *Thomas Winter* and *Tesmund* a Jesuit, were sent over into *Spain*, where they carry'd on a dangerous Plot for cutting off Q. *Elizabeth*, and excluding *James* K. of *Scots* from his Succession to the Crown of *England*.

Successes against the Irish.

After the *Spaniards* were driven out of *Ireland*, *Tir Owen*, under a great fright, made haste to his lurking holes in *Ulster*, and from this time forward could not rest in quiet, but haunted with an evil Conscience, mistrusted every one, and continually removed from place to place. The Lord Deputy put his Soldiers into Winter Quarters, and as soon as the season of the year would permit, he marched against the Rebels, and sent Sir *Arthur Chichester* and Sir *Henry Dockwra* to fall upon *Tir Owen*; but all approaches were so Miry, the March so troublesome, the Weather so foul, and their Guides so perfidious, that they were forc'd to give over their Enterprise; but in conclusion, the Garrisons placed here and there by the Lord Deputy, did so vex and afflict the Rebels by often charging upon them, that when they saw themselves beset on every side, and that like wild Beasts, they were compelled to hide themselves in Woods and Forests, they began to submit to the Lord Deputy, striving who should be the first; complaining that *Tir Owen* for his own private Grudges had exposed the Nation to ruin, and that the War was only carry'd on to serve his purposes, but was destructive in its consequence to every body else. *Tir Owen* also finding his ill Successes had weakned the Fidelity of his Followers, and lessen'd his Forces, resolved, if it were possible, to save his own Life, therefore sent submissive Letters to the Queen and the Lord Deputy, with prayers and tears wherein he begg'd his Pardon, and giving such signs of true Repentance, the Queen order'd the Ld. Deputy to receive him to mercy, provided he would beg it upon his knees with that humility and submission, that he pretended to in his Letters. Upon notice of this welcome News, *Tir Owen* repairs to Court, and being admitted into the Presence Chamber, where the Lord Deputy sate in his Chair of State, with a great number of Sword Men about him, he fell on his knees at the very Treshold, then advancing near-

Tir Owen submits.

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er with a dejected Countenance, ſaid, *I acknowledge my ſin againſt God, and my offence againſt my moſt Gracious Queen and Sovereign Lady, to whoſe Royal Clemency, as a Sacred Anchor I betake my ſelf, offering up my Life and Eſtate to be at her diſpoſal, whoſe former Bounty and preſent Power as I have felt, ſo I moſt humbly beſeech her, that I may now taſte of her mercy, and be made an eternal example of her Princely Clemency. My age is not ſo far ſpent, nor my Body ſo feeble, nor my mind ſo broken, but that by my valiant and faithful ſervice I may yet expiate the ſin of my Rebellion.* A. D. 1602 1603

Thus ended *Tir Owen*'s Rebellion by the Auſpicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, eight years after it firſt began. That it continued ſo long is no wonder, if we conſider that it encreaſed by ſlighting it, and the over Covetouſneſs of *England*, who were unwilling to grant Supplies: That it was protracted by unſeaſonable Emulations, Diſſembled Truces, Troubleſome Ways, difficult acceſs to Places, and by the Temper of the *Iriſh*, who truſted more to the nimbleneſs of their heels than the ſtrength of their hands. *An end of the Iriſh Wars.*

The Queen who had hitherto enjoyed a perfect health, began in her Climacterical year, the 70*th.* of her Age, to be ſenſible of the infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition that had lately ſeized upon her; and therefore removed from *Weſtminſter* to her Palace at *Richmond*, that ſhe might enjoy a better Air, and more freely attend the Service of God and the Salvation of her Soul. And here commanding her Inauguration Ring to be filed off her Finger, becauſe it was grown into the fleſh and was painful, it was look'd upon as an ill Omen, and that the marriage between her and the Kingdom was diſſolving. Her ſickneſs began by a ſwelling in her Throat, but that ſoon abated. Then by degrees her Appetite failed; ſhe had no reliſh of any thing ſhe eat, wholly reſigned her ſelf to melancholy, and ſeemed afflicted with ſome peculiar grief, that all except her ſelf was ignorant of the cauſe of: but whether occaſion'd by the violence of her diſtemper, the loſs of the Earl of *Eſſex* (as his Friends perſwaded themſelves,) or that after ſo great Expences in the *Iriſh* War, ſhe was prevailed upon to pardon *Tir Owen*, or that many of the Nobility declined their duty to her to *The Queen ſickens.*

worſhip

A.D. 1603

worſhip the riſing Sun, I will not take upon me to determine: Tho', to their reproach be it ſpoken, ſhe ſaw her ſelf but ill attended in her ſickneſs, and forſaken by all but three or four Perſons, which ſhe was not unſenſible of, and therefore Grief and Indignation made her ſay, *They have yoked my neck; I have none that I can truſt: My condition is ſtrangely turn'd upſide down.* In the beginning of *March* her Melancholy encreaſed, and a frowardneſs familiar to old Age, ſeized upon her; ſhe would ſit ſilent, and not endure any talk, unleſs it were with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom ſhe often prayed with great Fervency and Devotion, until, by degrees, her Speech failed, and then heard him pray by her with great attention. Now the Lord Admiral telling the reſt of the Privy Council, what the Queen had ſometime ſaid to him about the Succeſſion, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord Keeper, and the Secretary of State, ſhould wait upon her, and in the name of the reſt of the Council, underſtand her pleaſure concerning her Succeſſor. The Queen made anſwer, with a Gaſping Breath, *I ſaid that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would not have any mean Perſon ſucceed me.* The Secretary asking her what ſhe meant by theſe words; *I will, ſaid ſhe, that a King ſucceed me: And who ſhould that be but my neareſt Kinſman the King of* Scots? Then being put in mind by the Arch-Biſhop to think upon God, *That I do, ſaid ſhe, nor does my mind wander from him:* And when ſhe could no longer pray with her tongue, with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, ſhe directed the thoughts of her Pious heart to God, and Prayed, by ſorrowing inwardly that ſhe could not pray vocally, as was obſerved by the ſigns ſhe made to her attendants, when ſhe could ſpeak no longer. And on the 24th. of *March*, 1603, Peaceably reſigned her Pious Soul to God, having Reigned 44 Years, 4 Months, and in the ſeventieth Year of her Age, to which no King of *England* ever attained.

She names her ſucceſſor, and dieth.

Her Character.

To draw a Picture worthy of Q. *Elizabeth* would be a Task for the greateſt Maſters; ſince all that ever was Great in Womankind contributed to make up her Character. As to her Perſon ſhe had but little of a Regular Beauty in her Face, but that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mein

and

and Gate were Noble, and in every thing she said or did there was something of Majesty that struck both Love and Reverence. In her Features, Person and Mein, she had more of King *Henry* VIII. than of the unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, but they were his good and not his ill qualities. Her youth was a continued Scene of afflictions, but this was her happiness, that she was too young to understand them. Her Brother King *Edward* took care of her Education, and her improvement in good Literature was a sufficient requital. Queen *Mary*'s hereditary aversion to her upon the account of their Mothers, and the Inveterate Malice of the Popish Priests in respect of her Religion, had certainly overthrown her, if King *Philip*, who was the greatest Enemy of her Reign, had not preserved her life to be the scourge of *Spain*, and the terror of the Romanists. A. D. 1603

Her Reign was Long and Glorious, she was the Darling of her People; the Dread of her Enemies, and so happy in the choice of her Ministers, that success attended all her Enterprises. She had the Art of pleasing her Parliaments, and had little trouble in doing it; for they were composed of such Grave and Discreet Persons, that were strangers to Faction and Ambition *. Such as came to the House, not to exercise their Spleens, but to consult of the Common Good, and rather to comply than contend with her Majesty; so that the Queen and they had ever the good Fortune to part in Love, she having first her Supplies, and they next what they desired. She was very sparing in Conferring Honours, yet had always a way to reward Merit, without proclaiming it. She found the Nation poor, but left it rich, and nothing seems to reflect upon her memory but the death of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, of which so much has been said *Pro* and *Con*, that I shall add nothing to it, but that they both deserve to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the cause of them. But all that has been said in Commendation of this Renowned Queen, was never intended so much for a full Character of her and her Councils, as to set out the great and visible Blessings of God that attended her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such discoveries as both saved her Life and secured her Government

* Fragmenta Regalia, p. 13, 14.

A. D. 1603

vernment; and the unusual happiness of her whole Reign, which raised her to the Esteem and Envy of that Age, and the wonder of all Posterity. It was admired indeed, that a Virgin Queen should rule such a Kingdom for above Forty Four years, with such constant Success, in so great Tranquility at Home, with a vast increase of Wealth, and with such Glory Abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the peculiar Rewards of Heaven, Crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Establishment of the true Religion.

THE

IAMES I

24.

Vol. 2

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Vol. II.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF King JAMES I.

A. D. 1603

QUeen *Elizabeth* being dead, tho' a ſtrict command was given to keep the Gates of the Palace ſhut, yet Sir *Robert Carew*, his Father being Chamberlain, found a way out to carry the News to the King of *Scots*; who about nine in the morning the ſame day was Proclaimed King by the name of *James* I. The King no ſooner received notice of his being Proclaimed, but he ſends Sir *Roger Aſton*, an *Engliſhman* born, to the Lords of the Council in *England*, to make Proviſion for his Journey, and his Reception at Court:

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And now the great ones ſtrive who ſhall be moſt Obſequious to their new King, and Court their happy hopes. The King took his Journey through the North, was magnificently treated in all places, and the multitude ſtill admiring a Change, made the Heavens Echo with their loud and repeated Acclamations; which a plain and honeſt *Scotchman* obſerving, he ſaid, *by my Saoul this People will ſpoil a Gude King*, and the King not accuſtomed to ſuch ſhouting, and tired with the Croud, reſtrained them by Proclamation, that he might enjoy his recreation in Hunting as he paſs'd along, without theſe noiſie interruptions. At *Theobald's*, Secretary *Cecil's* houſe, he was met by the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord *Buckhurſt* Treaſurer, the Lord *Nottingham* Admiral, all of the deceaſed Queens Council, and who were four men of ſuch incomparable Parts, that the meaneſt of them were fit to manage the greateſt affairs of any Kingdom. No Order of Men or Parties omitted paying their Court to him. The Biſhops made their Devoirs, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the Faction that oppoſed the Hierarchy, and the Nonconformiſts Complemented him in hopes of his Favour; between whom the King carried it ſmoothly, in hopes to pleaſe them both, not leaving out the Papiſts whom he alſo cloſed with, by taking the Lord *Thomas* and the Lord *Henry Howard* into his Council, who were Son and Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who ſuffered for his Mother. On theſe he alſo heaped Honours, making the Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Brother Earl of *Northampton*, which almoſt intoxicated the Popiſh Party, with hopes of an Alteration in Religion.

All Parties make their Court.

Here the *Engliſh* made Court to the *Scots* that were moſt in Favour, and there the *Scotch* laid the foundation of their *Engliſh* Fortunes; the chief of whom was Sir *George Hume*, who being Privy to the Intrigues of the *Gowry's Conſpiracy*, was ſeldom denied any thing he ask'd of the King, for fear he ſhould cackle: for now many of the *Engliſh* believed as little of the *Gowry's Conſpiracy*, as the *Scots* themſelves did; it being ſo improbable a thing in it ſelf, and attended with ſo many inconſiſtent Circumſtances, that it was utterly disbelieved at the time it was ſaid to have been attempted, tho' the next Age ſwallowed that ſtory for truth, which their Anceſtors took for a meer Fiction.

Now

Now Ambaſſadors flock into *England* with Compliments of Congratulation to the new King; the firſt that came was from the *Palſgrave* of the *Rhine*, preſently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, another from the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, a nother from the King of *Spain*; from the Siegniory of *Venice*, from the Duke of *Florence*, and laſt of all Monſieur *de Roſney* from the *French* King. All Congratulating his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*: For entertainment of which Ambaſſadors, and all other that ſhould come after them, the King made an Officer by the name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee, and the firſt that had the Place was Sir *Lewis Lukenor*, a Gentleman of good Parts and very skilful in the Neighbouring Languages. A. D. 1603

The Conſtable of *Caſtile*, Ambaſſador from *Spain*, ſo plyed the buſineſs he came upon, that ſparing no coſt, he procured a Peace ſo advantageous for *Spain* and ſo diſadvantageous to *England*, that We and all Chriſtendom have ſince felt the lamentable effect of it. There was not one Courtier of Note, but taſted of *Spain*'s Bounty either in Gold or Jewels, and among them not any in ſo large a Proportion as the Counteſs of *Suffolk*, who ſhared in her Lords Intereſt being then a Potent Courtier, and alſo in the Secretary's, who was reported to be kind to her: Inſomuch that the People ſaid, that the famous ſtructure of *Audley-end* had its Foundation from *Spaniſh* Gold. Now hapned ſo great a Plague in *London*, that the King to ſhun the Contagion, left the Metropolis and retired to the Earl of *Pembrook*'s at *Wilton*, in time broke out a kind of Treaſon that no Body knew what to make of it then, and was left under ſo dark a Comment, that Poſtetity could never underſtand it ſince. 'Tis true ſome loſt their lives for it, yet the World was never ſatisfied of the Juſtice, and Sir *Walter Ramleigh* (the only mark of Tyranny in this good Kings Reign) was Executed many years after without all Precedent, and as moſt men thought without any juſt cauſe, and even againſt the Kings Will, who, in many things, was over-awed by his fears and timorous diſpoſition; but the *Spaniſh* Gold and *Spaniſh* Faction betrayed his Life, as they had done the Kingdoms before by a diſhonourable Peace. And, I believe, it

Peace between England and Spain.

Sir Walter Rawleigh's hard meaſure.

A. D. 1603

was one of the greateſt Maſter-pieces of that Ambaſador, to purchaſe *Rawleigh*'s head; yet had not *Briſtol* co-operated the King would never have conſented, and it may be that Lord ſerved his own ends in it, fearing *Rawleigh*'s extraordinary Parts might once again have raiſed him to have looked over *Sherborn* Caſtle, which was once his own, and how unjuſtly taken from him the World knew, tho' they durſt not talk of it then: Tho' ſome have lately obſerved that the Houſe of *Briſtol* is now extinct in the Male Line; but there are yet ſome hopeful Branches of the *Rawleigh*'s, that may live to deſerve the Honour of being related to that great man of the Sword and Pen; of whoſe pretended Treaſon be pleaſed to take this following relation.

The E. of *Southampton*, who had been long buryed in *Eſſex*'s Ruins, was now delivered from the Tower, and the King looking graciouſly upon him, it (as they ſaid) diſpleaſed the new Baron of *Eſſingdon* Sir *Robert Cecil*, and much more the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; and being alſo diſcharged from their attendance at Court, 'tis ſaid they broke out into a Conſpiracy, ad aſſociating themſelves with two Romiſh Prieſts, and other diſcontented Perſons, deſigned to ſet up the Lady *Arabella*; to alter Religion and ſubvert the Government, and had already divided the beſt Places among themſelves. The Lord *Grey* was to ſeize upon the King and Prince. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was to treat with Count *Aremberg* for procuring Money, and the Lord *Cobham* was to go to the Arch-Duke and the K. of *Spain*, to gain their Aſſiſtance. For theſe pretended Crimes they were Arraigned and found Guilty of High Treaſon at *Wincheſter*. *George Brook*, the Lord *Cobham*'s Brother and the two Prieſts ſuffered, and the reſt were received to mercy; but this Conſpiracy was ſuch a mixture of Perſons, Proteſtants, Papiſts, and Atheiſts, that none knew what to make of it, but 'twas generally accounted a trick of State to weaken a Party. The greateſt Evidence againſt *Rawleigh* was *Cobham*'s Accuſation, which he only deſired might appear *Viva Voce*, and he would yield without further defence; but his Enemies knew *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him, for they were ſenſible that Accuſation was procured after this manner.

Cobham's Conſpiracy.

manner. *Cobham* was tamper'd with by *Wade*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisbury*'s great Confident, to accuſe *Rawleigh*, but he refuſed it. *Wade* deſired it under his hand; that he denied alſo: At laſt *Wade* deſir'd *Cobham* to ſet his hand to a Blank, and he being a weak man conſented to it; to which *Wade* wrote the Accuſation, as will appear hereafter; for *Salisbury* urging *Rawleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accuſed him under his hand, if he would then confeſs it? *Rawleigh* reply'd, he knew *Cobham* was a weak man and knew not how far he might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not accuſe him to his face, and therefore had no reaſon to venture his life upon it. On this Defence he inſiſted till nine at night; at laſt his Fate carried him againſt his Reaſon, and he conſented that upon producing *Cobham*'s hand he would yield, then immediately that Paper was produced, which in truth was his Hand, but the Contents was *Wade*'s contrivance; as will now appear. A. D. 1603 Wade's contrivance.

That excellent Princeſs Queen *Ann* being deſperately ſick of a Diſeaſe that her Phyſicians thought incurable; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* being an excellent Chymiſt, and Maſter of all kinds of Learning, undertook and performed the Cure; for which he would receive no other reward, but that his Majeſty would ſend certain Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord *Cobham*, *Whether he had at any time under his hand accuſed him of Treaſon.* The King, at the Queens requeſt, and in Juſtice he could do no leſs, ſends ſix Lords, which for the honour of their Families ſhall be nameleſs, to make enquiry of him: Cobham *proteſts he never did, nor could not accuſe him*: *But*, ſaid he, *that Villain* Wade *did often ſolicit me to do it, but not prevailing, got me by a trick to write my name upon a piece of White Paper, and if any Charge appeared againſt Sir* Walter Rawleigh *under my hand, it was forged by that Villain* Wade, *by writing ſomething above my hand, without my conſent or knowledge.* Theſe ſix returning to the King, made one of them their Spokeſman, who ſaid, *Sir, My Lord* Cobham *has confirmed all that ever he wrote or ſaid*; which was an Equivocetion, for 'tis true, he made good whatever he writ, *but he wrote nothing to accuſe Sir* Walter Rawleigh. Thus was the King abuſed, and *Rawleigh* trick'd out of his Life and Eſtate by the malice of his Enemies. Cobham clears Rawleigh.

A. D. 1603

The King and Queen Crowned.

This year, tho' a great Plague broke out in *London*, whereof above 30000 died, yet in the heat of the Contagion, on the 25*th.* of *July*, being St. *James*'s day, the King and his Wife Queen *Ann* were both Crowned at *Weſtminſter*. A little before this the Prince was inſtalled Knight of the Garter, the Earl of *Southampton* and the young Earl of *Eſſex* were reſtor'd in Blood, and Honours ſo profuſely ſcattered, that ſome Men were tempted to accuſe the King's Politicks, and thought he weakned his own intereſt; for nothing is more deſtructive to Monarchy than leſſening the Nobility by encreaſing their number, for when they decline, the Commons riſe, and Anarchy predominates. But the King ſeemed to be under a neceſſity to act as he did. The *Scots* he brought with him wanted Means more than Honour, and the *Engliſh* he found here wanted Honour more than Means, and therefore ſupplied both their wants with a liberal hand. Sir *Robert Cecil* was made Baron of *Eſſingdon*, and ſoon after Viſcount *Cranborn* and Earl of *Salisbury*. Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penſhurſt*, and not long after Viſcount *Liſle*. Sir *William Knolles* Baron of *Grays*. Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*. Sir *Thomas Edgerton* Baron of *Elſmere*. Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornaugh*. Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grooby*. Sir *John Peter* Baron of *Writtle*. Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*. *D' Anvers* Baron of *Dantſy*. Sir *Thomas Gerrard* Baron of *Gerrards Bromley*. Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Wormleighton*. The Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord Treaſurer, he made Earl of *Dorſet*, and his old Servant Sir *George Hume*, Earl of *Dunbar*. Theſe with *Suffolk* and *Northampton* were of Ancient Families, and adorned his Throne: The reſt be pleaſed to take at the times of their Creations.

A Creation of the Nobility.

In requital of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, two ſtately Embaſſies are now addreſſed, one to *Spain*, the other to the Arch-Duke of *Bavaria*, to have that Peace they ſo dearly purchaſed, confirmed and ſworn to by ours, as formerly by them. The old Lord Admiral was ſent to *Spain*, and the Earl of *Hertford* to *Bruxels*. The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed at the ſplendor of this Embaſſie, and the handſome Gentlemen that made up the Retinue: For the Jeſuits had reported that our People were as Ugly as Devils, as a puniſhment inflicted upon the Nation, for caſting off the Pope's Supremacy; but when they beheld them to have the Countenances of Angels,

An Embaſſy into Spain.

gels, they believed their Eyes, and ſaid their Confeſſors were monſtrous Lyars. The Ambaſſador had his reception in as much State, as his Entertainment with Bounty, the King defraying all Charges, and they were detained longer at their Landing than was uſual, to have all things in their way to *Madrid* in ſuch plenty, that the whole Country might appear like the Land of *Canaan*, which in truth was but a barren Wilderneſs. In their abode at *Madrid* they gave them Roaſt meat, but they beat them with the Spits, by reporting that the *Engliſh* ſtole the Plate that was uſed at Table, when in truth it was the *Spaniards*, who thought to make Hay while the Sun ſhone, not thinking ever to come to ſuch a Feaſt again, and therefore would fill their Pockets as well as their Bellies, Food and Coin being equally ſcarce in that Nation. This report paſſed currently to the infinite diſhonour and reproach of our Nation, there being at that time the prime Gallantry of the *Engliſh*. Sir *Robert Manſel*, who was born to vindicate the honour of this Nation, as well as his own, coming in late to Supper, took his place at the lower end of the Table, and falling to his Meat, ſaw a *Spaniard* as the Diſhes emptied, always putting ſome into his Boſom, and ſome into his Breeches, till they ſtrutted. Sir *Robert Manſel* ſending a private Meſſage to the upper end of the Table, that there might be no diſturbance, ſteps up, takes the *Spaniard* in his Arms and brings him up to the Grandee's of *Spain*. Then pulls the Plate out of his Boſom, Breeches, and every part about him, which ſo amazed the *Spaniards* and vindicated the *Engliſh*, that not a Syllable more was ever heard of that matter, but all due honour was paid to the Nation, and thanks to him in particular, who with the reſt at laſt returned to *England* in ſafety. A. D. 1603

The Engliſh *ſlander'd and acquitted*

A great difference being betwixt the Epiſcopal Party and the Sect called Puritans, and both active in attaining their ends; the K. thinking himſelf unſecure among them, at the importunity of both appoints a Conference at *Hampton-Court*, where the Biſhops Opponents, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewſtubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, deſired in the name of the reſt, that the Common Prayer Book might be amended, hotly diſputed againſt the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, the Oath *Ex Officio*, and other Circumſtantials, which they ſaid offended them, and ought to

The Puritans demands.

A. D. 1603

be removed. The King himſelf anſwers moſt of their demands, ſometimes applying *Lenitives*, other while *Corroſives*. When he ſaw their Oppoſitions proceeded rather from Stubborneſs in Opinion than Tenderneſs of Conſcience: and ſo betwixt Sound Arguments and Royal Authority, ſilenc'd their Clamours for the preſent, and reduced them to Conformity. The King managed this Diſcourſe with ſo much Learning and Prudence, that the Audience were ſurprized to hear it, and Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, a Learned and Pious Man, ſaid, *He was verily perſwaded that the King ſpake by the Spirit of God.*

Several Proclamations.

On the other ſide, the Jeſuits being in hopes to catch ſomething by troubling the ſtream, flock'd into *England* in great numbers, and the King perceiving that their coming ſo near him, put his Perſon and Religion into Danger, he iſſued out a Proclamation, Commanding all Prieſts and Jeſuits to depart out of the Kingdom, and if any of them ſhould preſume to return again, they ſhould be proceeded againſt according to Law. This ſomewhat allayed the heat and hopes of the Jeſuits, but it made way for more dark and ſecret Conſpiracies. Another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to Law, and to reduce thoſe that had not received ſatisfaction at the Conference; for it was now a hard Queſtion whether the Jeſuits or the Nonconformiſts were greateſt Enemies againſt the Church of *England*. After this Proclamations came out thick and threefold, againſt Monopolies, Protections, Salt-Peter Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other Inſolent Officers that were grievous to the Subject. The King naturally deſired not to be look'd upon, and thoſe Noiſes and Formalities of the State which ſet a Luſtre upon other Princes, were burthenſome to him. The Parliament drawing on that was ſummoned to meet upon the 19th. of *March*, the King with the Q. and Prince, four days before, rode from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*; and the City and Suburbs being one great Pageant, wherein he muſt ſuffer his Ears to imbibe their Oratory, tho' never ſo nauſeous to his Stomach, he endured the brunt very patiently, tho' afterwards he forbid it upon all occaſions.

At the opening of the Parliament the K. was pleaſed to entertain them with an Incomparable Speech, wherein he ſo interweaved the Rights and Duties of the Monarchy,

narchy, with the Privileges of the Subject, that all Parties thought it worthy of Commendations, and truly he ſhewed his Maſter-piece in that particular, and did not only pleaſe and cloſe with his own Subjects, but cauſed his Wiſdom to be admired abroad. The Parliament admiring the Kings Abilities, made a Recognition of his Right to the Crown of *England*, to which they obliged themſelves, their Heirs and Poſterities, and the King as it were triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty. But our inbred Diſtempers were not long upon the *Lee* before they began to ferment, the King's Lenity, and the Peoples Luxury, made way for abundance of Diſorders. The Streets ſwarmed with Quarrels and private Duels, eſpecially betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, many diſcontents aroſe between the Gentry and Commonalty about Incloſures, and between the Proteſtants and the Papiſts about Religion; the Papiſts Petition for a Toleration, but not being able to procure it, they contrived a dangerous Plot againſt the Blood Royal, and all the Nobility and Gentry aſſembled in Parliament, who, as they had projected, muſt be all blown up and deſtroyed, by the blaſt of 36 Barrels of Gun-powder, which the Conſpirators had placed in a Cellar under the Parliament-Houſe, as was diſcover'd by a Letter from one of the Contrivers, when the fire was already in their hands, as well as the malice in their hearts to effect it.

A. D. 24

Quarrels betwixt the Engliſh *and* Scots.

The principall Conſpirator was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, who firſt contrived the Stratagem, and communicated it to *Thomas Piercy*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, Sir *Everard Digby*, and other Gentlemen of good Eſtates, who, like combuſtible matter, took fire at the firſt motion, and thought to gain themſelves Eternal Reputation among the Papiſts by effecting it. The Foundation being laid, every man betakes himſelf to his Poſt, being ſworn to ſecrecy. *Piercy* was to hire the Cellar to lay Wood and Coals in for his Winter Store; *Guido Faux*, a deſperate Ruffian, who was to fire the Train, was appointed to bring in the Wood and Coals. The Gun-powder was provided in *Flanders*, brought to *Lambeth* by night, and covertly laid under the Wood, whilſt others were providing Money and Materials

Gun powder Treaſon.

A. D. 1604

terials to carry on their design when the Blow was given. The King and Prince they look'd upon as already dead, and *Piercy* undertook to destroy the Duke of *York*; but because they must have one of the Blood Royal to pretend to, they intended to preserve the Lady *Elizabeth*, and make her Queen, that under her Minority they might re-establish Popery. They had designed the fatal day to be upon the 5*th.* of *November*, when the King and both Houses were to meet, and on that day appointed a great Hunting Match at *Dunsmore Heath* in *Warwickshire*, to be near the Lord *Harrington*'s house, where the Lady *Elizabeth* was. Thus imagining their underground Treasons were un-discovered by Heaven it self, they stood gaping for their Prey, when behold one more tender hearted than the rest of the Murderers, willing to save the Lord *Monteagle*, writ this Letter to him.

A Letter to the Lord Monteagle.

MY Lord, out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your Preservation, therefore I would wish you (as you tender your life) to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the Wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement; for tho' there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Council is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose holy Protection I commend you.

The Lord *Monteagle* astonished at this Letter, tho' he knew not the meaning of it, communicated the Contents of it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and others of the King's Privy-Council. *Salisbury* could not unriddle the meaning of it, but concluded the Author was either Fool or Madman from this Expression, *The danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt*: If the danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt, there was no need of any warning; but he did not comprehend the meaning of it, for the Author only meant as to the Writer and Receiver, if he had Grace to make use of the warning. The King was Hunting at *Royston*, while they were laying this snare for him at *Westminster*. As soon as he came

came to *White-Hall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* shewed him this Letter. The King considering it, said it was not writ by a Fool or Madman, but imported some danger, and his fears exciting his care, he commanded the Lord *Sussex* to make a strict search about the Parliament House, who accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, entred the Cellar, and finding it cram'd with Wood and Coal, asked *Whinyard* of the Wardrobe, who was House-keeper, to whom that Fuel belonged. He said he had let the Cellar to Mr. *Thomas Piercy*, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King; and close by in a corner of the Cellar stood *Faux*; who being questioned what he did there, said he was *Piercy*'s Servant. The Lord *Monteagle*, as soon as he heard *Piercy* named, believed it was he that wrote the Letter to him, upon which there growing further suspicion, the King and Council ordered the Cellar to be search'd again the same night by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, who with a Retinue coming into the Cellar, met *Faux* at the door, and seized upon him, who seeing by searching further that all was discover'd, confessed the whole design, and was only sorry it was prevented, saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil discovered it.* In his Pockets they found a Match and a Tinder-box; but upon his Examination he would say no more than *that he was sorry it was not done.* The Conspirators discover'd themselves, for, finding the Gun-powder was seized, they repaired to the Hunting match at *Dunsmore*, but being pursued by the High Sheriffs of *Warwickshire* and *Worcestershire* to *Littleton*'s House at *Halbach*: *Piercy* and *Catesby* sallied out desperately, and fought till they were both slain, and so were *John Wright* and *Christopher Wright*. *Thomas Winter*, *Francis Tresham*, and the rest were taken. *Tresham* died of the Strangury in the Tower. *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Faux*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood* and Sir *Edward Digby*, were Executed. And the King gave the Lord *Monteagle*, the first discoverer, 500 *l.* a year for his life, and 200 *l.* a year in Fee Farm Rents to him and his Heirs for ever.

A.D. 1594

The Plot discover'd.

1605

While the Parliament was sitting, a rumour took breath, that the King was killed at *Okingham*, which put the whole Kingdom upon providing to defend themselves

A. D. 1605 themſelves by Arms, and tho' there was no colour of truth in the report, nothing but a Proclamation could lay it. The Jeſuits had now ſolicited the King of *Spain* to invade *England*, and *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of that Order, being found the principal in that Conſpiracy, and Condemned, was Executed at the Weſt End of St. *Paul*'s ſoon after. Many endeavours were uſed by the King in Parliament, and otherwiſe, for an Union between the two Kingdoms, but it could not be effected, for the *Engliſh* thought the *Scots* had two great Intereſt at Court already to be imbodied into our Laws. Now the Lord *Buckhurſt* died ſuddenly as he ſate at the Council Table, and was ſucceeded Treaſurer by the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Man well inſtructed by his Father the Lord *Burleigh*, a Wiſe Man and a Courtier from his Cradle, and tho' Nature was not propitious to his outward Proportion, being Crook-Back'd, ſhe ſupplied that defect with extraordinary inward Accompliſhments: The E. of *Northampton* was alſo made Privy-Seal, and upon their ſhoulders the King laid the weight of all publick buſineſs, who managed it ſo diſcreetly, tho' the People complained of many Grievances, yet they kept a good underſtanding between the King and Parliament; and ſecured the Peoples obedience, tho' there wanted not ſome in both Houſes, that ſaid, *The whole wealth of* England *would not ſerve the King's Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to give him Money that would give it away again*; for he had made Gold and Silver as plentiful now in *Edinborough* as it was in *Jeruſalem* in the days of King *Solomon*.

A Union propos'd.

1607

1609

Henry IV. *of* France *killed.*

The next year was fatal to *Henry* the Great of *France*, who in the heighth of all his Glory was ſtab'd in the mouth by *Ravaillac* a Popiſh Prieſt, of which wound he died immediately, and made King *James* iſſue out a Proclamation to baniſh all Jeſuits and Prieſts out of the Kingdom, to prohibit all Papiſts from coming within ten miles of the Court, and that all his Subjects ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance, which was begun by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and followed by the reſt of the People, to the King's great ſatisfaction; which laſted but a while, for they refuſing to obey him in his Encroachments upon the People's Liberty, which he began to practiſe under the notion of Prerogative, diſſolved the Parliament by Proclamation.

1610

Now

Now the great hopes of *England* Prince *Henry*, being grown to maturity, and in eſteem with all the People, the King firſt made him a Knight, and afterwards Prince of *Wales*, with all the Pomp and Solemnity that a great King can expreſs, or a Meritorious and Promiſing Prince could deſerve; for as yet the K. could diſcover nothing in his Actions but the flights of a Towring youthful Deportment. But how far the Kings fears might afterwards blind the Eye of his Reaſon, when he ſaw him ſtill encreaſe in the Peoples Affections, to decline his paternal kindneſs, may be the ſubject of my fears, but not of this Narration. *S. James*'s was appointed for the Prince's Court, where he was followed and attended by all our young Nobility and Gentry, in as great State and Devotion as the K. was by the old Ones. Sir *Charles Cornwallis* was ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain* to treat of a Marriage between him and the King of *Spain*'s eldeſt Daughter, which came to nothing. About this time there appeared a ſtrife between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, about preferring a Favourite of their own Nation, which the King put an end to for the preſent, by caſting the Rays of his Favour upon a young Gentleman named *Robert Carr*, born about *Edinborough*, of a Comely Perſon and Courtly Garb. On him the King beſtowed the honour of Knighthood, Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; took the pains himſelf to teach him the Latin Tongue, and by his daily Diſcourſes laid a foundation to capacitate him for a Stateſman. Now all Addreſſes are made to Sir *Robert Carr*, he is the Favourite in Ordinary, no Suit nor Reward but is obtained by his mediation, nay, the *Engliſh* Lords can ſcarce have a ſmile from the King, without this *Scotch* Favourite, and to aggrandize him the more, he is made Treaſurer of *Scotland*, created Baron of *Brandſpech*, Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and ſoon after Knight of the Garter.

A. D. 1610

Henry *made Prince of* Wales.

A new Favourite.

Thus our Juvenile Favourite ſoon forgot his Fathers houſe, having none about him but *Engliſh*, and amongſt them *Overbury* was the Creature he particularly honoured with his Familiarity. This begat a ſtrife between the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who ſhould engroſs him, each preſenting, profering and accumulating favours upon *Overbury*'s kindred. His Father was made Judge in *Wales*, and himſelf offered an Office; but

A. D. 1612

but *Overbury* was naturally of a Proud, and Insolent Temper, and being blown up with being the Confident of such a Favourite, whose Beneficence could not be retailed without him, with a kind of scorn neglected both their Friendships, and yet made use of them. Before this time that great Engine of State, the Lord Treasurer *Salisbury*, had made an Alliance with the house of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldest Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Catharine* eldest Daughter of that Family, and that malice might not become hereditary, was a great means in marrying the young Earl of *Essex* to the Lady *Francis Howard*, another of those Sisters. The Earl of *Essex* was fourteen years of Age, and the Lady thirteen when they were married, and therefore he was sent to Travel till time might capacitate their Co-union. The Lady was kept at Court by her Mother, where the sowre breath of that Age tainted her Reputation, and being a celebrated Beauty, the Prince of *Wales* made many Amorous glances the Ambassadors of his respect: but the Lady rather favouring the growing Fortunes of the Viscount *Rochester*, the Prince slighted her, as rather done out of spight to cross *Rochester*s Amours, than by any real inclinations of his own. The Countess of *Essex* had now a hard game to play, *viz.* to keep her Husband from enjoying her, aud to secure the Viscount's respects; for dishoneſt Love is always full of Jealousie. In order to strengthen her designs, she consults one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phisick's Widow, whom Prodigality had reduced to Poverty, and that rendered her fit for any mischief; she introduced into their Consultations one *Forman* an Astrologer, and a reputed Conjurer, who supplied the Lady with Charms, Spells and Potions, to cool the Husbands Heat, and enflame the Gallants Passion.

The Earl of Essex *unhappily married,*

The Innocent Earl being made sensible of his own misfortunes, complains to her Father, through whose importunities and threatnings, she was perswaded to retire into the Country with her Husband, where her Disappointments enraging her Spleen, she could scarce afford to be civil to him, but was always murmuring and complaining against him, and at length wrote to her Correspondents *Forman* and Mrs. *Turner*, *That she saw little effect produced by all the Potions she had given her Husband, for he seemed more eager after her*

His Wifes carriage towards him.

than

than ever, and she knew the Viſcount would never love her, if he knew her Husband ſhould enjoy her, whom with difficulty she had put off; but how long she ſhould be able to reſiſt his violence she new not, and therefore unleſs they deſigned to see her the moſt miſerable Creature in the world, they ſhould ſpeedily aſſiſt her, and for their Reward they ſhould make their own Propoſals. Now all the Tricks of Sorcery and Womaniſh Averſion being imployed to debilitate the Earl, he ſuffered her to ſteer her own courſe, aod next Winter up ſhe comes to *London*, with all the Adornments Art and Nature could invent, to allure the Viſcount's Affections: And her abſence increaſing his Paſſion, they had frequent Meetings. Perſons qualified for ſuch offices are employed, and when Nature grew weary and exhauſted, new Spirits were purchaſed at any rates to keep up their luſtful Embraces. A. D. 1612

Whilſt Fortune thus ſmiled upon the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, it frowned as hard upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of the ſame Nation, and married into a good Family in *England*; who valuing himſelf upon his skill in Fencing, and intending to affront and diſparage a Fencing-maſter in his own School, whoſe name was *John Turner*, and he apprehenſive of his deſign, preſſed ſo rudely upon the Baron, that he put one of his Eyes out. The Baron being afterwards in the Court of *France*, and the King underſtanding he loſt his Eye by a common Fencer, ſaid to the Lord *Sanquir*, *Vive t' il encore*, *Is the man alive that did it?* This Queſtion put the Baron in meditating a Revenge, and ſome years after coming into *England*, he hired two of his Countrymen, *Gray* and *Carliſle* to murder him, which they did with a Caſe of Piſtols at his own houſe in *White-Friars*. One of the Murderers was apprehended upon the borders of *Scotland*, the other in a Ship bound for *Hamborough*, and the Lord *Sanquir* having abſconded, and hearing a thouſand pound was offered for his Head, he reſigned himſelf to the King's Mercy; but no interceſſion could prevail, and their lives ſatisfied the Law, without allowing the Baron a Noble Death, the King ſaying, *That hanging was too good for him.* *The Lord* Sauquirs *misfortune.*

Rocheſter had not yet ſo monopolized the Kings affections, but that *Salisbury* was ſtill a Rub in his way, ſo that he could not arrive to that pitch of grandeur Rocheſter *trick'd by* Salisbury.

in

A. D. 1612

his time, that he afterwards obtained. One thing among the reſt wherein he put the ſlur upon him, was in moderating the Kings Bounty on this occaſion. The King had given *Rocheſter* five thouſand pounds, which the Treaſurer thought too great a Largeſs, where there was no kind of merit, and therefore laid the Money in Silver upon Tables in his Galleries in *Salisbury* houſe, and having invited the King to dinner, made this room the paſſage to his entertainment. The King, ſurprized at theſe great heaps of Money, asked for what purpoſe it was aſſigned. The Treaſurer told he had order from his Majeſty to give ſo much to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*. The King that either careleſly thought five thouſand pound was no more than the noiſe ſo much makes in *Scotland*, which is not above five hundred pounds, or cunningly knowing the Treaſurers meaning; ſaid, *It was too much for one Man*, and made him be contented with leſs than half of it. Now the King tranſlated his Mothers Corps from *Peterborough* to a Magnificent Tomb at *Weſtminſter*, attended by many Prelates and Noblemen who paid this laſt Tribute to her Memory.

Prince Henry's death, and how.

About the ſame time happened the death of Prince *Henry*, who was the Darling of Mankind, a youth of vaſt hopes and extraordinary virtues; but was too ſoon Man to be long lived, or too Good for ſuch a wicked People. The world is always willing to attribute the death of Princes to unfair practices, and it was the general rumour of that time that the Prince was Poyſoned, and it had been happy if there had not been too much cauſe to give that ſuſpicion credit. There is yet a Sermon in Print Preached at St. *James*'s upon the Diſſolution of his Family, that boldly inſinuates ſuch a thing. Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in his Speech at the Tryal of the Earl of *Somerſet*, had ſome reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which ſeem to point directly that way: and ſome that knew the bickerings betwixt the Prince and him while he was but Viſcount *Rocheſter*, eſpecially Sir *James Elphington*, who offer'd to kill him, for miſrepreſenting the Prince's Actions to the King, ſhew it but too plainly; for the Prince being an open hearted Man, and reſenting every injury done to the Nation, had ſometime ſaid, *That if ever he were King he would not leave*

one

one of that Family to piss against a Wall, and therefore he and the *Howards* could not think themselves secure, till he had paid his debt to Nature, and so his Death was slubber'd over by a Certificate from some Court Physicians, *That his Liver was Paler than ordinary, his Gall without any Choler in it, his Spleen Midriff, and Lungs were very black, and his stomach in no part offended.* Thus was he Anatomized to amuse the World and clear the suspicion of Poyson, as if no Venoms could have produced these effects. He died the 6th. of *November*, and was buried at *Westminster* the 7th. of *December*, the pomp of the Funeral being compleated with the Tears and Lamentations of the People. A. D. 1612

Prince Palatine *married to Lady* Elizabeth.

In *February* following, the Prince Elector Palatine was married to that lovely and vertuous Princess the Lady *Elizabeth*, with all the Pomp and Glory that so much Grandure could express, and is fitter for Discourse in a Prince's Court, than to fill a Page in a History. The City of *London*, by their Mayor and Aldermen, in their Formalities presented the fair Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, of such a value as was fit for them to give, and her to receive; the People shewed their affection in bountifully contributing to the payment of her Marriage Portion, and now being tired with the Entertainments, and all the Shews and Diversions that could be deviled, the Lord Admiral being ready with a Fleet in the *Downs*, for their Convoy, they soon arrived at *Flushing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harrington*, with divers Ladies and Persons of Quality attended them to *Heidleberg*, and some time after the *English* returned home, except the Lord *Harrington* that died by the way.

In the year 1609, the King taking into Consideration the quiet and security of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the present Possession and Plantation of the Province of *Ulster*; whereupon in the year 1612, they sent thither about 300 Persons of all sorts of Handy Crafts Men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*, and appointed Alderman *Cockain* the first Governour. Now to advance this or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a New Order of Knights, called *Baronets*, which were to take place next to Barons younger Sons, and appointed certain Laws to make

A.D. 1613

them capable of being admitted. First, that they should maintain 30 Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three years, at the rate of 8 *d.* a day, and to pay down the wages for one whole year; at the passing of their Patent: That they should be Gentlemen of Blood of *three Descents*; and lastly, should have Land of Inheritance in Possession, or immediate Reversion, to the value of 1000 *l.* a year, to keep the Order from *Swarming*, stinted it to the number of 200, and as the Issue should fail the Order to cease: But he that examines how well the Institution and the Order has been observed, will find it to be here as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first there were none admitted but Princes, and Eminent Persons, but afterwards all sorts of Men without distinction were admitted, and made it a question, whether the Dignity of the Order did more Grace the Persons, or the meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order: And indeed when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a nullity in the Collation.

Overbury's *Tragedy.*

The Earl of *Salisbury* dying six months after the Prince of *Wales*, *Rochester* took upon him the whole Administration of the Government, receiving Pacquets and dispatching Answers, without the knowledge of the King or Council, and all done by the assistance and privity of *Overbury*; but when he understood that *Rochester* intended to marry the Lady *Essex*, he dealt freely with him, and told him nothing could be more destructive to both their growing hopes, than to lay the foundation upon so much Injustice, as to marry another Man's Wife while her Husband was living, and therefore passionately desired him to cast his thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not upon one whose disloyalty to her Husband, was branded with perpetual Infamy: But the Viscount bewitched with the Charms of his amorous Mistress, did not only estrange himself from *Overbury*, but denounced enmity, and also excited the Countess against him; and she mustring up all the Passion and Envy that a Female Malice could invent, never left him till she had discharged all the vollies of her Rage upon him. She importunes the Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle to vindicate the Honour of their Family; and he joyning with the Viscount, they agree to take away *Overbury*'s life by Poyson; but that not being to be done in a publick

lick way, they contrive to exasperate the King against him, and procure him to be imprisoned, that they might with greater privacy effect his ruin. The King about this time intending to send an Ambassador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Duke, the Viscount recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to him for that Service. *Overbury* refused it, but was not so little a Courtier, or void of Reason, as not to see the danger of disobeying the King's Commands, and therefore acquainting the Viscount with it, who dealt on both sides, promising to mollifie the King's displeasure, and on the other part aggravates his offence in refusing the Employment, which incenseth the King against him; so the poor Gentleman was sent to the *Tower* for his Contempt, and to compleat the Tragedy, Sir *William Wade* Lieutenant of the *Tower* was displaced, and Sir *Jervaise Ellowis* put into his room. A. D. 1613

Now the Countess employs every Engine to sue out a Divorce from her Husband, and to procure *Overbury*'s Death, that had laid such a stain upon her Honour, that nothing but his Blood could expiate. The Earl of *Northampton* resented his Nieces grievances, acquaints the King with the infirmities of her Husband, that since her Marriage she hath not enjoyed the Rights of a Wife, and that there was a great affection between her and the Viscount *Rochester*. The King immediately grants a Commission under the Broad-Seal to try the Cause, who met accordingly; but before they proceeded further, they empanelled a Jury of twelve discreet Matrons to search the Countess, whether she was a Maid or not, as she pretended to be in her Allegations. The Countess being ashamed and bashful to undergo such an Examination, procured leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons, and by that means had opportunity to fob a young Girl into her place, who passed in the opinion of the Jury to be a Virgin, and the good Earl himself to be rid of such a horrid plague, confessed he had attempted several times to enjoy her, but never did; and upon these grounds the Judges proceeded to a Divorce, *Declaring that* Robert *Earl of* Essex *and the Lady* Frances Howard, *contracted by shew of Marriage, did co habit in one house, and lie together in one bed,* Nudus cum nuda, & solus cum sola, *and that the Lady* Frances *did shew her self prompt and ready to be known of him,*

The Countess of Essex sues for a Divorce.

The Sentence of Divorce pronounced.

A. D. 1613

but that the ſaid Earl neither did nor could have knowledge of her. And that the ſaid Lady Frances *by inſpection of her body was proved to be apt for Carnal Copulation with Man, and yet was a Virgin; therefore we the ſaid Judges deputed in the Cauſe, firſt invocating the name of Chriſt, and ſetting God before our eyes do Pronounce, Decree, and Declare, the pretended Marriage to be utterly void, and of no effect. And that the ſaid Lady* Frances *was, is, and ought to be free and at liberty from any bond of ſuch pretended Marriage* de facto *between them. And we do pronounce that ſhe ought to be Divorced, and ſo we do Free and Divorce her, leaving them as touching other Marriages, to their own Conſciences in the Lord.* Which our definitive Sentence and Decree we ratifie and publiſh. *Thomas Wint. Lancel. Elic. Rich. Coven.* and *Litchfield, John Roff.* Biſhops. *Julius Cæſar, Thomas Parry, Daniel Dun,* Knights.

Theſe Biſhops and the reſt of the Judges, could not be ignorant what ſcandalous reports flew abroad concerning this Lady, and however ſweetned by greatneſs, yet carried an ill ſavour among honeſt Men, that were not blinded by Intereſt or deafned by Prejudice, which made the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *London* decline ſitting, tho' named in the Commiſſion. And all that can be ſaid in favour of the reſt, is, that they might not know, that another Female was impoſed upon the Jury inſtead of the Lady *Eſſex*.

Overbury's *death contriving.*

Now the Lady beſtirs her ſelf to accompliſh the Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and two of her Engines, *Forman* and *Greſham* being dead, ſhe relies wholly upon the aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procured one *Weſton*, formerly her Husbands Servant, to be the Tool to effect their wicked purpoſes. The Lady procures Sir *Thomas Munſon* to recommend him to Sir *Jervaiſe Ellowis*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to wait upon him, by whoſe means and the Lieutenants connivance, ſeveral lingring Potions were given him in his Broths, Meats and Tarts, nay, his very Salt was mixed with White Mercury, which threw him into extream torments and languiſhing. In the mean while the Lady ſhines at Court, and is become the K.'s Favourite as well as *Rocheſter*'s, who is now made Earl of *Somerſet*, and ſhortly after married to his *Quondam* Miſtreſs, with all the State and Magnificence that could

fill

fill a Court with delight, or People with admiration. Sir *Thomas Overbury* hearing what he ſuffered for oppoſing, was now effected, and ſtill preſuming upon *Somerſet*'s Friendſhip, he wrote to him to procure his Liberty as he had often promiſed. *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim, made anſwer, that the King was now full of great buſineſs, but he would take the firſt opportunity to move him for his releaſe, and make his Indiſpoſition a ground for the Kings Mercy to work upon, including in his Letter a *White-Powder*, which he deſir'd him to take, aſſuring him, that though it made him ſick at firſt, it would do him much good in the end. The poor abuſed Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poyſonous quality, added to his affliction: But there muſt be ſomething more violent to do the Feat. Thus he continued languiſhing under horrid Torments, about the ſpace of four months, and his Enemies being more impatient that he indured *ſo long*, than that he ſuffered *ſo much*, they finiſhed their work by an empoyſoned *Clyſter* compounded by *Franklin*, for in a few days after taking it he died. A. D. 1613

He is poyſoned, and how.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who was an Actor in this Tragical Scene, endeavoured, ungentleman-like, to kill him twice, by raiſing a report that he died of the *Pox*, and had ſuch ſtrange *Sores* and *Ulcers* in his Body, that ſtunk ſo intollerably, that the People not able to endure the noyſome ſmell, were forced to throw him in a looſe ſheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on *Tower-Hill*, concluding in a Letter to *Somerſet*, that *God is gracious in cutting off evil Inſtruments before their time*; though he little thought he pronounced his own doom; for he being a Papiſt in reality, tho a Proteſtant in ſhew, he did them many kindneſſes contrary to Law, and a Letter of his being intercepted that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, which openly declared it; being urged againſt him, he retired, diſpoſed of his Eſtate and died. His plotting *Overbury*'s Death was yet a Secret, and made no noiſe againſt him; but when it broke out, Fame loaded his Memory with as great an Odium as his Crimes deſerved. *Somerſet* alſo, who for a while after ſtood the brunt of all the tempeſts rais'd againſt him, yet his Pride and Covetouſneſs, added to his other miſcarriages ſuch a number of *underminers*, that he ſtood upon a tottering foundation, without any other ſupport than the

1614

Northampton *dies.*

A. D. 1614 King's favour, which by Providence was soon remov'd.

A new Favourite.

For about this time the King cast his eye upon a *New Favourite*, whose name was *George Villers*, second Son to Sir *George Villers* of *Leicestershire*, by a second Venter: For the old Man coming to *Colehorton*, in that County, to visit his kinswoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that name, allied, and yet a Servant to the Lady, upon whom he set his affections, and married her, by whom he had three Sons that were all raised to the degree of Noblemen Men, and this is the Soil where the Glorious Cedar was planted; who also newly coming from Travel, of a gentle deportment, and in garb *Alamode de France*, the King smiled upon him, and brought him near his Person by degrees, that he might not expose him to the malice of a Jealous Competitor: But the Courtiers soon perceiving the King's inclination, began to adore the rising Star, and great feuds were raised between the two Favourites and their Friends: Which the King being made acquainted with, and willing to reconcile the clashings between his declining and rising Favouraite, employ'd Sir *Humphry May* to tell the Earl of *Somerset*, that *Villers*, was willing to be his Servant and Creature, and that if he accepted his offer, he should still remain a great Man, tho not the only Favourite. The Earl seemed averse to this proposal. Then Sir *Humphry* told him in plain terms, that he was sent by the King to advise it, and that *Villers* would wait upon him immediately, which he performed accordingly, saying, *My Lord, I desire to be your Servant and Creature, to receive my Court Preferment from your favour, and your Lordship shall find me a very faithful Servant.* My Lord returned this quick and smart answer, *I will have none of your Service, and you shall have none of my Favour. I will break your neck if I can, and of that be confident.* However, *Somerset* finding the Pulse of his Conscience always beating thick at the remembrance of *Overbury*'s death, thought fit to preserve himself, by procuring his Majesty's Pardon, tho there was nothing yet laid to his charge but *imbezelling the Jewels of the Crown.* The King grants his Pardon in as ample form as he could desire it, which was forthwith sent to the Broad Seal; but the Queen having notice of it, and using her Power with the Ld. Chancellor, put a stop to the Seal,

1615

Somerset *declines.*

till

till the K. ſhould come to Town, who was then on his Progreſs in the Weſt: And then what was muttered in corners before, rung openly in the ſtreets; for the Apothecary's boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the Clyſter, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, revealed the whole matter, which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, had a full relation of by his Correſpondent, and a ſmall breach being made, he had Enemies enough to enter and overthrow him. A.D. 1615

The K. being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſends for the Judges to him, gave them a ſtrict charge to examine the matter throughly, imprecating a *Curſe upon them and their Poſterities if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; and if he ſhould ſpare any that were guilty, he wiſhed God's Curſe might light upon him and his Poſterity*; ſo violent the K. appeared in the proſecution of it. Then away he goes to *Royſton*, and takes *Somerſet* with him. Now the Earl's ears were continually beaten with freſh reports, but he thought himſelf too firm in the King's Favour to be removed; therefore when the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* ſent for him, he went to the King with a complaint, as thinking it a great preſumption; but the King made anſwer, *Thou muſt go then, for if* Cook *ſends for me I muſt go too.* Others ſay when he came to take his leave of the King, he embraced and kiſs'd him often, wiſhed him to make haſte back, ſhewed an extream grief to be without him, but as ſoon as his back was turned, ſaid, with a ſmile, *I ſhall never ſee thy face again.* His Counteſs was already apprehended, and committed to Cuſtody in *Black-Fryars*. As ſoon as he came to *London* he was ſeized on, and committed to the Charge of Doctor *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and then they went roundly on with the buſineſs, and Tryed, Convicted and Condemned all the Offenders. *The King's Imprecation.*

Weſton was the firſt that ſuffered by the hands of Juſtice, and being tempted at the Gallows to deny his former Confeſſion, his Soul being prepared for death, reſiſted the temptation, and penitentially ſealed the truth of his Confeſſion to his laſt breath, and *Hollis*, *Wentworth* and *Lumſden*, who would have perſwaded him to pervert Juſtice, were fined in the Star-Chamber for attempting it, Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next. She had been a pattern of Pride and Luſt, but dying very penitently, I ſhall not call to mind the looſneſs of *The Offenders Executed.*

A. D. 1615

her Life. Sir *Jervaise Ellawis* was the third, who suffered on *Tower-Hill*, and was much pitied, being drawn in by the Earl of *Northampton*, to connive at what another acted. The fourth that was executed was *Franklin*, a fellow whose sordid behaviour at his death, agreeing with his pernicious life, is scarce worth the mentioning.

Somerset's fall.

The E. of *Somerset* and his Countess being arraigned and tryed, all the Letters that passed betwixt her and *Forman* were read in open Court, and the *Wax* and *Brazen Puppets* were produced to discover the folly as well as the baseness of her Actions: But the E. and she being both Condemned found the King's Mercy, and after some time of Imprisonment in the *Tower* were set at liberty, and lived in a private and almost obscure Condition. Shewing *that no content or happiness can be truly established, but on the solid foundation of Justice*; For that love that made them break through all opposition, either on her side declining to some new Object, as was commonly reported; or his inclining to reluctancy, their Loves grew so weak that at last it pined quite away, and they lived long after in the same house as strangers to one another. She died before him an infamous death, her Disease being too nauseous for any modest Pen to mention, and of the Earl I will say no more, but that he would have passed for a good Man, if he had not doated on so ill a Woman, whose Lewdness and her Kindred brought him to Ruin.

1616

About this time the Lady *Arabella* died in the *Tower*, and set mens tongues and fears at work, that she was dispatched by the same methods, so naturally does one evil action introduce the belief of another. This Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart* younger Brother to King *James*'s Father by *Elizabeth Cavendish*, who was married to Sir *William Seymor*, Son to the Ld. *Beauchamp*, and Grandchild to *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*; both at some distance allied to the Crown, which caused all her trouble, so dangerous is every appearance that borders upon Sovereign Titles.

An Embassie into France.

In Prince *Henry*'s time there had been a Treaty of Marriage betwixt him and a Daughter of *Spain*, which had no effect, and seeing now there was but small hopes in that Country, a Daughter of *Henry* the Great, late King of *France* was aimed at, and to that end the Lord *Hayes*, a Man wholly addicted

to

to fine Clothes, Garniture, Dreſs and Courtſhip was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, attended with a great train of young Noblemen, and other Courtiers, whoſe ſtudy was who ſhould be fineſt, and he was accounted the greateſt Wit whoſe invention could expreſs ſomething new and unuſual in their Clothes, that other of the ſame impreſſion might admire, and wiſer Men laugh at. Thus accoutred and accompliſhed he went into *France*, and a day of Audience being appointed, all the argument and diſpute betwixt the Lord Ambaſſador and his Gallant Retinue, was, in what manner they ſhould go to Court. Coaches like Curtains would eclipſe their Glory; riding on Horſeback in Boots would make them look like Travellers not Courtiers: Thoſe that had brought rich Trappings for their Horſes were willing to have them ſeen, ſo after a long and ſerious debate, it was concluded for the Foot Cloth, and thoſe that had none muſt provide them. This preparation filled all the Windows, Balconies and Streets of *Paris* with a multitude of Spectators. All Compliments and Ceremonies of State being performed in Mode and Figure, the Lord Ambaſſador made his Buſineſs known by more private Addreſſes, which in appearance was well received, but indeed never intended, and ſo came to nothing. Great waverings were now diſcovered in Mens minds in point of Religion, ſome went from us to *Rome*, and ſome came from *Rome* to us. Among the reſt, one of conſideration, *Marcus Antonius de Dominic*, *Arch-Biſhop of Spalato*, a Man tho' old, corpulent, and unfit for Travel, came into *England*. Here he Preaches and Writes againſt the *Church of Rome*, and extolls the *Proteſtant Religion*, till he came to be Dean of *Windſor* and Maſter of the *Savoy*, which he enjoyed ſome years; and then, whether out of a humour of change, or that he was in expectation of greater preferment at home, he returned to *Rome*, where he renounced and reproached the Proteſtant Religion; but all he could do to pleaſe them had no effect, for the *Inquiſition* laid hold upon him, he died in *Priſon*, and after his death they burnt his Body for a Heretick.

A. D. 1616

The Arch-Biſhop of Spalato.

1617

Villers *dignified.*

It was now fourteen years ſince the King had been in *Scotland*, and thither he takes a Progreſs this Summer, attended by the new Favourite *Villers*, on whom he had ſhowred Titles and Preferments, and now we muſt

A. D. 1617 must behold him at some distance, being created Sir *George Villers* Baron of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villers*, Earl of *Buckingham*, *Master of the Horse*, *and Privy Counsellor*, who now reigns sole Monarch in the King's affections, the King is not well without him, and the Grandees of the Court cannot be happy but by him, so that all addresses are made to him for every Place, or Office, in the Court or Common-weath. Now also the King put out a Book that gave toleration for Sports and Recreations after Evening Prayers on Sundays, enjoyning all Ministers to read it to their People, and those that refused to read it were brought into the High-Commission-Court, Imprisoned and Suspended, which gave great offence to many good People.

The Boy of Bilson. About this time appeared a Boy born at *Bilson* in *Staffordshire*, whose Father, Mother, Neighbours and other People thought to be possest with a Devil, for he had such strange, sudden and violent distortions, that all men judged were preternatural, and being but fifteen years of Age, could not well be suspected to be an Impostor. The Jesuits visited the Boy very often, prayed by him, and used such other *Charms* and *Exorcisms* as were fit to make them admir'd; giving his Parents good hopes of dispossessing him of that *foul Spirit*, and convince the Country how much the Popish Religion excelled the Protestant, who had not the power of Casting out *Devils*. The Boy in his Fits would rave against an old Woman in the Neighbourhood, intimating by signs and ghastly postures, that she had sent a Spirit to torment him, and when he was out of his fits accused her to be a Witch, and the Author of all his Misery. This old Women is sent to the Bishops *Chancellor* at *Litchfield* to be examined; the Boy is brought thither to confront her, and having his Back towards her, at her coming into the Room, he falls into a bitter Agony, crying out, *now she comes*, *now my tormenter comes*, wreathing, tearing and twisting himself into such horrid Shapes, that at once bred Amazement and Pity in all the Spectators: Which with some other probabilities, caused the *Chancellor* to send the Woman to *Stafford* Goal. At the next *Assize* the Boy and his Parents appear as Witnesses against the Witch. The Boy was placed in Court with his face to the Bench, eyeing the Judge, and sitting very quietly; and as the Woman was coming in, when the Court thought it was impossible

D. A. 2617

possible the Boy should be sensible of her appearing, he fell into a greater fit of raging than ever he was possest with before; and so stupenduously unnatural, that all thought nothing but a *Diabolical Spirit* could work such horrid effects. This being done so publickly, the Old Woman that had no good report among her Neighbours, being of a Tetrical and froward Temper, incident to old Age, she was found guilty by the Jury, and Condemned to Dye.

An innocent Woman condemned.

Doctor *Morton*, Bishop of that Diocess, and a Pious Father of the Church of *England*, hearing the Jesuits had been tampering with their Exorcisms to *Undevil* the Boy, and suspecting a fraud, desired the *Judge* to Reprieve the Old Woman till the next Assize, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and strictly look'd to, and doubted not before that time to find out the Contrivance. The Judge granted the Bishop's request, and the Boy was carried to *Eccleshall Castle*, *the Bishop's Palace*, whither his Fits followed him with great violence; for being put out of his road, and people hindred from coming to admire him, he grew *Sullen*, and would not eat sometimes in two or three days together, so that his belly was almost clung to his back, and he had a new swelling about his Throat, that never appeared before. He lay in his bed, sometimes as it were senseless, sometimes staring with his Eyes, and foaming at the Mouth, sometimes striking those that stood near him, his own careful Mother not excepted. He never spoke but in his Fits, and then a strange kind of Gibberish, at other times he only muttered and made signs. The Bishop often visited him, sometimes striving to soften him with gentleness, at other times he handled him roughly, with chidings and threatnings, but his Evil Spirit would be mollified by neither. The Bishop one time spoke to him out of the *Greek Testament*, and it brought him into a Fit; at another time he repeated some Verses out of the *Greek Poets*, which his Devil was not so Learned as to distinguish, for that put him into a fit again, which confirmed the Bishop that he was a pertinacious *Impostor*, but how to conjure it out of him was the difficulty. Finding that words and menaces made no impression on him, he fell to blows; for, taking him out of his Bed, and having one to help him, the Bishop gave him six smart Lashes with a Rod, at which the Boy was no

Bishop Morton gets her reprieve.

more

A. D. 1617

more concerned than an inſenſible Stock. They alſo thruſt Needles into his *Toes* and *Fingers*, to bring him out of his fits, but with all their perſecutions he neither winched nor ſtirred, ſo that the Actors were more troubled to execute than he to ſuffer.

In this condition growing almoſt deſperate, he would make ſigns for Knives to do himſelf a miſchief, therefore ſtrict care was taken, and many watchful Eyes ſet over him to prevent any ſuch danger. Thus he continued almoſt a quarter of a year, at laſt his Urine grew ſo black that the Phyſicians were of opinion *that nature had left her uſual operations*, having never found in any humane body ſo much *Aduſt* matter to give ſo deep and deadly a Tincture. This ſtruck the good Biſhop very near; for he was ſenſible what reflections the Jeſuits would make, if he ſhould miſcarry under his hands, and therefore uſed all means poſſible as well to preſerve as diſcover him; but finding the Boy endure ſo many trials with patience, he reſolved if his water continued black, to ſift the matter no farther. To find out which, he ſet a truſty Servant to watch him thro' a hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the Boy knew not of. The Biſhop and his Family going that morning to Church, all things were very ſtill in the houſe, and the Boy finding all quiet, no noiſe about him, he lifts up himſelf, ſtares and liſtens, and at length gets out of his Bed, and in the Straw or Mat under it, takes out an Ink-horn, and makes water in the Chamber-pot through a piece of the Cotton in his hand, another little piece of the Cotton he put into his *Preputium*, covering it with the Skin, which was for a reſerve if he ſhould be forced to make water before Company, and then hides his Ink-horn and returns to Bed. The Man that was appointed to watch him ſeeing all this, diſcovered it to the Biſhop at his coming home, who came to him preſently and ask'd him how he did? The Boy according to his uſual manner pointed to his Water, looking ghaſtly on it, and muttered out his own howling tone: The Biſhop that now intended to deal roundly with him, ſaid, Sirrah you have Ink in your Bedſtraw, which you black your water with, and your knavery is found out, and calling in his Man he took out the Ink-horn, where the Boy had hid it, and juſtified that he ſaw him make water through the Cotton, which with the Biſhops threat-

The Biſhop troubled for the Boy.

The Impoſture diſcovered.

threatning to ſend him to the houſe of Correction, ſtruck the Boy into ſuch a terror, that he roſe from the Bed, and fell upon his knees and humbly beſought the Biſhop to pardon him, and he would diſcover the whole truth. As he was putting on his Clothes, the Biſhop ſhew'd him the grievouſneſs of his ſin, which had ſuch an effect upon his mind, that he melted into tears, crying to God for mercy. A. D. 1617

Then he confeſt that a Pedlar with a Pack on his back met him when he was going from School, and perſwaded him to go with him to Mr. *Gifford*'s houſe, aſſuring him of good entertainment. When he came thither he was brought to four *Romiſh Prieſts* who gave him Money, and many fair words, promiſing him great matters if he would follow their inſtructions; which he conſenting to, they were three days teaching him how to demean himſelf, and after he was well tutor'd and had practiſed his tricks privately, they ſent him home to his Father (who thought he had been loſt) to exerciſe them in a more publick way. He came home in a very diſtracted manner, to the amazement of his Parents, and in a ſhort time drew much Company to viſit him, and his Parents being poor got Money from many charitable People, which encouraged him to perſiſt in that way; But when the fame of *his being poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit* was ſufficiently reported abroad, the Prieſts came to diſpoſſeſs him; but he found ſo much ſweetneſs in the *Eaſe* and *Profit* of that life, that he would not be diſenchanted by them, tho they charmed him never ſo cruelly; for they beat him pinch'd him, and uſed him ſeverely to make him deſiſt. *Thus were the deceivers deceiv'd.* The Biſhop ask'd him why he accus'd the poor old Woman of *Witchcraft*, he anſwer'd, the Prieſts told him he muſt lay the cauſe of his being poſſeſs'd upon ſome old Woman, and ſhe being known to him for a reputed Scold he fix'd it upon her. Then the Biſhop ask'd him how he came to fall into his fits a little before the Woman appeared in the Room, both at her Examination and Arraignment, his back being towards her. For the firſt at *Litchfield*, he ſaid he heard ſome-body about him mutter ſhe is here, which made him cry out, *ſhe comes, ſhe comes.* And for the ſecond at *Stafford*, he heard the people remove, and her chains gingle as ſhe came, which gave him the ſign. Laſtly, he ask'd him how he made his *His Confeſſion.*

throat

A. D. 1617

throat swell, and he shew'd it was by thrusting his Tongue being very long, down his throat, which trick he found out himself, *the rest were taught him by the Priests.* Thus did the good Bishop preserve an innocent old Woman condemned by the Law to Dye, discover the abominable *Forgeries* of the Priests, and converted a *Wicked Boy*, whom afterward he bound Apprentice, and proved a *Good Man.*

A Voyage to America.

The Brave and Learned Sir *Walter Rawleigh* having been kept 12 years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, where he compiled his Incomparable History of the old World, a design so vast, that no other Man of less Parts and Abilities both of Body and Mind could have accomplished; and now desiring leave of the King to visit the new World in *America*, the K. looking upon him as a Man whose skill in Navigation might redound to the advantage of *England*, gave him Liberty, and a Commission under the great Seal of *England* to equip and set out Men and Ships for that Service. His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates and Persons, in the design, and being gallantly furnished with all things necessary either for Peace or War, they set out, and met with no difficulties till they came to Cape *Vert* in *Africa*, but there and at *Bravo*, met with many violent storms, which was a great hinderance to their Voyage, for they were forced to leave their Cables, Anchors and Water Casks behind them, when they were driven from the Isle of *Bravo*, so that by length of Time, heat of the Climate, and want of Water, a great sickness fell among them, and swept away many of their best Men, both for Sea and Land Service. But with much Patience and Hardship getting sight of the Coast of *Guiana*, they came to an Anchor in the River *Caliana*, where they Landed their sick Men, set up Barges and Shalops that were brought out of *England* in Quarters, wash'd their Ships took in fresh Water, and being fed and assisted by the *Indians* that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had formerly known, who in this general Contagion having grapled long with sickness, and not yet able to move otherwise than by being carried in a Chair, gave order to 5 small Ships to sail into the River *Arenoqua* (having Captain *Kemish* for their Commander) to the Mine he had told Sir *Walter* of in *England.* In these 5 Ships were 5 Companies of Foot, under the Com-

The chief Commanders.

mand

mand of Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s eldeſt Son: Captain *Thornhurſt* and Captain *Chidley*, Gentlemen of great Valour and infinite Patience, in ſuffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. As they paſſed up the River the *Spaniards* began the War, and ſhot at their Ships with their great Guns and Muskets; however, the *Engliſh* landed their Forces without much loſs, near the Town called St. *Thomas*, which with little difficulty they made themſelves maſters of. In the aſſault Captain *Walter Rawleigh*, the Admiral's Son was killed, to the great grief of the Aſſailants, The other 5 Ships ſtaid with Sir *Walter Rawleigh* at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable to receive them nearer *Guiana*. But that which ſpoil'd Sir *Walter*'s deſign, was, that the King unwilling to diſoblige his dear Brother of *Spain*, gave Count *Gundomar* an Account of this Expedition from the very beginning of it, and by that means the King of *Spain* had time to give notice for his Subjects to provide againſt him at *Guiana*, before Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was got out of the River of *Thames*. But the *Spaniards* at St. *Thomas*, their Supplies not being come, were not ſtrong enough to defend both the Town and the Paſſages to the Mines, they quitted it, and fortified the way to the Mines; but the paſſages leading to the Mines that *Kemiſh* had in his eye, being, as Sir *Walter* expreſſes it, *Aſpera* and *Fragoſa*, and *Kemiſh* finding the River ſo low that he could not come near the Mine by a mile, and alſo that the Aſcents were guarded with Musketeers firing upon them, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and therefore returned.

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The Voyage ſpoiled, and by whom.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, with the News of his Sons death, and *Kemiſh*'s return without effecting the work, was perplexed to the very Soul, telling *Kemiſh* he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King paſt recovery; but he muſt think (he told him) to bear the weight of the King's anger as well as himſelf. *Kemiſh*, much troubled in his mind, retired to his Cabin and ſhot himſelf, and the Bullet only cracking the Rib, which was too ſlow for his fury, he deſperately thruſt a knife in after it up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the Voyage expired: For the Deſign being thus broken, their Ships being Leaky, Victuals failing, and miſſing the Golden Showers they gaped after, ſome of the Men began to mutiny, ſome would go home

Kemiſh kills himſelf.

A. D. 1618

home, others would ſtay. Some would go for *Italy*, ſome for *France*, few into *England*, fearing the *Spaniſh* Power more at home than they did in the *Indies*; At laſt they arrived at *Kingſale* in *Ireland*, and from thence came to *Plymouth*, where ſuſpecting danger, he attempted to make his eſcape in a Bark to *Rochel*, but being apprehended by his Kinſman Sir *Lewis Stukely*, he was brought to *London* and recommitted to the *Tower*. No ſooner was he there, but all his Tranſactions in this Voyage are put upon the Rack, and ſtretched by his Adverſaries to his diſadvantage.

Rawleigh *apprehended.*

And *Gundamor*, the *Spaniſh* Lieger, did ſo aggravate this Fact to the King againſt him, that it ſeemed nothing would give ſatisfaction but *Rawleigh*'s Head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. *Rawleigh* excuſed it, by ſaying he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* firſt Aſſaulting him; beſides, he could not come to the Mine without winning this Town: But the *Spaniſh* Match being on foot, *Gundomar* was too powerful an Adverſary for him, and the King preferring the publick Peace before the life of one man already Condemned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him. In order to it, he was brought to the King's Bench Bar, not to be newly Arraigned or Indicted, for he was *Mortuus in Lege*, but only that the former Sentence might be averred againſt him, ſo he was carried back to the Gate-houſe, and from thence the next day to the *Palace-yard* in *Weſtminſter*, where a Scaffold being erected, he loſt his head, after fourteen years Reprieval from the former Sentence. At which ſtroke ſuch abundance of Blood iſſued from his Veins, that ſhewed he had a ſufficient ſtock to have continued many years, being now above Sixty, if it had not been taken away by the hands of Violence. This was the end of the Great Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, great in favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and, next to *Drake*, the great ſcourge and hate of the *Spaniards*. He had many things to be commended in his Life, but none more than his Chriſtian Conſtancy in his Death, which he underwent with ſuch an undaunted reſolution, that one might perceive he had a ſure and certain hope of a joyful Reſurrection, which utterly obliterated the ſcandal

Sir Walter Rawleigh *beheaded.*

of

of Atheiſm, that the malice of his Enemies had ſometime caſt upon him. A. D. 1618

The King now hearing that the States of *Holland* were determined to entertain one *Vorſtius* to be Divinity Profeſſor in *Leyden*, whoſe opinions ſeemed contrary to thoſe King *James* had imbibed, he earneſtly ſolicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Lieger Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* into that employment, *leſt his Doctrines ſhould ſpread themſelves into his Dominions.* The Ambaſſador preſſing the King's deſires, the States anſwer in Juſtification of *Vorſtius*, *That he was choſen according to ancient Cuſtom, by the Curators of* Leyden, *and whereas he was afterward charged by ſome Perſons that had nothing to do in that Affair, to be unſound in Doctrine; the Curators thought fit, with* Vorſtius's *conſent, that both at* Leyden *and at the* Hague, *he ſhould appear and anſwer his Accuſers, which he did, and none came to charge him. But not long after ſix Miniſters undertook to prove that* Conradus Vorſtius *had publiſhed Falſe Doctrine, who being heard in a full Aſſembly of the States of* Holland *and* Weſt-Frieſland, *they could find no reaſon to diſplace him. And they do aſſuredly believe, that if his Majeſty of* Great Britain *were well informed of the true Circumſtances of this buſineſs, he would, according to his high Wiſdom and Prudence, conceive favourably of them; they proceeding in this Affair with all Reverence, Care and Reſpect to his Majeſty's Serious Admonition.* Dated at the *Hague, October* 1. 1611.

A Conteſt between the Relonſtrants & Ante-remonſtrants.

The King by this anſwer perceiving that the States were ſo well opinioned of *Vorſtius*, that they would not comply with his requeſt, he cauſed his Books to be burnt in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and in both the Univerſities, and writes to the States again, *That if they did not Diſplace him, he would publickly proteſt againſt them.* Dated at *Theobald's Octob.* 6. 1611. Sir *Ralph Winwood* repreſented this to the States, and finding them cold and backward in proceeding any farther againſt *Vorſtius*, he remonſtrates very ſmartly againſt them, to which the King ſeeing them make only Dilatory Anſwers, he at laſt exhorts them to call a National Council to put an end to thoſe Controverſies. The Arminians, now called Remonſtrants, knowing they ſhould be born down with noiſe and numbers, rather than with the power of Truth, or

Vorſtius's *Books burnt.*

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ſtrength of Argument, oppoſed the calling a Council, and 'twas ſaid that *Barnevelt*, the chief of the Remonſtrants, now *Arminius* was dead, had ſecretly levied Soldiers in *Utretcht* to defend themſelves againſt *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, who ſided with the contrary Party, on notice whereof the Prince with 500 Foot marches to *Utretcht*, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the new levied Companies, that at the firſt word of Command they laid down their Arms and Submitted. After this *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, *Leydenberg* and *Grotius*, the four Chiefs of the *Arminian* Party, were ſeiz'd, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. *Leydenberg*, to prevent their mercy, ſtab'd himſelf in Priſon. *Hogenberts* and *Grotius* were Condemned to perpetual Impriſonment; but *Grotius*, after ſome time, made an eſcape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended to the Soldiers of the Caſtle, was full of *Arminian* Books, which ſhe would ſend away that they might not trouble her Husband's head. *Barnevelt* was beheaded at the *Hague*, which they thought was the ſureſt way to ſilence that Learned Mouth. He lived to ſee a National Synod, which others call'd a Conventicle, at *Dort*, whither K. *James* ſent Dr. *Carlton*, Dr. *Hall*, Dr. *Davenant*, Dr. *Ward* and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a *Scotchman*, Batchelor in Divinity, where they met with Divines from the *Palatinate*, *Haſſia*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Embden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utretcht*, *Frieſland* and other Provinces, who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning Election and Reprobation, and the Univerſality of Chriſt's Death, and Man's Redemption by it: But herein the King loſt his aim, for this cenſure made thoſe deep points be more narrowly and diligently enquired into, and the Condemned Opinions ſprouted and gathered ſtrength by being topt by a Faction combined againſt them; whom Echo cenſured in this Diſtich.

The Arminian *Party cruſh'd.*

Dordrecti Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? ager.
Conventus? Ventus. Seſſio? Stramen. Amen.

Soon after appeared a mighty Blazing-Star in *Libra*, which employed variety of Conjectures about its prognoſtication: Some making it ſignify the death of Queen *Ann*, who died of a Dropſie at *Hampton-Court* immediately after its appearance, and was Interr'd at *Weſtminſter*, with the Character of a Vertuous Queen.

Queen Ann's death.

Henry

Henry Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been confined to the *Tower* ever ſince the Powder Plot, was now ſet at Liberty, who hearing that the great Favourite *Buckingham* was carried about in a Coach and Six, he rode to *Bath* in a Coach drawn by Eight Horſes, which exerciſed the Wits, but roſe no higher than a little murmur, for in the late Queen's time there were no Coaches, and the firſt had but two Horſes, the reſt crept in by degrees. Every new thing which the People diſaffect they ſtumble at. So when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair, the Clamour and Noiſe was ſo extravagant about it, that the Mob would rail on him in the ſtreets, abhorring that Men ſhould be brought to a ſervile condition like Horſes; but when time had made them common, the wonder ceaſed, and they were uſed by the meaneſt Pimp or Lemman, to carry on their private Intrigues with ſecurity. This year, on *Munday* the 3*d*. of *May*, one Mr. *Williams* a Barriſter of the *Middle-Temple*, was Arraigned at the King's Bench Bar for Libelling, and for writing Books againſt the King, and upon *Wedneſday* following was Hang'd and Quarter'd at *Charing-Croſs*. On *July* the 17*th*. an Action of another nature was performed, not unworthy Relating, which was this: One *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover* rode from St. *George*'s Church in *Southwark* to *Dover*, from thence went over in a Barge to *Calais* in *France*, and from thence returned back to St. *George*'s Church the ſame day: Setting out about three a Clock in the Morning, and returned about eight a Clock in the Evening freſh and luſty. A.D. 1618

Calvert's days Riding.

The Count *Palatine* being now ſtrengthened with the Alliance of the King of Great *Britain*, upon a War breaking out between the *Bohemians* and the Emperor, was thought a fit Man to be King of *Bohemia*, and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom: But he was no ſooner inveſted with the Crown, but the Emperor aſſaulted him with great Forces in *Prague*; and not only drove him with his Wife and Children from thence, but took from him alſo his own Patrimony the *Palatinate*: So that tho' he was now a King, he was forced to fly to the States of the *Low-Countries* for a Place of Reſidence. King *James*, tho' he never approved of the *Palſgrave*'s taking upon him the Kingdom, yet pitying his Diſtreſs, and out of care of his Daughter, he ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* on an Embaſſie to 1619

The Palſgrave's misfortunes.

A. D. 1619 to the Emperor, to ſolicite the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, but he returning without ſucceſs, he ſent another, hoping to retrieve his Son-in-Law's loſt Fortune, by way of Treaty; but in that and in every thing elſe the Houſe of *Auſtria* out-witted him, ſo that the poor Prince Palatine gained nothing by his Alliance with *England*, but the hard Fate to be abandoned by thoſe whoſe Honour and Intereſt it was to ſupport him. The King had then a Conference with Count *Gundomar* what courſe might be beſt taken to procure the reſtoring it, who made him Anſwer, there could be no better way than to make a Marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which he knew was never intended for him; but would ſerve to tye up the King's hands from aſſiſting the *Palſgrave*; ſo that King *James*'s whole Conduct in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* was but one continued Infatuation on his part. Many Authors have undertook to tranſmit the Hiſtory of this affair to the World, but in exactneſs the Learned *Spanhemius* has out-done them all, and yet as favourably to King *James* as was poſſible. The Parliament of *England* was zealous to reſtore the *Palatine* Family by force of Arms, and had offered great Supplies for that purpoſe, yet King *James* was ſo lull'd aſleep with the Inſinuations of *Gundomar*, that he could be brought to no other methods but thoſe of Treaty. While he was ſending one Embaſſie after another to *Vienna* and *Bruſſels*, the poor King of *Bohemia* ſeeing how little was to be expected from them, ventured to try his Fortune once more in the *Palatinate*, and he, with the aſſiſtance of Count *Mansfield* and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, beat the Imperialiſts in ſeveral rencounters, and repoſſeſs'd himſelf of ſeveral Towns. But when he was in a fair way to be maſter of the whole, he was obliged to retire, and disband his Army, meerly to pleaſe King *James*, who was poſſeſt of this wild notion, *That to lay down his Arms was the only way to get good terms from the Emperor.* Upon which a Treaty was ſet on foot at *Bruſſels*, where King *James* conſented, by way of Preliminary, that his Son-in-Law, ſhould not only wave the Title of King of *Bohemia*, but that of Elector *Palatine*, which had not hitherto been queſtioned, and which the poor Prince was forced to comply with.

Gundamor's *wicked Policy.*

This

This Treaty, after a great many other mortifications put upon the *Palatine* Family, and upon King *James* himſelf, was, by a contrivance of the Emperor, transfer'd to *Ratisbon*, and came to nothing at laſt, as all other Treaties had done. But while the Imperialiſts were thus amuſing King *James* with terms of Accommodation, and that the King of *Bohemia* had diſarm'd himſelf to pleaſe his Father-in-Law, *Heidelburgh* and all the other places he had recover'd before, together with the reſt of the *Palatinate*, were all ſeized by the Emperor, except only *Frankendale*, which continued to make a vigorous Defence. It would look like a Dream to imagine that King *James* ſhould oblige his Son-in-Law to quit this place alſo, the only one left him of his whole Country, and that as the only effectual way to get back all the reſt; yet its true he did ſo, and that at the very time that the Emperor had actually transfer'd the Electoral Dignity from the *Palatine* Family to the Houſe of *Bavaria*.

A. D. 1619

K. James trickt by the Spaniards

For *Frankendale* being a Town then of great ſtrength, and the *Spaniards* lying expos'd to the daily Excurſions of the Garriſon, they found a way to tricki K. *James* out of it in this manner. *Gundomar* repreſents to him, that it being the only Place left in the *Palatinate*, it could not hold out much longer, and that there was but one way to ſave it for his Son-in Law, which was to put it into the hands of the Governour of *Flanders* for ſome time, till things might be brought to an Accomodation by the Treaty then on foot; and if there ſhould happen any interruption in it, then the Town ſhould be rendred back to King *James*, for the uſe of his Son-in-Law, in the ſame Condition, together with a free paſſage for 1500 Foot and 200 Horſe to take poſſeſſion of it, with ſix months Proviſion. King *James* being willing to do any thing rather than break with the *Spaniard*, agreed to this ſtrange Propoſition, and *Frankendale* was deliver'd up to the Governour of *Flanders* for Fifteen Months, under theſe Conditions. But the Treaty being once more broke off, and the time elapſed, when King *James* demanded that *Frankendale* ſhould be reſtored, it was told him, *That he might have the Town, but by the terms of Agreement he was to have a paſſage for his Troops through the* Spaniſh Low-Countries; *but that there was no Article, that he ſhould have a paſſage*

Spaniſh Sincerity.

A. D. 1620

passage thro' any other places that were in their possession in Germany. Thus King *James* was once more egregiously imposed upon, for there was no way to come at the Town, but through parts of *Germany* that were in the hands of *Spain*, and so the *Spaniards* continued masters of *Frankendale*.

It would be too long to give the Detail of King *James*'s Conduct of this affair, which was all of a Piece. The Author sums up all the ills that attended it in this, *That thereby the Protestant Religion was intirely rooted out of* Bohemia, *the Electoral Dignity transfer'd from the Palatine Family, the* Palatinate *it self lost, the Liberty of* Germany *overthrown*; and which he mentions with a sensible regret, *The famous Library of* Heidelburgh *was carried to* Rome *to the irreparable prejudice of Learning*. So that *Gundomar* had good reason to say in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, Printed in the History of that Duke's Life, *That he had lulled King* James *so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the crys of his Daughter, nor her Children, nor the repeated solicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their behalf, should be able to awaken him.*

Gundomar's *continued Delusions.*

King *James* seeing all was lost in *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, was yet so sweetned with *Gundomar*'s windy promises, that he prosecutes the *Spanish* Match with vigour, in which he was encouraged by *Digby*, *Arundel*, *Worcester*, and especially by *Buckingham* and *Gundomar*, to whom the King's Ears were always open to his disadvantage, which being told of, by Sir *Robert Naunton*, his Secretary, a Gentleman of known honesty and integrity, the Seals were taken from him, and *Conway* succeeded him. The King took great delight in *Gundomar*'s Company, for he was full of Conceits, Jests and witty Sayings, and would sometimes speak false Latin on purpose to please the King, telling him, *That his Majesty spoke Latin like a Pedant, but I*, says he, *speak Latin like a Gentleman*, and once dismissing one of his Agents in the King's presence, that was going into *Spain*, he bid him *commend him to the Sun, for he had not seen him here in many days*: And by these Arts so wound himself into the King's good opinion, and into a belief that the Treaties in Agitation would have effect, that he not only ruined the *Palatine* Family, but made a fair stroke against the *English* Monarchy, by wheedling the King into that inglorious Council of

sending

ſendiag the Prince into *Spain*, for a Match that was either never deſigned him, or too late, and it was more owing to *Philip* III.'s Generoſity than to King *James*'s Politicks, that he ever returned alive to *England*. D. A. 1620

Additional Preferments to Buckingham.

The Earl was now made Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, to his Maſterſhip of the Horſe was added Lord Admiral of *England*, and lying in the King's Boſom, every Man paid tribute to his ſmiles. His Mother was made Counteſs of *Buckingham*, her eldeſt Son made firſt a Knight, and afterwards Viſcount *Purbeck*, her other Son was created Earl of *Angleſey*, and now happy is he that can get a Kinſwoman, it is the next way to get a thriving Office, or ſome new ſwelling Title. The King that never much cared for Women, had his Court ſwarm'd with the Marqueſſes kindred, ſo that little Ones dance and friſk'd up and down the Privy Lodgings like Fairies in a Barn, and it was no ſmall ſtock of Sap that muſt maintain all theſe Suckers. Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Juſtice, who was reported to give 20000 *l.* for the Office of Lord Treaſurer, before the year expired had it taken from him, and it was conferred upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who, by being bred up in the Cuſtom-houſe, and knowing the ſecret Contrivances of thoſe Offices, knew beſt how to ſupply by Projects, what a wanton and griping Court had conſumed in Riot and Prodigality. But the great ſtep to this Office, was *Cranfield*'s marrying one of the Marqueſſes kindred, which ſoon raiſed him to be Earl of *Middleſex*; and the Lord Chief Juſtice, in lieu of his Money, was made a Preſident, I mean of the Privy Council, Viſcount *Mandeville*, E. of *Mancheſter*, and after *Worceſter*'s deceaſe, Lord Privy Seal, to lick himſelf whole again. The Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, in appearance made all theſe Removes and Advancements, but in truth all the Affairs in Church and State were tranſacted privately by his Mother, for moſt Addreſſes were made firſt to her, and ſo conveyed to be finiſhed by her Son, who minded his Pleaſure more than his Profit; which made *Gundomar*, among his other witty Stories, write into *Spain*, *That there was never more hope of* England's *returning to Popery than now; for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother than to the Son.* The Marqueſs was a general Lover, and treated all Womankind accordingly, only to gratifie his

His Mother rules all.

A. D. 1620

own unlawful ends, and then dismist them for the next celebrated Beauty. This humour he thought to have practis'd upon the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter, who was Mistress of all her Fathers great Fortunes. He tempts her, carries her to his Lodgings in *White-hall*, keeps her there some time, and then returns her back to her Father; but the Stout old Earl of *Rutland* sends him this threatning Message, *That he was too much a Gentleman to suffer such an Indignity, and therefore if he did not forthwith repair his Daughters Honour by marrying her, no Greatness should protect him from Justice.* *Buckingham*, who perhaps made use of this Stratagem to get the Father's good Will, she being the greatest Match in the Kingdom, had no reason to dislike the Proposal, and therefore quickly salved up the Wound by Consummating the Marriage. This young Lady was bred a Papist by her Mother, but was converted by Dr. *White* to be a zealous Protestant; which thwarting the old Countess of *Buckingham*'s humour, who was a Bigotted Romanist, she with the help of the Jesuits caused her to Apostatize.

Buckingham *married.*

Tho' the King having ill success with the last Parliament that *Somerset* undertook for, had resolved to lay them aside for ever, looking upon them as Incroachers upon his Prerogative, who made Kings less than they were, and Subjects greater than they should be; yet finding the People grow clamorous for want of one; and zealous for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would only insist upon that, and liberally open their Purses, which he might make use of, and induce the King of *Spain* to be more active in the Treaty on foot. The King had received no Supply from his Parliament in ten years, this put him upon the necessity of raising Money by indirect means, as by granting Patents and Monopolies to such as preyed upon, and extorted great sums from the People, which the K. endeavours to excuse to the Parliament at their meeting, and in the mean time sent the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the Emperor to press a positive answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recovered by Peace, before the K. proceeded to actual War, and now expecting the Emperor's answer, the Parliament go on with their Work, receiving Petitions from several Persons imprisoned and ruined by the violent Extortions of Voraginous Patentee's and Monopolizers, as were active in promoting

Another Parliament.

moting Illegal Exactions, that the King's neceſſities and ill adviſed Council drove him to. The cheif Procurer of theſe Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. *Mompeſſon* had Fortune enough to have maintained him genteely in the Country, but at Court wanted this novelty for his better ſupport. To him *Mitchel* is made a Compartner, a Poor little ſneaking Suburb Juſtice, that lived by the Sins of his neighbouring Females, who was brought to Court and Knighted, and corroborated by theſe Letters to grate the Bones and ſuck the Marrow of the needy Commoners; which being ript up in Parliament; *Mompeſſon* made his eſcape, and Sir *Francis Mitchel* was cenſured: Firſt to be degraded with all the Debaſing Ceremonies that Juſtice could invent, and after was made to ride through the City with his face to the Horſes Tail, with a Paper on his breaſt and back declaring his heinous Crime, and ſuffering the ſcorn and contempt of the Rabble in his paſſage; beſides, being ſqueezed by Fine and Impriſonment, to make him uncapable of doing further miſchief. The ſame puniſhment fell upon *Mompeſſon*'s Purſe, tho' he obſcured his Perſon, and upon other leſſer Confederates, which put an end to this Grievance.

A.D. 1621

Patentees puniſhed.

Not long after comes the great Lord Chancellor *Bacon* to a Cenſure for the moſt extravagant and ridiculous Follies that ever Wiſe Man was guilty of. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, which were proved and aggravated againſt him by ſo many Circumſtances, that he that in ſome things was thought a Man of the greateſt Parts in *England*, and mounted above Pity, now fell miſerably below it, and his Eloquent Tongue that uſed to Charm his Auditors with excellent Harangues, was now forced to ſtoop to humble Supplications, and throwing himſelf and his Cauſe at his Judges Feet, before his Sentence paſs'd: Humbly beg'd the Lords in Parliament, that his Penitent Submiſſion might be his Sentence, the loſs of the Great Seal his Puniſhment, and that their Lordſhips would recommend him to the King's Grace and Pardon for all that was paſt. Thus his great Spirit was lower'd, and Humiliation might have raiſed him up again, if the weight of his Offences had not kept him down. He loſt his ~~Peerage and~~ Seal,

The Lord Chancellor Cenſured,

and

A. D. 1621

and the Beam was wavering whether he ſhould carry the Title of Viſcount St. *Albans* to his Grave, and that was all he had, for his Honour died before him. To heighten his miſery, many were cruſhed to pieces by his Fall, by the debts he had Contracted, and tho' he had a Penſion from the King, he wanted to his laſt; living obſcurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the remembrance of his former Plenty and Greatneſs lay ſo hard upon his Ingenious and therefore melancholy temper, that he Pined and Conſumed away. He was of middle Stature, his Preſence Grave and Comely; of a quick and high flying Wit, ſtriving in ſome things rather to be admired than underſtood, and yet when he pleaſed to condeſcend none more intelligible. In ſhort, he was a great Maſter in all kinds of Learning, and the World is ſo much obliged to his Diſcoveries in Natural Philoſophy, that his name will be celebrated with Honour to perpetuity. His Wit was lively to the laſt; for *Gundomar* meeting him the Lent before his Cenſure, and hearing of his miſcarriages, thought to upbraid him with his *Spaniſh* Sarcaſms and Scoffs, ſaying, *My Lord I wiſh you a good Eaſter*; *And you, my Lord*, reply'd the Chancellor, *a good Paſſover*; for he could neither endure his *Engliſh* Buffoonry, nor his *Spaniſh* Treaty, tho' he was too wiſe to oppoſe them publickly.

The Kings affairs go ill.

At the beginning of Winter the Lord *Digby* returns from ſoliciting the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*, to the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, which the King commanded him to acquaint the Parliament with, and how neceſſary it was that the K. ſhould obtain that by War, that he could not procure by Peace; but tho' the King by his Miniſters encouraged the Parliament to a War; yet they found him more enclin'd to Peace, both in regard of *Gundomar*'s power with him, his Indulgence to Papiſts, and his fondneſs of the *Spaniſh* Match, which was diſ-reliſh'd by all *England*, except the Papiſts and the *Spaniſh* Faction, and therefore the Parliament were drawing up a Remonſtrance to the King, to perſwade him to enter upon a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and ſuccour the diſtreſſed Proteſtants abroad, who were groaning under the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the Emperor and the *French* King. But when this Remonſtrance was brought to perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the Houſe had time to ſend their Members with it; in which

ſom:

something so highly displeased him, that he wrote the following Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir *Thomas Richardson*. A. D. 1621.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard by divers Reports, to our great grief, that some Fiery and Popular Spirits in the House of Commons have publickly argued and debated matters far above their Reach and Capacities, tending highly to our dishonour, and breach of the Royal Prerogative. These are therefore to command you, in our name to make known to the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or deep matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that K. or any other our Friends or Confederates. And whereas we hear they have sent a Message to Sir* Edwin Sands, *to know the cause of his restraint, you shall resolve them in our name, that it was not for any misdemeanor in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our name, that we think our selves very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting as afterward: Which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon occasion of any Mans insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto us. And if they have already touched any of those points, which we have here forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you tell them, that except they Reform it before it come to our hands, we will not deign the hearing of it.* Dated at *New-Market Decemb.* 3. 1621. *The Kings Letter to the Parliament.*

When the House had duly considered the reasons they had to draw up their Remonstrance, which in effect was to preserve the Kingdom from Ruin, they send their Petition to the K. and their Remonstrance with it, wherein they declare, *That the Honour and Safety of the King and his Posterity, the Welfare of Religion and State of the Kingdom, are at no time unfit for a Parliamentary Consideration, not that they took upon themselves the power of determining, but as Loyal Subjects, to demonstrate such things to his Majesty, which they were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to his knowledge. And whereas his Majesty seems to restrain them from intermedling with matters of Government that have their motion in the Courts of Justice,* *The Parliaments Reply.*

and

A. D. 1621

and seems to abridge them of the Ancient Liberty of Parliament, of freedom of Speech, They were now forced to pray his Majesty to allow it, and to take away the doubts and scruples, which his Letter to the Speaker had brought upon them. After this the House finding it a great discouragement to business, while there was so great a difference between the King and them, *That the King thought their Actions an Incroachment upon his Prerogative, and they think the King's Expressions an Infringement of their Liberties*, they resolved to go over all business, till they had an Answer to their Petitions. Which the King hearing of, was grievously vexed, and entertained the twelve Members that were sent to him very roughly. Some say he called for twelve Chairs for them, saying, *Here are twelve Kings come to me*, but after he had considered their desires in their last Petition, he returns them Answer, *That their first Petition was unworthy of Answer, that their giving advice in his Sons Match, and urging him to a War, was intrenching upon his Prerogative.* He tells them, *That he wonders they should make so unjust a Comment upon the words in his Letter to the Speaker, as if he meant to restrain them from their Ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament; for tho' he cannot allow the Style, calling it their Ancient and Undoubted Right and Inheritance, but could rather have wish'd they had said, That their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permission of his Ancestors and himself* (for most of them grow from Precedents, which rather shews a Toleration than an Inheritance) *yet he gave them his Royal assurance, that as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their Duty, he would be as careful to maintain their Liberties and Privileges as ever any of his Predecessors did, nay, as he was to preserve his own Royal Prerogative.* But,

The King's Rejoinder.

The House of Commons finding the Kings Letters laid Blocks in the way to their Liberties; and for all the Kings Fineneſſes, that Religion was unsecure, if the *Spanish* Match proceeded, they resolved, whatsoever befell them, to leave some prints and footsteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Posterities, as their Ancestors had done to them, and therefore Registred the following Protestation in their Journal Book, 19*th.* of *Dec.* 1621.

The

The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises and Privileges of Parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this Protestation following: *That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges and Jurisdictions of Parliaments, are the Ancient and Undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Subjects of* England, *and that the Arduous and Urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of* England, *and the maintenance and making Laws, and Redress of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and matter of Council and Debate in Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in those Businesses, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reason, and bring the same to Conclusion. That the Commons in Parliament have likewise Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters, in such order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest. That every Member of the said House hath like Freedom, from all Impeachment, Imprisonment and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House it self) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning or declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Business. And that if any of the said Members be complained of, and questioned for any thing done or said, in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credit to any private Information.*

A. D. 1621

The Parliaments Protestation.

The King was again alarmed by this Protestation, and he that naturally lov'd Peace both at Home and Abroad, had a War raised in his own Breast; for if he should connive at this Protestation, it would be an Argument against him to Posterity, and since he would not break the Treaty with *Spain*, nor comply with his Subjects, he dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation, and let every Mans Tongue run at Riot against him for doing it. They said that *Great Britain* was grown less than *Little England*, which had lost strength by changing Sexes; and the story of *David Riccio*, written by *Buchanan*, had died in every *English* opinion, if it had not had a Resurrection by these Controversies with his Parliament. And as these troubles bred disturbance at Home, so they begot *disparagement* Abroad, for now they undervalue

The Parliament dissolved.

A. D. 1621

value the King's Power, as much as before they did his Courage, and in their Comedies represented Messengers bringing News in great haste that the *Palatinate* was now like to be lost, for the *Danes*, the *French*, the *Dutch* and the *English*, would each of them send 40000 to make up a Formidable Army in *Germany*: And one being appointed to ask of what each 40000 must consist, the Messenger answered, the *Danes* would send 40000 Pickled Herrings, the *Dutch* 40000 Butter-Boxes, the *French* 40000 Compliments, and the *English* 40000 Ambassadors. In one Place they Pictured K. *James* with a Scabbard and never a Sword in it, in another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, tho' several Men stood pulling at it. At *Brussels* they Pictur'd him with his Pockets hanging out, and not a Penny in them, nor in his Purse, which they turn'd upside down; every one of these Pictures had several Motto's expressing their Malice: Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation.

Scandalous representations.

1622

The Parliament being dissolved, the Lord *Digby* is sent Extraordinary Ambassador into *Spain*. He landed at St. *Andero*, a poor Maritime Town in *Biscay*, where the People generally go all bare foot. There his Lordship had the patience to stay a fortnight in expectation of the *Spanish* Court Civilities, but in truth was so slighted by tedious and impertinent delays, and at last by mean and sordid Accommodations, that it was a wonder how he could bear it, and that the *Spaniards* were not ashamed to offer it; especially since the King treated the Papists at home, with so much indulgence, that *Gundomar* boasted he had released 4000 Recusants by his own mediation, and that the King might do some publick Act in their favour, he commands Dr. *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, to issue out Writs to the Judges in every Circuit, to enlarge all Papists that were Imprisoned for Recusancy, which was done accordingly. This Bishop succeeded the Lord *Verulam*, and for some time continued in favour with the Marques of *Buckingham*, and the Countess his Mother, whose Creature he was, and who, 'twas said, could mould him into any shape to serve their turns; but afterwards growing a little restiff, they laid him aside: He had a Comely Presence, and that animated with a great mind, made him appear very proud to the vulgar Eye, tho' really as he

An Embassy into Spain.

was

was a man of extraordinary Parts, ſo he was of a bountiful mind to all Men in Want, and a great Patron to ſupport, where merit wanted a ſupply. Now the Reverend Prelate Doctor *Abbot* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, had the misfortune, as he was ſhooting at a Deer, his Arrow glancing, to kill a Keeper, which was ſo great an Affliction to him, that he retired to the Alms-houſe he had built at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, to mortifie himſelf for that ſad accident. Some were of opinion that it diſabled him from exerciſing his Epiſcopal Office, but the King granting a Commiſſion to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that reſtored him from his Alms-houſe to his Palace, and he Conferred a Comfortable Subſiſtence upon the Widow and Children of the Man that was killed by him. A. D. 1622

An unhappy accident.

The K. receiving ſo many delays and diſſatisfactions from his Agents in *Spain* and *Rome*, about the Concluſion of the Treaty of Marriage, at laſt he determined to ſend the Prince himſelf into *Spain*, to finiſh it. Accordingly he and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* went privately from Court to *Dover*, attended only by Sir *Richard Graham*, Maſter of the Marqueſs's Horſe, where they were to meet Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the Prince's Secretary, and *Endymion Porter*, who was then taken from the Marqueſs's Bed-Chamber, to wait upon the Prince, becauſe he underſtood the Language, and had been brought up in *Spain* from his youth. The Prince and *Buckingham* had falſe Beards for Diſguiſes, and went by the names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*. From *Dover* they went to *Paris*, where the Prince ſpent one day to view the City and Court, hiding himſelf as much as he could under a great Peruque. After dinner they ſaw the King in the Gallery, and towards the evening had a full view of the Q. and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, whoſe Eyes inflamed his Heart, and left an impreſſion upon his mind, which could not be removed by the faireſt objects in *Spain*. In *March* they arrived at *Madrid*. The Prince and the Marqueſs came thither one day before *Cottington*, to make leſs noiſe in Appearances. They lighted at the (now) Earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe in the evening, the Marqueſs carried in the Portmanteau, but his Maſter ſtaid without, till he had prepared a way for Privacy. In the evening *Buckingham* and *Briſtol* went to Court, and had private Audience of the K. who ſent his Grand Favourite

The Prince's voyage into Spain.

His Arrival at Madrid.

A. D. 1622

vourite *Olivarez* back with them, to Congratulate the Prince's coming. Who let the Prince know how happy his Master was in the enjoyment of him there, and that the obligation was so great, that he deserved to have the Infanta thrown into his Arms. All this while kneeling, kissing his hands, and embracing his Thigh. From him he went to *Buckingham*, telling him, *That now the Prince of* England *was in* Spain, *his Master and he would divide the World betwixt them.* After he was gone, about ten a Clock at Night, the King of *Spain* came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having notice of his coming, met him in the way, and there they spent some time in *Caresses* and *Embraces*, that are incidents to the Interviews of Great Princes.

His Entertainment.

The next day after Dinner, the King came in person, with his Favourite *Olivarez* and divers others of the Nobility, to conduct the Prince from the Town to the Court, having Horses and an Equipage fit for such a Grandeur. Thus mounted, they rod through the Streets in as much state as at a Coronation, the rince riding on the King's right hand. The Queen and the *Infanta* from a Window in the Court saw them, and when they dismounted the *Infanta* retired, and the Queen went to her Chamber, in expectation of a visit. When the K. and Prince entred her Chamber, she rose to meet them, making an Obeisance to the Prince, which he returned with a Profound Reverential Bow. After some Compliments, they sate down on three Royal Seats, the Queen in the middle, the Prince on her Right Hand, and the King on the other, and in this State discoursed away about half an hour, and then retired. The Queen brought the Prince to the utmost extent of her Chamber, and the King to a Chamber provided for him, where he left him to his own Attendants, and some great *Spanish Grandees*, as Principal Officers of his Houshold, *Gundomar* being always one about him. All that the *Spanish* Court could do, was heightened into Gallantry, and Civilities to the Pr. yet he had not the sight of the *Infanta*, but at an undiscerning distance, and *in transitu* as she came from Church. But when all these splendid Ceremonies were a little over, the Prince began to mind what he came about, and desired a more intimate access to his Mistress, which *Olivarez* promised from Day to Day, but still delayed; but at length when unperformed promi-

ses

ſes were hightned into ſhame, he plainly confeſſed that it was agreed by the King and Council, *that he might not ſee her as a Lover, till the Diſpenſation came from* Rome, but had ſometimes acceſs to her as a Prince in a Publick way, the King of *Spain* being always preſent, and the Earl of *Briſtol* Interpreter. Now the Engliſh Nobility flock into *Spain*, and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*'s new Title of Duke came to him alſo, that he might be in the higheſt Rank among the *Spaniſh* Grandees, and the Prince was ſo encircled with a ſplendid retinue of his own people, that it might be ſaid, *There was an* Engliſh *Court in the King of* Spain's *Palace*; Among other Honours they pretended to do the Prince, few omitted the grand Civility of *tempting him to forſake the Proteſtant Religion, and to turn Papiſt*, to which they added promiſes of aſſiſtance, if his own Subjects ſhould Rebel upon that conſideration. The *Pope* alſo wrote a ſweetning Letter to the Prince to that purpoſe, and to oblige him to a change, haſtens the *Diſpenſation* into *Spain*, that the Nuptials might be Conſummated to his ſatisfaction; and now the Articles of Marriage being ratified and ſworn to on all ſides, the Match is look'd upon as finiſhed. Preparations were making in *Spain* to waft the *Infanta* into *England*, and here all hands were at work to prepare for her Reception, and building a *New Chapel* at St. *James*'s for the Exerciſe of her Religion; but time came too ſwift upon the *Spaniards*, they were willing that the *Infanta* ſhould winter in *Spain*, but knew not well how to delay the Prince any longer: And as they were in this Plunge, ruminating upon ſome new *Remora*, *Pope Gregory* the Fifteenth died, that granted the Diſpenſation, and furniſhes them with a pretence that the Diſpenſation was invalid; yet with a reſerve to keep up our Prince's ſpirit, that it ſhould be no hinderance to the Match, for the new Pope would do it preſently, and the King of *Spain* aſſured the Prince, that if he would ſtay till *Chriſtmas*, the Marriage ſhould then be really celebrated. Theſe delays coming one upon the neck of another, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having now taken ſome diſguſt in *Spain* at *Olivarez*, ſends home ſuch a dreadful account of the *Spaniſh* Procraſtinations, that the King wrote to '*Buckingham* to bring his Son back with all ſpeed, and 'if his Sons youthful Follies ſhould tye him to a longer 'expectation, he charges him upon his Allegiance to 'come away and leave him there. M; This

A. D. 1622

The Engliſh *flock into* Spain.

New Delays.

A. D. 1623

This Letter the Duke ſhewed to the Prince, and it wrought ſo effectually upon him, that he took up a ſudden reſolution to return into *England*; of which the *Grandees* in *Spain* having notice, they were exceedingly troubled, for their deſign was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping to return to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that ſhe being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there till ſhe was delivered, that ſo the Child might be bred up and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard*, both in affection and Religion, which this ſudden Reſolution hindering, it ſomething ſtartled them. *Buckingham* departed inſtantly to the *Engliſh* Fleet at the Port of St. *Andero*, without taking any ſolemn leave; but the Prince ſtaid and did it with all the Formalities imaginable, making and receiving great Preſents, and mutually ſwearing to perform the Marriage, within ten days after the Diſpenſation from the new *Pope* ſhould arrive in *Spain*. Then the K. expreſſing extraordinary Reſpects to the Prince, and he repaying his Noble Expreſſions with the like Civilities, they embraced each other and parted: The King leaving the Prince to be attended to the Seaſide by a numerous train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers. The Prince making the beſt of his way, arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth*, upon the 5*th*. of *October* following, and the next day came to *London*, where the People's joy elevated above Bonfire expreſſions, ſhewed that love is the beſt foundation of Security and Happineſs.

The Prince takes his leave.

Arrives in England.

The King was then at *Royſton*, to whom the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham* went Poſt, and gave him a fair and plauſible narration of their Proceedings, laying the load upon the *Spaniſh* delays, and the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Miſcarriages, which the King as a good Father to his Son, and Friend to his Favourite, took for current payment, without any farther Examination. Now the Prince having ſettled his thoughts upon another Object, the firſt thing they did was to procure an abſolute command from the King to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſuſpend the delivery of the Proxy till *Chriſtmas*, tho' the Diſpenſation ſhould come ſooner. and being reſolved to affront the King of *Spain* for his delays, in *Briſtol*'s Letter he had inſtructions to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate and Electoral Dignity*, for ſaith the King's Letter, *It would be very ſtrange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.*

Briſtol's

A. D. 1623

Briſtol's power of deferring the Eſpouſals till *Chriſtmas*, was to be kept within his own breaſt, and not divulged till the Diſpenſation ſhould come and diſcover it. When the Diſpenſation came, which was about the beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made for joy through the whole Kingdom of *Spain*. The ninth of the month was prefixt for the *Wedding Day*, a Tarrals being erected betwixt the Court and the next Church, almoſt a quarter of a Mile in length, covered with Tapeſtery for the greater magnificence, and all things appointed in the higheſt State for ſo great a Solemnity: *Preſents* were provided in the Court of *Spain* for our King and Prince: The *Infanta*'s Family which ſhe was to take into *England* with her was ſettled: She had long practis'd the *Engliſh Tongue*, and her Voyage into *England* was reſolved upon, to be about the beginning of *March*: When all of a ſudden, King *James*'s commands like a Froſt nipt all this Budding Glory, for *Briſtol* had now a poſitive Order to declare to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Reſtitution of the Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhould proceed no farther*. And this was the end of a Seven Years Treaty. *The Match broke off.*

The Duke of *Buckingham* by a long converſe having made himſelf Favourite to the Prince, as well as to the King, perſwaded the Prince to look back to the *Beauty* he had ſeen in *France*; but the Treaty with *Spain* muſt firſt be diſſolved, and ſince nothing but a Parliament can do it, one was ſummoned to meet the 12 of *February*, when the grief that the ſudden death of the Duke of *Richmond* gave the King, put it off till the nineteenth of *February* following: There the King in a long Speech, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſweeten the Parliament into a good opinion of all his Actions, and eſpecially of his unfeigned deſires to comply with them in every thing, for the good of the Kingdom, and his utter averſion againſt infringing their Privileges; but what related to the breaking off the *Spaniſh Match* he left to the Duke of *Buckingham* to give them ſatisfaction in it. On the 24 of this month, the Duke of *Buckingham* made a long relation of all the tranſactions in *Spain*, to both Houſes of Parliament, and acquitted himſelf ſo well in relation to his own Actions, that the Parliament who formerly looked upon him with a ſour Eye, for tempting the Prince to ſo dangerous a Journey; when they found what excellent effects it had produ-

A. D. 1623

ced, they forgot the old murmurings that were buzz'd againſt him, and could ſcarce contain from acknowledging him the *Preſerver of the Nation*. His diſcovery is cry'd up every where, and who but the D. of *Buckingham* is become the Darling of the multitude: But when the E. of *Briſtol* came over, and told a quite contrary Story: That he had carried the Prince into *Spain* on purpoſe that he might be ſeduc'd to the Popiſh Religion; no wonder the People that were but Men, and could then ſee no further into that matter than he was pleas'd to ſhew them, changed their Opinion; however the Parliament that had the general good in their Eye, wiſely paſſed over all reflections upon particular Perſons, and having the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their hands, they cruſhed the Cockatrice in the head, by adviſing the King to break the Treaty, and Proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*, *Proteſting to aſſiſt the King in regaining the* Palatinate, *with their Lives and Fortunes*. But the King fearing that when the War was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it, thanked the Parliament for their advice, and told them he would conſider better on it. The Parliament ſeeing the King began to flag, were reſolved to keep up his Spirits, and therefore came ſo cloſe to him in propoſing the beginning a War, that he had no room to make an Evaſion, but was forc'd to cloſe with them in Warring upon the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advices; upon which it was reſolved to ſend 6000 Men to join with the Forces of the States of *Holland*, that weakning the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries*, they might have a freer Acceſs into *Germany*, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*.

War againſt the Emperor and Spain *agreed on.*

The Diſſolution of the Treaties with the Emperor and *Spain*, gave ſuch an Alarm to the Marqueſs of *Inioſa*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he ſent to the King to let him know, 'That the Duke of *Buckingham* in-'tended to deſtroy him, or at leaſt to confine him to a 'Country Houſe in ſome Park, during his Life: The 'Pr. being now of age to take the Government upon him. This ſudden concuſſion, was enough to have ſhaken an old tottering and timorous building into Ruin, without thinking of his Mother's or Prince *Henry*'s Fate, but the violence of it did not operate, but was check'd by the Dukes proteſting his Innocency: For the King at the next interview ſaying to him, *Ah!* Stenny, Stenny, (which

Buckingham accuſed.

(which was the familiar name he called him by) *wilt thou kill me*: The Duke being under a great ſurprize, at length recovering himſelf, with many aſſeverations aſſerted his Loyalty and Integrity, and the King being willing to believe him, the noiſe was quickly over; and *Briſtol* that came over to juſtifie himſelf and charge the Duke, as ſoon as he landed was committed to the *Tower*, where finding himſelf unable to grapple with the Duke, gained his Liberty by a Submiſſion, and retired to a Country Privacy. D.A. 1623

The Lords being now at leiſure, began to conſider how neceſſary it was they ſhould join with the Commons, in Petitioning the King to curb the growth of Popery, and take down the pride of the Papiſts; but both Houſes being ready to deliver it, they were prevented by the *King*'s Speech, *wherein he promiſed to grant more than they deſired*; yet the Parliament followed the Chace, and put out divers of the Nobility and Gentry that were Popiſhly affected, and had Earthed themſelves in places of great Truſt and Power in the Kingdom, as if they deſigned to undermine the Nation. Theſe Proceedings cruſhed them for the preſent, yet they immediately got heart again, and ſpread as much as ever, by another Project that was now in Agitation. For the *King* after the breach with *Spain*, ſent the Ld. *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, privately to *France*, to feel that *King*'s pulſe, in relation to a Marriage between the Prince and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter to *Henry* the Great. He continued there a Month before he moved a word in that matter, and as ſoon as he propoſed it to the *French* K. he was ſo fond of the Match, that he told the E. of *Holland*, *He had rather have the Prince of* England *to be his Brother, than any other man in the World*, and was ſo ready to comply, that he ſeemed very indifferent in making terms for the Papiſts in *England*, but when he ſaw King *James* was as fond of the Marriage as himſelf, and the Jeſuits had tamper'd with him, he got ſeveral Immunities for the Papiſts here, by ſeeming to ſtand off, as may be ſeen by the Marriage Articles. *Proceedings againſt the Papiſts.*

The Duke of *Buckingham* being now ſwell'd to the higheſt pitch of Grandeur, took up a reſolution to cruſh his *Kinſman* the Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord Treaſurer, and to throw him out of the Place he had put him into, which he might eaſily do, for as *Middleſex* wanted In- *The Lord Treaſurer Cenſured.*

A. D. 1623 nocency to justifie himself, so he wanted humility that others might have done it for him, which made him fall unpitied. His Case being examined in *Parliament* he was found Guilty of such high Misdemeanors, that they had thoughts (but for the Precedent sake) to have degraded him, and tho' they went not so far as to take away the Titles of Honour from his Posterity, who had not offended, yet they made him utterly uncapable of sitting in the House of Lords, and his Fine was so great that 'twas reported the Duke of *Buckingham* had *Chelsey* House from him for his share on't.

1624 This Spring four Regiments of Foot, 1500 in a Regiment were transported into *Holland*, under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Essex* and the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*; and while the *English*, the great Supporters of the *Dutch*, were fighting for them in their very doors, there came News out of the *East-Indies* of such a horrid and barbarous nature, that no Time nor Age could parallel. The *Dutch* grasping at the whole Spicery Trade in this Eastern World, having worm'd out the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, endeavoured to do the like by their best Friends the *English*, that they might engross the whole to themselves, which causing many bickerings between them, at length they came to terms of Agreement, and the *English* thinking themselves secure, planted their Factories among them; where after about 2 years that they had reap'd the fruit of their dangers and hazards, the *Dutch* began to attempt their utter Extirpation, not by a Massacre, for that had been a Merciful Mischief, but by such horrid, savage and cruel Tortures, as if they had suck'd their malice from *Indian* Tygers. *Amboyna* was the Bloody Stage where they Acted this Black and Dismal Tragedy. For, pretending the Chief Agent Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* Factory, had Conspired to seize the Castle and expel the *Dutch* out of the Island, *they seized upon them*, and having no Witnesses against them but their *Racks*, *they extended their sinews, drew them out at full length, disjointed all the Limbs of their Bodies; and by their Water Racks making them suck in Water with their Breaths, they swell'd their Bodies to a huge proportion, till their Skins were ready to crack, and their Eyes to start out of their Heads*: And those whose Innocency and Courage could not be compelled by those

Dutch *Cruelties at* Amboyna.

those Torments, to accuse themselves of Crimes they were no way Guilty of, *They burned the soals of their Feet with Candles, till the moisture which dropt from their Feet extinguished the flame, and with these fiery Instruments made such holes in their sides, that they might see their Entrails*, tho' the Monsters would not see their Innocence, but perswaded in their Deviliſh Cruelty: which being horrible to express, what was it for those poor *English* Men to suffer? Having thus wearied out the Innocent Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confess'd and gave under their hands whatsoever their Barbarous Tormentors dictated to them, and concluded their Cruelties by cutting off some of their heads. Ten of the *English* lost their lives, there being not Twenty of them in all, and the rest with Rack'd, Swell'd, Burnt and Macerated Bodies, were sent to the *English* Plantations, so the whole Factory was destroyed, and the *Dutch* seized that Trade into their hands, which they have kept ever since. A. D. 1624

The Duke of *Buckingham* had hitherto subdued all that had the Ill luck or Courage to contend with him; but *Padre Macestria*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, boldly attack'd him a second time, tells him, *He would prove him a Traytor, and being better born than himself, would justifie it with his Sword*; and immediately sends King *James* notice, that under Confession he had found, that he was to be killed by *Buckingham*, but whether by Poyson, Pistol or Dagger, he could not tell. Hereupon the King grew very melancholy, and being further led into a belief of that Calumny, by a Paper privately put into his hand by *Innioſa* the *Spanish* Ambassador, wherein were Articles against the Prince the Duke, and malicious surmises against the Parliament, and so far did this Contrivance prevail upon the King, that he grew more sullen and thoughtful, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Discourse but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like flashes of Lightning from a black Cloud, shewed a Storm was gathering within. Immediately the Prince and the Duke conclude all was not right, and upon enquiry found that the *Spanish* Secretary, and *Maestro* the Jesuit, had been with the K. and that some of the Ambassadors Family had made their brags, *That they had nettled the Duke, and that a train would take fire speedily to blow up the Parliament.* The King amidst these great Anxieties prepares to go *The Duke accused again.*

D. A. 1624

to *Windſor*, thinking perhaps to leave his Cares and Fears behind him. In the end of *April*, being *Saturday* in the Afternoon, he takes Coach and his Son along with him, but makes ſome ſlight pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach: At which tears burſt from him, and he humbly requeſted his Majeſty *To tell him his offence, that he might Confeſs it, or clear himſelf*; To which the K. replied only (with a ſigh) *That he was the unhappieſt Wretch living, to be forſaken of thoſe that were deareſt to him*: Which Expreſſions drew tears on both ſides, but the K. drove away for *Windſor* and left the diſconſolate Duke behind him.

The King believes it.

Now the Lord Keeper *Williams*, who had done the D. many conſiderable ſervices, and was made *Lord Keeper* by his Intereſt, hearing the Duke was in diſfavour, goes to him then all in ſorrow at *Wallingford* Houſe, and with much a-do gains admittance to him. After ſolemn Proteſtation of the great concern he had for him, and his earneſt deſires to ſerve him, he begs his Grace to make haſte to *Windſor*, and ſhew himſelf to his Majeſty before Supper was over; to carry himſelf with all the Winning Addreſs imaginable, and to keep night and day cloſe to his Perſon. For the danger was, leſt any one ſhould get the King's Ear, and perſwade him to diſſolve the Parliament, and upon the Diſſolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the *Tower*, and then God knows what might follow. Then acquainting him with a dark knowledge of the Contrivance againſt him, bids the D. loſe no time and lock up the Secret in his Breaſt. The Duke returning him hearty thanks, poſts away to *Windſor*, and comes there unexpected. To be ſure he acquainted the Prince with the occaſion of his coming: So that his Highneſs was early next morning at the Lords Houſe, before they ſate, to ſpeak with the *Keeper*. And taking him aſide into a Lobby, he thanks him for the advice he had given *Buckingham*: *And*, ſays he, *you that have gone ſo far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will lay open this black Contrivance, which has loſt him the good opinion of my Father, and I my ſelf am in little better Circumſtances.* *Sir*, ſays the Keeper, *let my Soul ſuffer for falſhood if I know any more than that ſome in the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador's Houſe have been preparing Miſchief, and about four days ſince have infuſed it into his Majeſty.*

Well, my Lord, ſays the Prince, if that be the ſhop where

where the Plot is Forging, no Councellor in the Kingdom knows better how to diſcover the whole. *I might have been*, ſays the Lord Keeper, *but your Highneſs and my Lord Duke have made it a Crime to ſend to that Houſe, and 'tis now about a month ſince I have forbidden the Servants of that Houſe to come at me. But*, ſays the Pr. *I will make that paſſage open to you again without offence, and enterprize any way to bring us out of this Wood wherein we are loſt. Only before we part, tell me how you came to know or imagine that the* Spaniſh *Agents have charged* Buckingham *to my Father, with High Miſdemeanors, that I may compare it with other parts of my Intelligence?* The *Keeper* having acquainted the *Prince* with that Intrigue, reſolved to go through with it, and ſift the matter to the bottom; which he knew he could never do, unleſs he had an opportunity of pumping *Don Franciſco Carondelet*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors Secretary, who, by the Duke's order, had been forbid the *Keepers* Houſe above a month ſince. If he ſhould ſend for him he thought it would look a little ſuſpicious, and then the Secretary would be much upon the reſerve, and not open himſelf ſo freely. As the *Keeper* was muſing upon this difficulty, he chopt upon this lucky thought. He orders his Purſuivant Capt. *Toothby*, to ſeize an *Engliſh* Prieſt that lodged in *Drury-lane*, whom *Franciſco* loved intirely: And the poor Secretary as ſoon as he heard of his Friend's misfortunes, tho' he had been baniſhed the *Keepers* Houſe long ſince, he ſaw it was no time in a matter of ſuch Conſequence to be over modeſt, or ſtand upon Punctilio's; ſo he ſent an humble requeſt to the Lord *Keeper*, to be admitted to him that day, *Tho' he ſhould never ſee his face again.* With a ſeeming unwillingneſs it was granted, and when the time appointed came, at firſt ſight of his Lordſhip, he breaks out abruptly, *That nothing but a matter as dear to him as his life, ſhould have forced him to break a Rule, to offend his Lordſhip with his Preſence*: And then in a very paſſionate manner begs his Friend's Enlargement. *And would you have me*, ſays the Keeper, *run ſuch a hazard to ſet a Prieſt at Liberty, a dead Man by our Statutes, when the Eye of the Parliament is ſo vigilant upon the breach of Juſtice, eſpecially in this kind. My Lord*, ſays *Franciſco*, *Let not the dread of this Parliament trouble you, for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that it is upon expiring.* By this means the

A. D. 1624

The Lord Keeper detects the ſcandal.

Keeper

D. A. 1624 Keeper got into the out-works of the Project, and plaid ſo artificially with the Secretary, that he ſoon took the main Fortreſs, which when he had done, he put it down into Writing, and the next morning preſented it to the Prince at St. *James*'s, who immediately poſts to *Windſor*, and ſhews the Paper to *Buckingham*; upon which they both deſire immediate admittance to his Majeſty, which being granted, they preſent the Writing to him. The King read it all deliberately, and often ſtopping would ſay, *'Tis well, Very well*, and an enlivening ſpirit danced in his Eyes.

The King is reconciled. Then he embraced his Son and the Duke, proteſting, *That he was very ſorry that a parcel of Traytors ſhould ever make him jealous of them, but now that all was right again. And that you may know*, ſays his Majeſty, *how little you ſhall pay me for a Reconciliation, I ask no more but tell me who was your* Argus *that made this diſcovery.* The Prince was ſilent, and the Duke vowed he knew not. *Well*, ſays the King, *I have a good Noſtril, and will anſwer my own Queſtion? My Keeper had the main finger in it. Sir*, ſays the Prince, *I was precluded by my promiſe not to reveal him: But I never promiſed to tell a Lye for him: Your Majeſty has hit the Man. And God do him good for it*, ſays the King, *I need not tell you both what you owe him for this ſervice.* So by this diſcovery the Keeper did not only do a ſignal ſervice to the Pr. and D. but likewiſe to his Majeſty; who, 'tis ten to one, had quarrel'd out-right with his Parliament, had he not been thus convinced of his groundleſs fears.

The King falls ſick. Not long after the King fell ſick of a Quartan Ague, the common Meſſenger of Death to Aged People, and the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, in the abſence of his Drs. having given him a Potion to drink, & laying a Plaiſter to his ſide, and the King growing worſe after it, raiſed loud diſcourſes that ill practices were uſed againſt him, tho' the Duke, who recommended theſe Medicines to the King, purged himſelf from ſuſpicion, by proving he received both the Potion and the Plaiſter from Dr. *Remington* of *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*, who had often cured Agues; yet it was called a Daring and Unjuſtifiable Action. Some of the King's Phyſicians muttered at it, others made a great noiſe and were forced to fly for it; and tho' the Duke's power at firſt utterly ſilenced the Clamours, yet they left ſuch Impreſſions upon him, that his Innocency could never wear them out. But of this more in the next Reign.

The

The King's indiſpoſition ſtill increaſing, he retired to *Theobald's*, and the Lord Keeper *Williams* having notice that they feared his ſickneſs was mortal, he went to *Theobald's* and preſenting himſelf before the King, he endeavoured to divert him, and bring him to a chearful diſcourſe, but all in vain. So he continued by his Bed ſide till Midnight, but the King found no comfort. Next morning after a Conſultation of Phyſicians he ſaw no hopes of his life, and therefore ask'd leave of the Prince to acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in mind of his Mortality and Immortality. And having the Prince's Conſent, he went into his Majeſty's Chamber, and kneeling down told him, *He knew he ſhould neither diſpleaſe him, nor diſcourage him, if he brought* Iſaiah's *Meſſage to* Hezekiah *to ſet his Houſe in order*; for he thought his days to come would be but few in this World. *I am ſatisfy'd*, replies the King, *and I pray you to aſſiſt me in preparing to go hence, and be with Chriſt, whoſe mercies I pray for, and hope to find them.* From this time the Keeper watched with his Majeſty continually, and never ſo much as put off his Clothes to go to Bed, till after his Royal Maſter's Death; which was viſible enough in his looks on *Sunday* night. His whole buſineſs was night and day (except when the Phyſicians compoſed his Majeſty to reſt) to Pray, Read, and diſcourſe about Repentance, Faith, Remiſſion of Sins, Reſurrection and Eternal Life. This was the Preparation on *Wedneſday* for the Bleſſed Sacrament on *Thurſday*. Upon *Friday* his Majeſty grew ſenſibly weaker; ſo that now the Keeper ſtirred very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewiſe to keep off ſome of the Romiſh Church, that were hankering about the Chamber door, whom, as a Privy Councellor, he commanded to keep at greater diſtance. Being rid of theſe, he was now continually in prayer while the King linger'd on; and at laſt his Soul departing, the Keeper cloſed his Eyes with his own hands. A. D. 1625.

James, King of *Scotland*, only Son and Heir of *Henry Stewart*, late King of *Scotland*, and of Queen *Mary* his Wife, *Dowager* of *France*, and Daughter and Heir of *James* V. King of *Scotland*, was born in *Edinborough* Caſtle the 19th. of *June* 1566, and was Proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* at *London* the 24th. of *March*, 1602, being then 36 years of Age, *His Deſcent.*

A. D. 1625 Age, and on the 25th. of *July* following 1603, was Crowned with Queen *Ann* his Wife, at *Weſtminſter* by *John Whitgift* Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. He married *Ann* Daughter of *Frederick* II. *King* of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and Siſter to *Chriſtian* IV. then *K.* of *Denmark* 1618. She was born at *Scanderburgh* the 12th. of *December* 1574, and at the Age of 16 years was married by Proxy at *Groningburgh* in *Denmark* the 20th. of *Auguſt* 1590. He had Iſſue by her, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, born on *February* 19. 1593, who died without Iſſue at St. *James*'s, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, *Dec.* 1612. *Robert Stewart*, his ſecond Son died very young. *Charles*, Duke of *Albany*, Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Earl of *Roſs* and Lord of *Admanoch*, born the 27th. of *Feb.* 1600, and was Created Duke of *York* the 6th. of *Jan.* 1604, and Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Cheſter* the 4th. of *November* 1616. Lady *Elizabeth* born the 19th. of *Auguſt* 1596, was married to *Frederick* Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and had many Children. *Margaret* born the 24th. of *December*, in *Scotland* 1598, and died young. *Mary* born in *England*, died an Infant, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Sophia* born at *Greenwich*, died the next day after ſhe was born, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. And here I think it will be no impertinent digreſſion, to obſerve how the Sirname of the Kings of *England* have been changed. From *William* I. to King *Henry* II. it is very uncertain whether they had any Sirname or no: But that *K.* brought in the *French* Sirname of *Platagenet*, which continued to all the ſucceeding *Kings*, till King *Henry* VII. who brought in the *Welſh* name of *Tudor*, and that laſted till King *James* VI. of *Scotland* brought in the *Scottiſh* name of *Stewart*, which now again is changed into that Glorious Sirname *Naſſau*, under the happy Reign of *William* III. whom God preſerve long among us.

His Iſſue.

His Perſonage and Character.

King *James* was of a middle Stature, a well compacted Body, of an Auburn Hair, and if he had any predominate humour to temper his Choler, it was Sanguine. His Beard grew ſcattering on his Chin, and very thin; and tho his Clothes were ſeldom faſhioned in the common Mode, yet in the whole, he was not Uncomely. Of bodily Exerciſes he took moſt delight in Hunting, and yet ſome thought he uſed it rather as a Retirement from the importunity of State Affairs, than

for

for any great pleaſure he took in it. Its ſaid he had ſuch an odd faſhion in riding, that it could not be ſo properly ſaid he rid, as that his Horſe carried him; for he made but little uſe of his Bridle, and would ſay, *A Horſe never Stumbled but when he was Reined.* He was of an admirable pregnancy of Wit, and that improved by continual Study from his Childhood; by which he acquired ſuch a Promptneſs and Elegancy in expreſſing his mind, that his Extemporary Speeches were little inferior to his Premeditated Writings. Many, no doubt, might have read as much or more than he, but never any better digeſted it into a profound Judgment, which made his Conjectures little leſs than Oracles. He was excellently skilled in all the Liberal Arts, but excell'd in Divinity, as appeared at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and the Learned Writings he left to Poſterity. In that part of Politicks which relates to Monarchy, *Regere imperio populos*, which he uſed to call *King Craft*, he was a great maſter. He knew how to catch the Inclinations of his People at the firſt rebound, and would never ſuffer them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow ſo ſtrong but he could either Alter or Divert them. He was ſo Wiſe, and had ſo great a command of his Paſſions, that he could Simulate without being known to be a Diſſembler, be free and open hearted in Diſcourſe, and yet not diſcloſe his Secrets. In a Calm he would provide for a Storm, and was never found to commit the fault (*Non Putâram*) of not thinking; and had he been *Tam Marti quam Mercurio, as much a Soldier as a Wiſe Man and a Scholar*, he had not given the Antimonarchiſts ſo much advantage to traduce him. Of all the moral Vertues he was eminent for his Chaſtity, in which the Poet ſeems to include all Vertues.

Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen.

For in his whole Reign, tho' many of his Courtiers were extravagantly vicious in that kind, yet we meet not with one ſingle Whore of his Enriching, nor Baſtard of his Begetting. Tis true, there were ſome Heats between him and his Parliament about the *Prerogative*, and it happened then as it does in all Feuds, things were carried to the utmoſt extremity, the *K.* peradventure, *Ask'd too much*, where others ſeemed to refuſe him *Every thing*: *For conſidering*, ſays *Naunton*, * *The great debt left on the King, and into what incumbrances the Houſe it ſelf had then drawn him, his Majeſty was not*

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* Fragmenta Regalia.

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not well used: Tho', says he, *I lay not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the House, wherein he had many Friends; for I dare avouch had the House been freed of half a dozen Popular and Discontented Persons, who with the fellow that burnt the Temple at* Ephesus, *would be talked of tho' but for doing mischief, I am confident the King had obtained that which in reason, and at his first accession he ought to have received freely, and without any Condition.* In short King *James* was a Loyal Husband to his Wife, an Indulgent Father to his Children, a Bountiful Master to his Servants, and a Just Prince to his Subjects. He died of a Quartan Ague, and tho' some write that he was poysoned, yet there was no reason to believe it, for being dead, and his body opened, no sign at all appeared that he was so ill treated. His inward parts were all sound and his Spleen only affected, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague, the high way especially in Ancient Bodies to a Natural Death; which happened to him at *Theobald's* on the 27*th.* of *March*, 1625, in the 59*th.* year of his Age, when he had Reigned over *England* 22 years compleat. His Body for the greater State was conveyed from *Theobald's* to *Somerset* House (then, to oblige Queen *Ann*, called *Denmark* House) by Torch Light, where it rested from the 23*d.* of *April* to the 7*th.* of *May*, and then was buried at *Westminster* with great Solemnity.

THE

CHARLES I.

25

Vol. 2.

THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND.*

Vol. II.

THE LIFE *and* REIGN OF King *CHARLES* I.

KIng *James* I. dying on the 27*th.* of *March* in the Forenoon: The same day in the Afternoon *Charles* Prince of *Wales* his only surviving Son, was Proclaimed K. of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of Mind and Body. In the Evening the same day King *Charles* came from *Theobald's* to St. *James's*, where he continued all the Privy Counsellors that had served his Father in their respective places, for which especial Favour, the

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the next day in *Council* the *Lord Keeper*, in the name of all the reſt, gave his Majeſty their humble thanks for his good Opinion of them, and adviſed his Majeſty to ſolemnize his Fathers *Funeral*, and take care for the *Q.*'s coming over before the ſitting of the *Parliament*. Accordingly on the 23d. of *April*, the Body and Herſe of King *James*, was brought from *Theobald*'s to *Somerſet* houſe, by the Nobility and principal Officers of the Crown, and there lay in State till the 17*th*. of *May*, the day appointed for his Burial, which was Solemnized in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel, at *Weſtminſter*, where the King himſelf was chief Mourner, ſupported by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, and his Train carried up by twelve Peers of the Realm.

K. James buried.

The Articles of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, and *Henrietta Maria* Daughter of *France*, being ſigned in King *James*'s life time, the Duke of *Buckingham* is now ſent into *France* to Conduct the Queen hither, and in all places through which ſhe paſſed, all Honours were paid her by the *French* King's Order. The Navy Royal of *England* attended her at *Bulloign*, and in 24 hours landed her at *Dover*. On the 22*d*. of *June*, the King came thither to her, and Conducted her to *Canterbury*, where in the Evening the Marriage was Conſummated. Soon after their Majeſties came to *London*, where great Preparations were made for their Reception, but omitted, becauſe the Plague increaſed both in City and Suburbs; tho' that affliction nor any thing elſe intervening, could divert the King from conſidering the intereſt of the publick, for having ſummoned a Parliament to meet on the 28*th*. of *June*, at the opening thereof he ſpoke to them after this manner,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament.

'YOU are not ignorant, that at your earneſt entreaty my Father of happy Memory, firſt took 'up Arms for the recovery of the *Palatinate*; for which 'purpoſe by your aſſiſtance, he began to form a conſiderable Army, and fitted out a good Navy; but Death 'intervening between him and the Atchievment, the 'War with the Crown is devolved upon me; to the 'proſecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature 'and Honour, ſo I queſtion not but the ſame neceſſity 'continuing, you will cheriſh the Action with the like

'Affection,

'Affection, and further it with a ready Contribu- A. D.
'tion. True it is that you furniſhed my Father with 1625
'Affectionate Supplies, but they held no proportion
'with the charge of ſo great an Enterpriſe. Thoſe your
'Donatives are all diſburſt to a Penny, and I am forced
'to Summon you hither to tell, that neither the Army
'nor the Fleet can ſet out without farther Aid. Conſider,
'I pray you, that the Eyes of all *Europe* are fixt upon
'me, to whom I ſhall appear ridiculous, as tho' I were
'unable to outgo Muſter and Oſtentation, if you now
'deſert me. Conſider, it is my firſt attempt, where-
'in if I ſuſtain a foil, it will blemiſh all my future Ho-
'nour. If mine cannot, let your own Reputations
'move you, to deliver me fairly out of this War, where-
'with you have incumbred me, (let it never be ſaid
'whereinto you have betrayed me.) I deſire therefore
'your ſpeedy Supply. The Sun, you know, is entring
'into its declining point, ſo it will be ſoon too late to
'ſet forth, when it will be rather not to ſoon to re-
'turn. Again, I muſt mind you of the mortality reg-
'nant in this City, and ſhould it, which without breach
'of Privilege it may, Arreſt any Member of either
'Houſe, it would ſoon put a period to your Conſul-
'tations, and the Seſſion, ſo that your own Periclitat-
'on neceſſitates an early reſolution. In ſum, three of
'the beſt Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity and
'Safety, all plead, you ſee, for Expedition. Perhaps
'it may be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething con-
'cerning my Religion, as alſo of the tenor of my future
'Government; but as I hope I have not been guilty of
'any thing which may juſtly ſtart the leaſt queſtion in
'either, ſo I deſire you would repoſe in this aſſurance,
'that I will in neither vary from thoſe Principles,
'wherein I have been inſtituted at the Feet of that E-
'minent *Gamaliel* my late Father.

This Speech was very well reſented, and tho' it did not produce ſo great a Supply as the Exigence of Affairs required; yet the Commons gave two Subſidies and the Clergy three, without any Condition, and in the grant of the Laity the Papiſts were to pay double Taxes, The King accepted the Supply very graciouſly, as an earneſt of his Peoples reſpects in reference to greater Sums which were to follow; but the Plague ſtill increaſing in *London*, the Parlia-

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The Parliament adjourned to Oxford.

ment adjourned to *Oxford*, where, being assembled, both Houses, by the King's appointment, attended him in the Hall at *Christ-Church*, whom he again acquainted with his Wants for setting out a Fleet, and that the Eyes of the Confederates were all upon it. The Commons returning to their House had several Debates upon the substance of the King's Speech, and the State of the Nation, all tending to the Arraignment of the Government. Some urged that our Necessities arose from Improvidence, that the King was guided by evil Councellors; and tho' a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed by contrary Designs, and the Money misapplied; this Parliament was not obliged to support the Courts Extravagancies, nor grant Supplies before their Grievances were removed. They had also Jealousies of the growth of Popery, and therefore framed a Petition against Recusants, to which the King gave them a satisfactory Answer; but did not produce answerable effects, for when the Supply was again debated in the House, great Divisions rose among them; all the Discourse was upon Misgovernment, and charged the Duke of *Buckingham* as the Author of all Miscarriages: Whom, the very Parliament before, in King *James*'s Reign, extoll'd as the Honour of the *English* Nation, and sole Preserver of his Country; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. So mutable were the humours then in vogue. To Defame him now they draw up a Remonstrance designed on purpose to discredit him, and remove him from the King's Councils, and out of his Favours, wherein the Expressions were so sharp, and the Stile so unusual for Subjects to their Sovereign, that the K. determined rather to Dissolve the Parliament than admit of it: Which was done accordingly. Soon after this a Proclamation was issued out to put the Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants, commanding the return of Noblemens Children and others, that were sent to be educated in Popish Schools and Seminaries beyond Sea, and all the K.'s Subjects that were in Foreign Service, were injoined to return speedily to their Native Countries, to be employed in the King's Service. Now the War with *Spain*, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolved on in the last year of his Fathers Reign, was vigorously prosecuted. The D.

The Parliament Dissolved.

of

of *Buckingham* and the E. of *Holland* were ſent Ambaſſadors to the *United Provinces*, where they met the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them, for reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*: Upon which the K. of *Denmark* took up Arms, but was unſucceſsful, which he imputed to the King's not performing what he promiſed, and that was occaſioned *by the Parliament's failing to ſupply him with Money*, and for the ſame reaſon the Fleet which ſhould have put to Sea in the beginning of Summer, to attempt ſomething on the Coaſts of *Spain*, could not ſet out till *October* following: In which Expedition the Viſcount *Wimbleton* was general of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Eſſex* was Vice Admiral of the Navy. A. D. 1625

The Fleet, with the addition of ſome *Dutch* Veſſels, conſiſted of 80 Sail of ſtout Ships, which being diſperſed by a Storm, met again at the Southward Cape, where they entred into Conſultation what they ſhould attempt. The Earl of *Eſſex*, out of a great deſire to equal the Glory which his Father gain'd at *Cadiz*, propoſed attacking the *Spaniſh* Fleet which lay in that Harbour; but there was ſo many difficulties in the Enterprize, and ſo long a time ſpent in the Debate, that *Spain* was alarmed, and had prepared for their Defence, ſo that when it was concluded they ſhould ſail to *Cadiz*, they landed their Men there with great Danger and Oppoſition. The firſt place they attempted was *Puntal* Caſtle, under the Protection of which the *Spaniſh* Ships rode. 20 *Engliſh* and 5 *Dutch* Ships were ordered to Aſſault it, but after they had ſpent 2000 Shot againſt it to little or no purpoſe, they were forced to give it over. This not ſucceeding, *Wimbleton* ſent Sir *John Burroughs* with a choice Regiment of Foot to attack the Fort on the Land ſide, who worſting a great Party of the *Spaniards* in ſight of the Caſtle, the Governour reſigned it with 15 Barrels of Powder, and 8 Pieces of Ordnance. While this was doing the *Spaniards* hauled moſt of their beſt Ships under *Port Royal*, ſo that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was ſent to burn their Ships, was diſappointed of his purpoſe. From thence they ſailed to the Southward Cape, where they waited twenty days in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the Inclemency of the Air, and the Intemperance of the Soldiers and Seamen, ſo great a Contagion happen-

Puntal Caſtle taken.

A. D. 1625

ed in the Fleet, that they had ſcarce Men enough to hand their Sails, which forced the Admiral to return four days before the Plate Fleet came in. This ill ſucceſs diſpleaſed the King, but though many were blam'd, none were puniſhed for their Male Conduct.

Money raiſed by Privy Seals.

The War being now very chargeable, ſince the King could not be ſupplied in a Parliamentary way, he was adviſed by his Council to take other methods, and borrow Money by Letters of Privy Seals, ſent to ſeveral of the ableſt Perſons in all parts of the Kingdom, in each of which Letters the King promiſed in the name of himſelf and his Succeſſors to repay it in Eighteen months after it was paid to the Collectors, who were required to pay it into the Exchequer, and to return the names of ſuch as delayed or refuſed to pay the Sums required of them. This way of raiſing Money, as it was generally thought to be Illegal, ſo was it accounted Impolitick, unleſs it had been reſolved not to call a Parliament ſo ſoon after it, for if the King had made a Peace with *Spain*, he might have freed himſelf from the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, till by the Juſtice and Lenity of his Government, the Parliament might have no occaſion to work upon his Neceſſities. The King however was reſolved to try, or rather tempt his Fortune in another Parliament, which was Summoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 6*th.* of *February* 1625, but firſt the Solemnities of his Coronation were to be celebrated on the 2*d.* of *February*. Where the Pomp and Triumphant Riding through the City was omitted, becauſe the Plague was not quite decreaſed. This Solemnity being over the Parliament began, in which he had no better ſucceſs than in his firſt; for they began where they left at *Oxford*, with matters of Religion and publick Grievances: In which it was ſtrange to ſee how Men afflicted themſelves to find out Calamities and Miſchiefs, all which themſelves muſt rectifie without being beholding to the King, or proving there was any Truth in the Surmiſes and Allegations they made ſuch a noiſe about: Nay, ſo much were the times degenerated from the Peaceableneſs of the former, that the people under pretences of Reformation, with ſome petulant Diſcourſes of Liberty, that they extended their enquiries even into the Chamber, and private Actions of the King himſelf. They ſent Committees to the Signet Office to ſearch

Complaints of Grievances.

for

for Originals of his Letters, for Reprieving ſome Prieſts Condemned at *York*: And when Sir *Richard Weſton* Chancellor of the Exchequer brought a Meſſage to them for a Supply, acquainting them that the Fleet was returned, Victuals ſpent, the Men in great neceſſity, ready to Mutiny for want of Pay, and that the Land Forces which guarded the Coaſts were in want both of Victuals and Clothes; yet they could not be prevailed upon, but one *Clement Coke*, among many other Invectives, ſaid, *It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at Home.* A. D. 1626

This high flying humour of the Houſe of Commons, and the Liberty they took in ſpeaking, occaſioned variety of Diſcourſes to their prejudice; while thoſe that thought the Court by long Eaſe and Plenty were grown too Exorbitant, believed this freedom of Speech was abſolutely neceſſary. At this time, whether it were out of a general Envy againſt the Duke, for his ſudden riſe to Greatneſs, or a particular diſguſt of ſome that thought they merited as well as he, a greater ſhare than they had had in the Kings Favour; the Tide run ſo high in both Houſes, eſpecially in the Houſe of Commons, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower price than his ruin. The *King* ſhewed a great diſpleaſure at thoſe Procoedings, and ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* to demand ſatisfaction, in which they not anſwering his expectation, by ſo ſudden an Inquiſition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper *Coventry* acquainted them with his mind. *The Duke accuſed.*

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty's Command hath Summoned you hither, and the ſame Command hath put me upon ſignifying his mind to you. His Majeſty would have You know, that never any King loved his People better, or was more ſincerely affected to the right uſe of Parliaments; or more ready to Redreſs their Grievances than himſelf, provided it be in a regular and decent way: But he would alſo have you know, that as he loves his People, ſo he regards his own Honour, and cannot but be concerned at the Seditious Words ſpoken in your Houſe by Dr. Turner *and Mr.* Coke, *which were ſo far from being Cenſured that others have been encouraged to the like rudeneſs, by their Impunity. He alſo* *The Lord Keeper's Speech.*

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complains that you have ſearched his Signet Office, and examined the Letters of his Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from your diſcovery; a thing not formerly practiſed. As concerning the Duke, whom you perſecute with ſo much aſperity, I am commanded to tell you, that his Majeſty knows no Man better, he has Acted nothing in his Publick Employments without his ſpecial Warrant: That he has diſcharg'd his Truſt both at Home and Abroad with abundance of Care and Fidelity, and therefore it is his Majeſty's Expreſs Command, that you abſolutely deſiſt from ſuch Un-Parliamentary Diſquiſitions, and reſign the Reformation of what is amiſs, to his Majeſty's Care, Wiſdom and Juſtice, and go forward with a Supply, as you have promiſed, proportionable to the Kingdoms Neceſſities; and that you return your final Anſwer by Friday *next, or elſe he muſt and will entertain thoughts of your diſmiſſion.*

The Parliaments Anſwer.

This Speech cauſed great Emotion in the Houſe of Commons, and thereupon they framed a Remonſtrance, acknowledging great ſatisfaction in his Majeſty's kind Expreſſions to his Parliament, and that they would take Mr. *Coke*'s Speech into further Conſideration; but for Examining his Secretaries Letter, and ſearching the Signet Office, they had done nothing but what was Warranted by former Precedents: And as touching the Duke, they humbly beſought his Majeſty to be informed, that it had been the conſtant practice of Parliaments, to complain of any Perſon of what degree ſoever, and what they ſhould do in relation to him, ſhould redound to the Honour of the Crown and Safety of the Kingdom, and that if other things might be granted which relate to his Service, and were now under Conſultation, they were reſolved to ſupply him in ſuch a manner, as might Evidence the Truth of their Intentions, and make him ſafe at Home and formidable Abroad. To which the King briefly anſwered, that he would have them in the firſt place Conſult about matters of the greateſt Importance, and they ſhould have time enough for other matters afterwards; but all this put no ſtop to the Proceedings againſt the Duke, to which the Earl of *Briſtol* contributed in the Houſe of Lords.

The King's Reply.

This Alarmed the Duke of *Buckingham* to begin firſt with him, and, at his requeſt, the King Com-

mands

mands the Attorney General, to ſummon the E. of *Briſtol*, as a Delinquent to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords: Who appearing upon Summons, the Kings Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuſe him of High Treaſon, and Exhibited 11 Articles againſt him; but before they were Read, the Earl ſaid, *My Lords, I am a Free man and a Peer of the Realm Unattainted, I have ſomething to ſay of Conſequence to his Majeſty's Service, and I beſeech your Lordſhips give me leave to ſpeak*: Which having obtained, he ſaid, *I accuſe that man the D. of* Buckingham *of High Treaſon*, and immediately deliver'd in 12 Articles againſt him. The Houſe called the Articles to be Read, Committed the Earl to the Cuſtody of the Black Rod, and ordered, that the King's Charge againſt him, ſhould be proceeded upon before that of the Earl againſt the Duke, which the King took very well. The Articles on both ſides laboured with one deſign, which was to render each other ſuſpected in matters of Loyalty and Religion, and made good ſport for their Enemies and all the World beſides; for neither of them amounted to Treaſon, and there being no proceedings upon them I think it unneceſſary to diſcover their Paſſions by reciting them. But the Commons being reſolved to add load to the Duke, ſent up ſome of their Members, Sir *Dudley Digs*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Wanſfort*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Sherland*, with 13 Articles of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt him: Containing ſeveral Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and ſome Miſcarriages which at another time, and in another Man might have been connived at. Nevertheleſs, he put in his Anſwer to them with ſo much Modeſty and Humility, that many who expected a more proud and diſdainful Defence, were converted into a good Opinion of him; and ſeeing there was nothing in them, but what was tranſacted under the Reign of King *James*, and ſo not legally cognizable at this time, he claimed the benefit of the Pardon in the 21ſt. of K. *James*, and the preſent King's Coronation Pardon, this was ſo contrary to the expectation of the Commons, that on the 14*th*. of *June*, they drew up a Declaration of the ſame Complexion with their Impeachment, and with great ſtruggling it was preferred before the Subſidy Bill, then ready to be read: At which the King was ſo diſſatisfied that he diſſolved the Parliament.

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Buckingham *and* Briſtol *accuſe each other.*

The Duke's defence.

A. D. 1626

Ill News out of Germany.

Now ſad News came out of *Germany*, the *K.* of *Denmark*, who had taken up Arms in behalf of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, notwithſtanding the aid of 6000 Men ſent from *England*, was totally overthrown by Count *Tilly*, and reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that if not preſently ſuccoured he was ruined for ever. The Sundt was in danger of being loſt, the *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Stroad* ſtraitly beſieged, and our *Eaſtland Trade* and *Staple* at *Hamborough* almoſt given up for gone. The *King* was much perplext at this defeat, and the more becauſe of his inability to ſend him more Recruits. In this ſtrait he was adviſed by his Council, that ſince the Commons in Parliament at their laſt Seſſions had paſſed a Bill of Subſidies, and that the Parliament was diſſolved before the Bill paſſed into an Act; he might require thoſe Subſidies of the People by way of Loan, till the next Parliament ſhould either enable him to make payment of it, or Confirm the Levying of it by a ſubſequent Act. In purſuance of this Advice Commiſſions were iſſued out under the Great Seal, to divers Commiſſioners in all parts, for Levying this Money; yet many, and ſome of good Quality, refuſed, and were committed to divers Priſons. This was followed by the unfortunate undertaking of the Duke of *Buckingham* at the Iſle of *Rhee*, and the extream neceſſities of the *Rochellers*, who ſolliciting the King for Supplies, he was ſo affected with their Calamities, that he promiſed them all the aſſiſtance he could, and to enable himſelf to perform his promiſe, he borrowed 120000 *l.* of the City of *London*, and 30000 *l.* of the *Eaſt-India* Company, beſides what he got by Privy Seals, to which was added Levying Money by Exciſe; but the execution of that Project was ſuſpended by the King, who was never guilty of any Illegal Action by the Impulſe of his own Nature, or the perſwaſion of others, *but meerly out of his extream neceſſities*, and therefore being but too ſenſible of the Clamours, and Diſcontents of his People, occaſioned by theſe Illegal Exactions, he reſolved to ſummon a Parliament, in hopes a good underſtanding between them might contribute to a general Quiet. But as it was the great unhappineſs of *Charles* I. to come to the Crown under many diſadvantages, ſo the Seeds of Diſcontent which were ſown in his Fathers time, took deeper root, and acquired new

new growth through the ill management of his Miniſters, *rather than any willful Errours of his own.* In the former Reign there aroſe two oppoſite Parties in the Church, which now became more than ever exaſperated againſt each other, the one headed by Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, and the other by Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*. *Abbot* was not for ſtretching the Act of Uniformity, beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the Peace of the Church, or the Prerogative of the Crown any further than conduced to the good of the State, and being not rightly turn'd for a Court, could not ſtoop to the humour of the times; but by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave occaſion to his Enemies to repreſent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much inclined to a Popular Intereſt, and therefore not fit to be imploy'd in matters of Government. On the other hand Biſhop *Laud*, as he was a man of greater Learning, and yet greater Natural Parts, ſeeing into the Deſigns of the Antimonarchical and Factious Parties, went more willingly into every thing that tended to advance the Honour of the Crown, or the Intereſt of the Church, as by Law eſtabliſhed, and to preſerve the People in Obedience: And ſeeing the King's preſſing occaſions for Money, and the backwardneſs of the Parliament to ſupply them, poſſibly he might connive at theſe unwarrantable methods of raiſing Money, till the King and Parliament might come to a better underſtanding, without encroaching upon one anothers Rights and Privileges. Now Dr. *Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly*, in an Aſſize Sermon at *Northampton*, as Dr. *Manwaring* at *White-Hall*, having aſſerted, *That the King's Royal Word and Command, in impoſing Loans and Taxes without Conſent of the Parliament, did oblige the Subjects Conſciences, upon pain of Damnation*: *Sibthorp*'s Sermon with a Dedication to the *King*, was ſent to Arch-Biſhop *Abbot* to be Licenced, which he refuſed, and gave his Reaſons in Writing, which Biſhop *Laud* Anſwered, and with his own hand Licenced both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons, and ſo by thinking to aſſiſt the *King*'s neceſſities, enflamed the reckoning, and procured him abundance of Enemies.

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A Faction in the Church.

Divinity made to ſtoop to Policy.

On the 17*th.* of *March* the Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, to whom the *King* made a healing Speech, with which the Parliament ſeemed ſo well affected, that the Commons freely granted him five Subſidies, whereof

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A. D. 1628 whereof when Secretary *Coke* informed the K. he ask'd him *by how many Votes it was carried?* He replied, *By One:* At which perceiving the King's Countenance to change: *Sir*, said he, *your Majesty has the greater cause to rejoice, for the House was so Unanimous therein, that the whole made but* One Voice: At which the King was so exceedingly pleased, that he bid the Secretary tell them, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted them*; but whilst a Bill was preparing for these Subsidies, they considered the Publick Grievances of the Kingdom, one of which was Imprisoning Men without assigning any cause in the Warrant for their Commitment, as had been done by Men that refused to pay the Loans, which was exclaimed against, as Illegal and Vexatious to the Subject. Besides, for want of Pay, Soldiers were Billeted in Private Houses, and for offences were Tryed by Martial Law, which were instanced as other Grievances. *Magna Charta* and six other Explanatory Statutes, were expres against Illegal Levies and Imprisonments; however, tho' these Statutes were in Force, yet whether the Parliament thought them Antiquated and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason I know not, they drew up that memorable Law called *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the K. to which he gave the *Royal Assent* in full Parliament, to the great satisfaction of the People. And now there was thought such a blessed harmony between the King and Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation from all the happiness it could be capable of; but this Concession instead of cooling the preternatural heat, enflamed many of the House of Commons to press a little further, so that they framed a Remonstrance of several Miscarriages in Government, and in the Conclusion said, 'The excessive Power of 'the Duke of *Buckingham* is the cause of all the Evils 'and Dangers therein mentioned, and therefore humbly submit it to his Majesty's Wisdom, whether it can 'be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that so great 'Power by Sea and Land as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever. This Remonstance was presented to the King with the Bill of Subsidies in the Banquetting House at *White-Hall*, who, when he heard it read, told them he little expected such a Remonstrance from them, after he had so

Grievances revived.

The Petition of Right Granted.

so graciously pass'd *the Petition of Right*, and for the Grievances mentioned in them he would consider of them as they deserved. The K. had Levied the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage ever since the first of his Reign, which since the Passing the late *Petition of Right*, the House of Commons say is Illegal, and are preparing a Remonstrance against it; but the King unwilling to hear of more Remonstrances in such a strain, resolved to frustrate that design by Proroguing the Parliament from the 26*th.* of *June*, till the 20*th.* of *October*, and calling both Houses together delivered his mind to them as followeth. D. A. 1628

The Parliament Prorogued.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT may seem strange that I come to put an end to this Session, and therefore before I give my Assent to the Bills, I will give you the reason of it, tho' I must Avow I owe an account of my Actions to none but God alone. *Not long ago the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable any Man may judge; for I am sure no wise Man can justifie it. Now since I am certainly informed that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage, one of the chief maintenances of the Crown, by alledging that I have given away my Right to it by answering your Petition. This is so prejudicial to me that I am forced to end this Session some few hours before I meant it, being unwilling to receive a Remonstrance to which I must give a harsh Answer. The Profession of both Houses while they were forming the Petition of Right, was, That they would not intrench upon my Prerogative, saying,* They had neither Intention nor Power to hurt it; *but since I cannot but see that you are indeavouring to take away* Tonnage and Poundage, *which I cannot want, and was then not intended to be ask'd by you, and I am sure never intended to be granted by me, I put an end to this Session.*

While the Parliament was sitting, the Duke of *Buckingham* not discouraged at their Remonstrance, or other designs against him, was active in making Preparations for the relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land, and being at *Portsmouth* ready to Embark, on the 23*d.* of *August* was in his own Lodging stab'd by one *Felton* with a long knife, which he bought for that wicked purpose, and flying, left it in his Bowels, which the Duke pulling out, enlarg'd the Orifice,

The D. of Buckingham murdered.

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rifice, and the Blood and Spirits iſſued out ſo faſt that he died immediately. None for the preſent knew the perſon that Committed the Barbarous Murder, but *Felton* having no power to run far, ſhelter'd himſelf among the Servants in the Kitchen; hither the Uproar followed, crying, *Where is the Villain?* which *Felton* miſtaking for *there is the Villain*, he ſtarted and ſaid, *I am he*, whom they ſeized, and with much ado preſerved him alive from the fury of the Servants. Not long after he was examined, and 'Confeſs'd his Name 'was *John Felton*, formerly Lieutenant to a Foot Com-'pany under Sir *James Ramſey*: That he had endeavour-'ed in the late Expedition to be made a Captain, but 'was put by; but without any diſfavour from the D. 'from whom he had found reſpect: But ſaid that the 'late Remonſtrance of Parliament had rendred the D. 'ſo odious, that he thought it an Act of Juſtice to kill 'him, and if he had miſs'd an opportunity on ſhoar, he 'reſolved to go a Volunteer and do it in his Voyage: 'That he came to Town but that morning, and that no 'Soul living was Acceſſary to the bloody fact but him-'ſelf.

Felton hang'd in Chains.

After this *Felton* being Try'd and Condemn'd at the King's Bench Bar, was hanged at *Tyburn*, and his Body was afterward ſent to *Portſmouth*, and without the Town was *Hang'd in Chains*, till it was conſumed. Before his Execution being made ſenſible of his horrid Crime, he confeſs'd without the mercy of Chriſt it was Damnable, laying the guilt directly upon the Parliaments Remonſtrance, as his only motive to this barbarous Enterprize, and manifeſted great ſorrow and contrition for it. But that which encouraged this miſerable and wretched Man to commit ſo foul a Crime, had likewiſe influenced the unthinking multitude to that degree of prejudice and paſſion, that they generally rejoiced at the Duke's death, as one of the greateſt Enemies of their Country.

The Duke of Buckingham's Character.

But thoſe that knew him and obſerved his Actions, deliver him to Poſterity. *As one of the moſt generous and Accompliſh'd Perſons of the Age. His outward form was a great Maſter-piece of Nature, exact in every part; nor was his Mind without its Adornments, being of a very Affable and Courteous Diſpoſition, and tho' he was advanced to as great a heighth as a Subject could be capable of, yet he was never a ſtranger to thoſe excellent*

Qualities.

Qualities. In ſhort, he was a true and faithful Friend, and Bountiful to his Kindred and Servants, which was then accounted a Crime in him, tho' all the World thinks the contrary in others. He had leſs ſtudied Books than Men, and if he had lived a few more years, and had weather'd the Temptations of Greatneſs, he might have lived to have been as great a Pillar of this State, as any that ever went before him; and perhaps have found, as well as deſerved a milder Fate. His Bowels were interred at *Portſmouth*, and his Body was brought to *York* Houſe, from whence after ſome time it was Entombed at *Weſtminſter* in K. *Edward*'s Chappel, and a ſtately Monument Erected over his Grave by his Executors. A. D. 1628

This ſad Accident made little or no ſtop to the proceedings of the Fleet for the relief of *Rochel*, which at length put to Sea under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, but before he could get thither, the Haven was ſo ſtrongly Barred and Fortified, that it was impoſſible for his Ships to force their way in, tho' it was often gallantly attempted. So that the *Rochellers* deſpairing of holding out, made their ſubmiſſion to the King and ſet open the Gates to receive him.

Feuds betwixt the King and Parliament.

In *January* the Parliament Aſſembled, and the Grand Committees made great Complaints of the growth of Popery and Arminianiſm, while the Houſe was no leſs Active in enquiring into the Miſcarriages in Civil Affairs, concerning which divers Petitions were preſented, importing, that many Merchants Goods were ſeiz'd, and Informations prefer'd againſt them in the Star-Chamber, for refuſing to pay the Cuſtom of Tonnage and Poundage, againſt the Tenor of the *Petition of Right*, and one of theſe Merchants named *Rolls* being a Member of Parliament, it was adjudged a breach of Privilege, for which the Cuſtomers were ſummoned to the Houſe to anſwer it. Then the King interpos'd, and acquainted the Houſe that what they did was out of Zeal to his Service, adding, that he did not Commiſſionate them to take it *as of Right, but out of a firm Opinion that the Houſe of Commons (as they had often promiſed) would confirm it by Bill, which he deſired they would diſpatch and put an end to that Diſpute.* But this gave no ſatisfaction, for the Debates in the Houſe run higher, and they reſolved to proceed to a Remonſtrance againſt Levying the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, as not being granted by Act of Parliament,

and

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and therefore *Illegal*: On which they were ſo earneſt on the 2*d*. of *March*, that fearing they ſhould be diſſolved before they had finiſhed it: They locked the doors of the Houſe, gave the Keys to Sir *Miles Hubbert* to keep, and refuſed to admit the Uſher of the Black Rod, whom the King had ſent with a Meſſage to them: Whereat he was ſo offended that he ſent for the Captain and his Guard of Penſioners to force an Entrance. In the mean time the Heads of a Remonſtrance were offered to Sir *John Finch* the Speaker, to be put to the Queſtion; which he refuſing, becauſe the King had given him order to Adjourn to the 10*th*. of *March*, and to put no Queſtion, nor admit of any Debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Sir *Peter Higman* held him in the Chair till one of their Members had read the Proteſtation; and then they roſe before the Penſioners and Guards came, having firſt Adjourned the Houſe to the 10*th*. of *March*.

The Speaker held by violence in his Chair.

The King, tho' of a Mild and Gentle Diſpoſition, was highly provoked at the diſorderly and tumultuous behaviour of many of the Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, who ſtrained all things beyond their natural tendency, when with the exerciſe of a little Moderation they might have obtained of the K. whatſoever they deſired. Being thus incenſed he had ſent for ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſix days before he came to the Houſe of Lords, to appear at the Council Table, *viz*. *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Miles Hubbert*, *John Selden*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Stroud*, and *Walter Long*, Eſquires, who were the principal Authors of all the late diſorders; at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton* and *Valentine* appearing, and *refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament for what was ſaid or done in Parliament*, they were Committed to the *Tower*, the reſt not appearing at that time, were afterward Apprehended and Committed to ſeveral Priſons; but leſt thoſe Diſtemper'd Minds, whoſe Imprudent Zeal had cauſed ſo much diſquiet, ſhould diſperſe their Contagion in their ſeveral Countries, and alienate Good Subjects from their Duty and Reſpects to the King; he publiſhed a Declaration through the Kingdom, wherein he ſet forth his Reaſons for diſſolving the Parliament.

May

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May the Seventh, the Attorney General preferred an Information in the Star Chamber againſt Sir *John Elliot*, and the reſt of the Impriſoned Members, but the King wav'd the proſecution in that Court to bring it into the King's Bench, where the Priſoners on the firſt day of the Term mov'd to be admitted to Bail, which the Judges conſented to, provided they would find Sureties for their *Good Behaviour*: To which Mr. *Selden* anſwer'd, *That they had Sureties ready for their Bail, but not for their Good Behaviour, for that was meerly an Act of Diſcretion*, which they could not conſent to without giving offence to the Parliament, where the matters ſurmiſed were acted. To this the Judges reply'd, *That the return did not mention any thing done in Parliament, and the Surety of Good Behaviour is a prevention of Danger to the Common Weal, and an Act of Government and Juriſdiction, and not of Law, and would be no Inconvenience to the Priſoners, for the ſame Bail would ſuffice, and all ſhould be Written in one piece of Parchment*; but they refuſed to give it, and were remanded to Priſon. The ſame Term an Information was exhibited in the King's Bench againſt *Elliot*, *Hollis* and *Valentine*, for words ſpoken in the foregoing Parliament, which in the Information were ſaid to be '*Falſa, Malitioſa, & Seditioſa*, Falſe, 'and Malitious, Seditious as well againſt the King as 'gainſt his Miniſters, Peers, Prelates, Juſticiaries, and 'the reſt of his good Subjects, tending to deprive the K. 'over-turn the Government, and bring in Tumults and 'Confuſion into his Dominions, and withdraw the 'affections of his People from him. Then the words were expreſt at large, and at the end of the Information it was alledg'd, 'That Sir *John Finch* the Speak-'er, endeavouring to go out of the Chair, according 'to the King's Command, to adjourn the Houſe, they 'aſſaulted and evilly treated him, *Violenter, Manu-'forti, & Illicita*, and being out of the Chair they aſ-'ſaulted him in the Houſe, and violently thruſt him in-'to the Chair again. To this Information the Gentlemen put in a Plea, *For as much as theſe offences are ſuppoſed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be puniſhed in this Court, or any other, unleſs in Parliament.* Upon which the Court aſſign'd a day to joyn in *Demurrer* that Term, and on the firſt day of the next to be argued at the Bar.

The Members proſecuted.

A. D. 1629

Against Mr. *Long* particularly an Information was prefer'd in the Star Chamber, for that he being High Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, and had taken his Oath according to Law, to abide within his Bailywick, did, contrary thereunto, suffer himself to be chosen Citizen of *Bath*, to serve in the last Parliament, and did attend at *Westminster* in Parliament, without his Majesty's Licence. And after hearing Council upon his *Demurrer* and *Plea*, the whole Court agreed in a Sentence against him, in these or the like Words: For the aforementioned Offences, 'In breaking his Oath, neglecting 'his Trust and Contempt of his Majesty, it is adjudged 'that he shall be committed to the *Tower* during his 'Majesty's Pleasure, and pay a Fine of 2000 Marks to 'his Majesty, and make a Submission and Acknowledg-'ment of his Offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, 'and to his Majesty before his Enlargement. The same Term Sir *John Elliot*'s Counsel, and those for the rest argued against the Information and the Jurisdiction of the Court: But the Judges hearing both Parties, unanimously agreed, that the Prisoners *ought to answer*, and they not putting in any Plea, the last day of the Term Judgment was granted against them upon a *Nihil Dicit*, and they were Sentenc'd by the Court, *To be Imprisoned during the King's Pleasure. None of them to be delivered out of Prison till security be given in Court for their Good Behaviour, and Submission and Acknowledgment made of the Offence.* Sir *John Elliot* Fined to pay the K. 2000*l.* Mr. *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* 500*l.* In like manner all the rest of the Gentlemen were proceeded against, Fines impos'd upon them, which were paid, and the Offenders set at Liberty.

The Members sentenc'd.

Arguments used in the Debates.

Many Weighty and Learned Arguments were made in the Case of these Gentlemen, before Judgment was given, both by the King's Learned Council and their own, who objected all that was material in the matter, some of which I take leave to mention briefly, for the better understanding the matter in Question.

Obj. First it was Objected, that this was a matter relating to the Privilege of Parliament.

Ans. In the 8*th.* of *Eliz.* it was the Opinion of *Dyer*, *Catline*, *Welsh*, *Brown* and *Southcot*, Justices, that Offences committed in Parliament are punishable out of Parliament, and *Plowden* in the time of Queen *Mary* was Fined for Words spoken in Parliament against the

Queens Dignity, and in the 6th. of *Henry* VI. a Judgment given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the said Judgment was reverſed in Parliament there. Upon which a Writ of Error was brought in this Court, and the Judgment was reverſed. A. D. 1629

Obj. This is an Inferiour Court, and cannot meddle with matters done in Parliament.

Anſ. The Court meddles not with the Judgments of Parliaments, for what is done in Parliament by the Conſent of the whole Houſe, ſhall not be queſtioned elſewhere; but particular Offences Criminally Committed in that Houſe, are puniſhable here; for if particular Members of a Superior Court offend, they are puniſhable in an Inferiour Court: As if a Judge commit a Capital Offence in this Court, he may be Arraigned for it at *Newgate*.

Obj. The Parliament Law differs from the Law by which this Court Judgeth in ſeveral Caſes. As for inſtance, by the Statute no man ought to be choſen a Burgeſs for any Town in which he does not Inhabit; but in that the uſage of Parliament is contrary.

Anſ. The Reply to that was, that they were Judges of Acts of Parliament, and if Information be brought upon the ſaid Statute againſt ſuch a Burgeſs, the Statute is a good Warrant for this Court to give Judgment againſt him.

This year the Queen being frighted, miſcarried of a Son, which added to the King's trouble at Home, tho' Abroad matters ſucceeded well; for the *French* King being engaged in a *Tranſalpine* Expedition at *Suſa* for the relief of *Caſal*, was ſo intent upon that War that he was inclinable to make a Peace with *England*, which, by the mediation of the States of *Venice* was obtained upon good Conditions. In the Month of *July* there happened a great Riot in *Fleet-ſtreet*, upon the Reſcue of one Captain *Bellingham*, which was attempted by ſome Students in the Temple, wherein ſome were hurt, and others carried to Priſon; but this drew together many of the Gentlemen to reſcue the Priſoner, who made a Barricado at St. *Dunſtan's* Church, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers and releaſed their Friends; of which the Lord Mayor receiving Information, he and the Sheriffs with a Company of the *Trained Bands* came down to keep the Peace, and diſperſe them, who were now increaſed to the number of 500, with Swords and

An Inſurrection in Fleet-ſtreet.

A. D. 1629

Piſtols. The Ld. Mayor made Proclamation commanding them to depart, but ſince he could not prevail, he gave private orders to the Soldiers to fire upon them with Powder only, but the Gentlemen provoked at this, ſhot Bullets, and fiercely attacked the Train'd Bands, killing 5 out-right, and wounding near 100, yet the City Soldiers were ſo often reinforced, that in the end the Gentlemen were ſubdued, and one *Aſhurſt* and *Stamford*, two Captains, with ſome others, were Taken and Committed: About a fortnight after they were both Arraigned at *Guild-Hall*, and being found Guilty of Murder, were Condemned and Executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a Relation and Servant to the late D. of *Buckingham*, and great Interceſſion was made for him; but the K. would not pardon him, but ſaid he had Murder'd a Watchman before, and was pardoned; now he had killed another, and he would take order he ſhould not kill a third.

1630

Prince Charles *born.*

On the 29th, of *May*, this year 1630, God bleſſed the King with a Son, the Heir of his Dominions, who on the 27th. of *June* was Baptized and named *Charles*, the *French* King and the Prince Elector, repreſented by the Duke of *Lenox* and the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, being God-fathers, and the *French* Queen repreſented by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, was God-mother. This Ceremony being over, the King hearing there would be a Dyet this Summer at *Ratisbon*, he ſent Sir *Robert Anſtruther* his Ambaſſador to the Emperor, taking that opportunity when the Eſtates of the Empire were Aſſembled, to treat of his Brothers Reſtitution to the *Palatinate*. Sir *Robert* went with a handſome Retinue, and was well received, but all the Anſwer he could get was, 'That the preſent Affairs of *Germany*, which cal-'led them together, were of that importance as would 'not admit of Foreign Debates; but when leiſure ſer-'ved, his Maſter ſhould have ſuch ſatisfaction as they 'believed would give him content. This cold anſwer from the Emperor, and the King of *Sweden*'s ſucceſs in *Germany*, enclined our King to ſend him Aids, and to raiſe Money to equip 6000 Soldiers, by the advice of his Attorney General, revives the old ſleeping Statute, that required every Man of Forty Pound a year to take the Order of Knighthood, and accordingly Writs are iſſued out for that purpoſe, which being returned, and other Writs by *Deſtringas* againſt thoſe which

Aid given to the K. of Sweden.

did

did not appear, there was brought a hundred thousand Pounds into the Exchequer; but this Money not answering the King's occasions, Mr. *Walter Mountague* was sent into *France* to negotiate the Payment of the moyety of the Queens Portion, being 400000 Crowns which was behind, and therein was so successful, that the Debt was satisfied without any Defalcation, and these Sums set out the Marques of *Hamilton* with 6000 Men to assist the King of *Sweden*, who had made a considerable impression upon the Emperor's Territories. A. D. 1630

On the 25*th.* of *April*, this year 1631, *Mervin Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, was Indicted and Arraigned for a Rape and Sodomy, before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, where divers Unnatural and Beastly enormities being proved against him, he was Sentenc'd to be hang'd, but by the King's Clemency it was changed into Beheading, which was executed upon him at *Tower-Hill*. The same Month Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeshire* was Fined 1200 *l.* for marrying his Niece, the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, to give 20000 *l.* security not to cohabit longer with her, and both to do Pennance at St. *Paul*'s Cross, and at great St. *Mary*'s Church in *Cambridge*, on a day appointed by the High Commission Court. *Leighton* a *Scotchman*, who had Writ and Published a Book called *Syons Plea*, in which he bitterly inveigh'd against the Q. and encouraged the People to kill the Bishops, was Sentenc'd to be Whip'd and Stigmatiz'd, to have his Ears cropt and his Nose slit, and it was inflicted upon him. In *September* this year Duke *Hamilton* returns ingloriously out of *Germany*, his Men by Famine, Plague and the Accidents of War, being reduced to so small a number that they were not worth his Care. 1631 *Lord Audley Executed.*

The K. of *Sweden* had many Consultations with the *Palsgrave*, and the *English* Ambassador, about the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, in which the *Fr.* Ambassador, and *de Pauch* the Ambassador of the United Provinces, so effectually employ'd their Mediations, that they had almost brought things to a good Conclusion; but on a sudden all was again rendred desperate by the Death of the K. of *Sweden*, which happened at the Memorable Battle of *Lutzen*: Which the *Palsgrave* then in a hopeful way of Recovery from a fit of sickness, having notice of, his resentments threw him into a Relapse, and he died on the 29*th.* of the same Month. 1632 *The Palsgrave dieth.*

A. D. 1632

Now a Cloud begins to gather in *Scotland*, which threaten'd the ruin of three flouriſhing Kingdoms, on this occaſion. In the Minority of K. *James* the Lands of Cathedral Churches and Religious Houſes, which had been ſettled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were ſhared among the Lords and Great Men of that *Kingdom*, by the Connivance of the E. of *Murray* and other Regents to make them ſure to their Faction; and the K. endeavouring to recover them by *Legal Proceſs*, and make ſome addition to the Revenues of the Crown, Augmentation to the Church, and far more Eaſe and Benefit to the Common People: but theſe Uſurpers choſe rather to expoſe their Country to the danger of publick ruiu ruin, than to part with any of that Power which they exerciſed over their Vaſſals, for ſo they called their Tenants, and therefore oppoſed the K. in every thing relating to Church Affairs. And whereas K. *James* deſigning to bring the *Kirk* of *Scotland* to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, had ſo far proceeded in it as to ſettle Epiſcopacy among them, naming 13 new Biſhops, for ſo many Epiſcopal Sees as had been Anciently in that Church, and had procured an Act to be paſs'd at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1616, for compoſing a *Liturgy* and a Book of Canons, and at an Aſſembly held at *Perth*, *Anno* 1618, had obtained an Order for decent poſtures in the Service of God, and the religious obſervation of Feſtivals, and would have proceeded further, had not the cauſe of the *Palatinate* and his breach with *Spain* diverted him. His Son thought himſelf obliged to finiſh ſo good a Work, but deferred it till he went into *Scotland* to be Crowned, which was done at *Edinborough* on the 18th. of *May* 1632, and then he propoſed to the Parliament the Introduction of a *Publick Liturgy*, in which he found a ſtronger oppoſition in the Parliament than he had reaſon to expect, but carried it at laſt by a great Majority of Voices in that Aſſembly. After which his Majeſty to lead the way to a happy Uniformity between both *Kingdoms*, commanded that the *Engliſh Liturgy* with its uſual Ceremonies, ſhoud be uſed in his own Royal Chappel at *Edinborough*. But the Presbyterian *Scots* made ſuch a horrible repreſentation of this Fact to the Common People, telling them, *The Service Book was Popery, and the K.'s deſign was to Subject their Kirk to the Superſtitious Ceremonies of the Church of* England, That they all reſolved to oppoſe it, and

The cauſe of the troubles in Scotland.

The uſe of the Liturgy Voted in Scotland.

and so did the Lds. and Gentry, for fear of losing the Lands they unjustly possess'd: which at length kindled a fire in *Scotland*, which also laid hold on *England*, till the discontented of both Nations work'd themselves into a Rebellion. A. D. 1633

Now as if the Destinies had conspired against the *King* and the Peace of the Realm, his Majesty was perswaded to renew his Father's Declaration about *Sports upon the Lords Day*, which was published in the 16th. year of his Reign, and solely intended to free the Consciences of his Subjects from that servile Jewish Yoke, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, by maintaining the indispensible Morality of the Fourth Commandment. This Book gave great offence through all *England*, and the more because several Ministers for refusing to read it in their Churches, were suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived and more molested with vexatious Prosecutions in the *High Commission* Court. The truth is, the ill reception it had in his Father's time, in common Prudence ought to have stifled it in this Reign; however in time it died of it self, and it had been much better if it had never lived to raise the noise that was made about it. *The Book of Sports revived.*

The Merchants of *London* and other parts, complaining their Trade was obstructed for want of good Convoys to secure their Ships against the *Turks*, and other Pirates that infested our Coasts, the *K.* being willing to protect such beneficial Subjects, but having no Money to equip a Fleet, *Noy* Attorney General, having found a Precedent for raising a Naval Levy upon the Subject, by the *K.*'s Authority only, he unhappily puts that project into the *K.*'s head, and backs it by this Reason, *viz. When a K. of* England *wants Money to support his own Necessities, or to enlarge his Dominions, he ought to be beholding to his People in Parliament for it; but when the Kingdom is in imminent danger, he might raise Money to prevent by his own Authority, without hazarding its ruin by attending tedious Formalities in raising it otherwise.* This Advice was pursued, Writs were sent to all the Port Towns & Maritime Counties in the *Kingdom*, to set out a certain number of Ships, with Men, Ammunition and Provision; by which the *K.* was quickly provided of a good Fleet, tho' not great enough for the end designed: And these *Writs* occasion'd sending out the like in 1636. This year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*; 1634 *Ship Money advanced.* 1634

A. D. 1634 *many*: General *Arnheim* was forced to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*, the City of *Ratisbon* was regained by the Imperialists, General *Allringer* was slain near *Landshut*, and the whole Army routed by the King of *Hungary*. In *Ireland* the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, seeing Popery increase for want of Protestant Ministers, and that occasioned by the poor maintenance, on which the generality of the Clergy subsisted, he, by the Mediation of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, procured the King to restore all the Impropriations that were then in the Crown, to the Church; which, tho' a great Diminution to the King's Revenue, he freely consented to it, being insensible of his Loss, where it redounded to the 1635 propagation of the Protestant Religion. It was now the year 1635, when the K. sent out a gallant Fleet which was fitted out by the Aid of Ship Money, under the Command of the E. of *Lindsey* Admiral, and the E. of *Essex* Vice-Admiral, who secured the Trade of *England* by scowring the Seas of Pirates, and render'd the King's Power Formidable to his Neighbours. In *September* the E. of *Arundel* brought up to *London*, out of *Shropshire*, one *Thomas Par*, as the wonder of his time, who was 160 years of Age, and in all probability had survived some years longer, had he not been incommoded by the fatigue of so tedious a Journey, and the change of his wonted course of Dyet.

The very old Man.

Charles Prince Elector *Palatine* comes into *England* to visit his Uncle, and to Consult with him about his Restoration to the *Palatinate*, and a while after his Brother Pr. *Rupert* came also. Since the death of the Lord Treasurer Sir *Richard Weston*, E. of *Portland*, the Treasury was managed by Commissioners, and the K. finding the Inconvenience of it, gave that Office to Dr. *Juxton*, Bishop of *London*, which was an excellent choice, for whereas most of the Treasurers of later times had rather served themselves in that Office, than the King, raising themselves and Families to great Estates, he thought fit to chuse this Churchman, who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Treasury to his advantage, than others had done formerly; and so it proved, for by his care the K. began to be Rich, and he was of so well tempered a disposition, that he pleased the whole Nation.

A new Ld. Treasurer.

This

A. D. 1636

This year the King's Naval Preparations were very great, the Fleet consisting of 60 Sail of stout Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, now made Lord High Admiral of *England*, and as this Navy was greater than the year before, so the charge of it was much increased, and therefore the last years Writs being only sent to the Maritime Counties, they were now issued out to all the Counties and Places in *England*; and because some refused to pay their Proportions, the K. wrote to the Judges for their Opinions in it, who were obliged by their Oaths to direct him in matter of Law, and accordingly they returned this Answer, *May it please your most excellent Majesty, we have, according to your Majesty's Command, severally, every Man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious Consideration, the Case and Question signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter, and we are of Opinion that when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may, by Writ under your Great Seal of* England, *command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their Charge, to Provide and Furnish such number of Ships with Men, Victuals, Munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safe-guard of the Kingdom, from such Peril and Danger: And that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal and refractorineſs. And we are also of Opinion, that in such Case your Majesty is sole Judge both of the Danger, and when, and how it is to be prevented and avoided.*

The Judges Opinion about Ship Money.

John Bramston.	George Crook.
John Finch.	Thomas Trevor.
Humphrey Davenport.	George Vernon.
John Denham.	Robert Berkley.
Richard Hutton.	Francis Crawly.
William Jones.	Richard Weston.

Upon these Opinions the King thought he had a sufficient Warrant to proceed against the Defaulters, the chief of which was Mr. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire*, who being Summoned required *Oyer* of the Ship Writs, which being read, he Demurred in Law, and demanded the Opinion of all the Judges upon their Legality. This great Case came to be argued in the *Chequer Chamber*, where the major part of the Judges deliver-

A. D. 1637

ed their Opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judment againſt Mr. *Hambden*; but Mr. *Hambden* perceiving that two of the Judges, *viz. Crook* and *Hutton*, were of the contrary Opinion, he in vain held up the conteſt till a Higher Power interpoſed.

Mr. Pryn, Baſtwick *and* Burton *Cenſured.*

On the 14th. of *January*, Mr. *William Pryn* an utter Barriſter of *Lincolns*-Inn, *John Baſtwick* Dr. of Phyſick, and *Henry Burton* a Clergyman, were Cenſured in the Star-Chamber, Mr. *Pryn*'s Offence was for Writing and Diſperſing Libels againſt the eſtabliſhed Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Baſtwick*'s was for inveighing againſt the Proceedings of the High Commiſſion Court againſt him, before which he had been accuſed for Writing a Book called *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*; and other things which the Court called Libels. That of Mr. *Burton* was for Publiſhing of a Sermon which he Preached on the 5th. of *November* before, wherein he charged the Prelates for introducing ſeveral Innovations into Divine Worſhip, which was alſo called a Libel. For theſe offences the Judgment of the Court was, *That they ſhould loſe their Ears in the Palace yard at* Weſtminſter, *each of them to pay* 5000 *l. to the K. and be Impriſoned during life, in three remote Places.* All which was thought by ſober Men to be too great and ſcandalous ſeverities, to be inflicted upon Gentlemen of the chiefeſt and moſt reputable Functions in the Kingdom, and was a certain Prognoſtick that that Court was not long lived.

Bp. Williams's *troubles.*

Dr. *Williams* Bp. of *Lincoln*, and not long ſince *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, falling firſt into *Buckingham*'s diſpleaſure, and conſequently into the *King*'s; had afterwards Spies ſet upon him to effect his ruin, at which the Bp. admiring, he ask'd the E. of *Holland* from whence the diſpleaſure of the Court ſhould proceed? To which the E. replied freely, *That he muſt expect worſe than being diſmiſt the Council, becauſe he was ſuch a Champion for the* Petition of Right; *and that there was no room at the Table for them that liked it.* The Bp. ſtill declining in Favour was ſurrounded by a multitude of leſſer troubles, and ſeveral would needs be pecking at him, tho' it were but to ingratiate themſelves at Court. Beſides, Bp. *Laud* look'd upon Bp. *Williams* as a Man that gave encouragement to the Puritans, and, that ſate looſe to the Diſciple of the Church of *England*; and Bp. *Williams* thought

thought he drove on too furiously. For *Laud* was a stiff and rigid asserter of our Church's Discipline, and would not yield in the least Punctilio's by any means, for his Maxim was, *There is no end of yielding*. *Williams* was a Man too that loved the Beauty and Decency of the Church as much as any Man, but was of a more complying temper, and his Policy was, *To let necessity govern in matters of less weight, and to bend his private inclinations in such things to the prevalency of the times.* *Laud* was for Compulsion, and the Authority of the Magistrate against the Puritans, and *Williams* thought Insinuations and Compliances would work the best effect upon them. In short, *Laud* was a Man fit for Primitive Times, but *Williams* to comply with the Weakness of his own; and thus being men both very active in their way, and their Notions of things quite different, it is no wonder they were at variance, and utterly mistaken in one another, while both drove at the same end, the Unity and Peace of the established Church. A.D. 1637

Bp. Laud *and he mistaken in one another.*

Williams since his retirement from Court lived very Hospitably at his Palace at *Bugden* in *Lincolnshire*, under variety of troubles, and being often visited by Sir *John Lamb*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden* two Proctors: Once at dinner there was much discourse about Nonconformists, and the Bp. knowing these to be all busie men in the prosecution of them, he advis'd them to abate their severity, for he knew the *K.* would treat them more mildly for time to come, being a considerable Party that much influenced Parliamentary Affairs; adding further, *That the K. Communicated this to him with his own Mouth.* A few years after, *Lamb*, upon some difference with the Bp. informed against him for *revealing the K.'s Secrets*, whereupon an Information was exhibited in the Star Chamber. I will not pretend to abstract the whole Proceedings in so nice a Case, where leaving out any one little Circumstance, may give the whole matter another face than what it really has. He therefore that has so much leisure and curiosity, may have recourse to the Reverend Dr. *Hacket*, Mr. *Rushworth*, and the late Ingenious abstractor Mr. *Philips*, and I doubt not but he will conclude, that some of our *English* Historians have grosly abused that Reverend Prelate, and that he had very hard measure to be Fined in that *Court* 10000 *l.* *to the King, to suffer Imprison-*

Bp. Williams *Censured.*

A. D. 1637

Impriſonment during his Majeſty's pleaſure, and be ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion Court from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions.

At the ſame time there was a great Commotion at *Edinborough* in *Scotland*, upon Reading the Common Prayer in the great Church, where were preſent both the Arch-Bps, many of the Privy-Council, and others of the beſt Quality in *Edinborough*, beſides a great Concourſe of Ordinary People. Among this multitude there appear'd no ſign of trouble; but no ſooner was the Common Prayer Book opened by the Dean of *Edinborough*, but a number of the meaner ſort with *Clapping their hands, and Out-crys*, made a great Uproar, and one of them called *Janot Gaddis*, flung a little folding ſtool whereon ſhe ſate at the Dean's head, ſaying, *Out thou Fauſe Thief, doſt thou ſay the Maſs at my Lug?* Which was followed with ſo great a noiſe and confuſion, that none could either hear or be heard. Upon which, the Biſhop of *Edinborough* ſtept into the Pulpit, in hopes to appeaſe the tumult, by telling them the Place was Sacred, and ought not to be Prophaned by ſuch Lewd and Scandalous Riots; but the Mob was the more enraged, throwing *Cudgels, Stools*, and any thing that came in their way at his head. Hereupon the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, Ld. Chancellor, called down the Provoſt and Bayliffs of the City from their Seats to their aſſiſtance, who with ſome difficulty put the unruly People out of the Church, and ſhut the doors. This done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in the mean while *rapping at the Doors, and pelting the Windows with ſtones* to diſturb the Exerciſe, but notwithſtanding all their Clamours the Service was ended, but not the People's Rage, who waited the Arch-Biſhop's retiring to his Lodging, aſſaulted him with ſo much violence, that had he not been reſcued by a ſtrong hand, in all probability they had murder'd him. Theſe Tumults and Outrages the multitude continu'd in every Church, where the Service Book was attempted to be read, upon which the Lords of the Council put out three Proclamations for repreſſing ſuch Diſorders for the time to come, but little obedience was yielded to them; for whereas the firſt Tumult was raiſed by the Scum and Baſeſt of the People, and was decried by all the Better Sort: The others that ſucceeded it were the Acts of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens except the Magiſtrates, who were now

Tumults in Scotland.

now grown so Insolent that they sent Commissioners to the Council Table, requiring the Ministers that were silenc'd for refusing to read the Common-Prayer, might be immediately restored. This was followed by two Petitions to the Council; the first in the name of the *Men, Women, Children* and *Servants* of *Edinborough*, against the *Service Book, and the Book of Canons*, and the second in the name of divers *Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers and Burgesses*, for the same purpose, in direct violation of the K.'s Authority; and now they begin to invest themselves with *Sovereign Authority*, erecting four principal *Tables* or *Councils* in *Edinborough*, whose Acts were put in practice with strict Obedience over all the Kingdom; the first Act of these Tables was drawing up a Covenant, wherein they swore the mutual Defence of one another, against all Persons whatsoever, the K. not excepted. A. D. 1637

The Kirk establish their own Authority.

This Covenant was first taken by the *Tables*, and afterwards imposed upon all sorts of People, wherein great *Violence* and *Menaces* were used in many Places, with *Beating, Tearing of Clothes, drawing Blood and exposing Men to thousands of Injuries and Reproaches*, at Edinborough, *St.* Andrew's, Aberdeen, Glasco, Lanerick *and many other Places*. All those Professors in Colleges, and Ministers, who out of Conscience to God and Loyalty to the K. did either disswade others, or could not be perswaded to take it themselves, were put out of their Places by violence, according to this new way of Reformation, which serves them upon all occasions for the advancement of their Dagon. The King much displeased at these Proceedings, and their refusal of that satisfaction which he offered to redress their Grievances, resolved to effect that by Power which he could not Accomplish by Perswasions; but the Marques of *Hamilton*, who was then very prevalent with him, diverted that course by offering his Service to Accommodate the Differences: The K. in his Nature always enclined to Lenity, was quickly induced to condescend to this motion, and sent him into *Scotland* in Quality of *High Commissioner*, with large Powers to settle the Peace of that Kingdom. The *Marques* at his coming to the K.'s Palace at *Holy Rood House*, quickly fell upon the main business with the Rioters, to whom he made two Propositions.

Their way of promoting the Covenant.

The Marques's Propositions, and the Prebyters answer.

First, *What they expected from him to satisfie their Complaints, and next what might be expected from them for swer.*

A. D. 1637

for their returning to Obedience, and Renouncing and Delivering up their late Covenant: To which after some time they made Answer; *That they requested a General Assembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would represent and discuss their Grievances.* To the second they said, *They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their Obedience; and for their* Covenant, *they would rather renounce their* Baptism, *than abate one Word or Syllable of it.*

The Marques was troubled at this Answer, and thinking that the best expedient to reclaim the People, was to Publish a *Proclamation*, which he brought with him, for restoring to the City of *Edinborough* the sitting of the Session and all Courts of Justice, as a thing that would be very acceptable to the *Judges*, *Advocates*, and to all Dependents upon the Law, but especially to the City of *Edinborough*, which complained much of being impoverished by their Absence. Which being done and the first sitting of the Session appointed to be held on the 3*d.* day of *July*, it gave a general satisfaction; but the heads of the Faction would not receive it as satisfactory, unless Sir *Robert Spotswood* President of the Session, and Sir *John Hays* Master of the Rolls, were removed from their Places, tho' in the end they could find nothing to object against them. Now the Session being settled, the Marques caused the King's Proclamation to be read at *Edinborough Cross*; wherein the K. took notice that many disorders had lately happen'd upon the Introduction of the Service Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission Court, which had caused many to fear Innovations in Religion and Law, and therefore assured his Good Subjects, *That he was resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, and not hereafter press the use of the Canons and Service Book, nor any thing of that nature, but in such a Fair and Legal way as shall manifest he never intends Innovation in Religion or Laws.* This Proclamation being read, the Confederate Mutineers Arraigned it in a *Protestation* which they read publickly, importing, *That what the K. granted them was not sufficient, because it did not wholly abolish the Service Book nor the High Commission.*

The King's Proclamation.

The Presbyters Protestation.

The Marques disapproving these Proceedings, went immediately to the King, whom he found at *Greenwich*, to whom he related all the particular Transactions. The King was offended at their Insolencies, but

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was perſwaded to try a little further, and if it was poſſible reduce them by fair means; therefore he ſent the Marqueſs back with new Inſtructions, and gave him Order to call a *General Aſſembly*, and after that a *Parliament*; but in his abſence the Factious were grown to ſuch an Exorbitant heighth, that they rejected all his Propoſals, and inveſted themſelves with the power of calling an *Aſſembly*, by a Book publiſhed for that purpoſe; which gave the Marqueſs the trouble of another Journey to the King, at which time further Conceſſions were made to Accommodate the Differences; but all to no purpoſe, for at the Marqueſs's return he found them more Inſolent than ever: Whereupon he was reſolved to try the laſt Remedy, and publiſhed a Proclamation at the Market place to this effect: *That the K. did Annul and Reſcind all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service Book, Book of Canons and High Commiſſion, and the uſe of them, and that the Marqueſs the K.'s Commiſſioner, had a Warrant from him to Summon a free General Aſſembly to be holden at* Glaſcow *the* 21ſt. *of* November, *and a Parliament at* Edinborough, *the* 15th. *of* May. And now all ſober Men thought, that Malice it ſelf could not invent any pretence to keep the People from being ſatisfied; but the Lords, Miniſters, and others of the *Tables* made a *Proteſtation* againſt it, and gave a Copy of it to the King's Herald, at the ſame time the Proclamation was read, which imported, *That what the K. granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their juſt Fears and Apprehenſions and was not ſufficient to Cure the Wounds of the Church and State*; and concluded with an Appeal from the Lords of the Council, to the next General Aſſembly; exhorting all to ſubſcribe their Confeſſion and Covenant.

A. D. 1637

The King's condeſcentions.

The Marqueſs and the Lords of the Council ſaw by this Proteſtation, that the Confederated *Presbyterians*, endeavour'd all they could to blaſt the K.'s good Intentions; and wonder'd extreamly at their Appeal from the Council to the Aſſembly, which by an Act of the 8*th.* Parliament of K. *James* was made High Treaſon. Several other extrajudicial Acts they made againſt the Bps. and in the choice of their Members of the Aſſembly; but the Marqueſs had yet a deeper reſentment of their behaviour in another Caſe, for the *K.* having nominated Six Lds. of the *Privy Counſel* to be *Aſſeſſors* to him, his Commiſſioner

The Aſſembly met.

A. D. 1637 missioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to admit them, or allow their Suffrages, affirming, *That if the K. himself were present he should have but one Voice, and that no Negative one neither.* The Marques's concluding from these practices, that no good was to be hoped for by continuing this Assembly, he went among them, and said, *You are now about setling the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow. I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, which was supposed his Majesty never intended; and therefore for the further clearing his intentions, let this Paper which I deliver to the Clerk to be read bear Witness.* The Paper was the same in substance with the Declaration for discharging the Service Book. After this the Assembly was Dissolved by Proclamation, which was no sooner published but it was encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates, declaring, *That it is Lawful for them to sit still, and continue the Assembly, and that they would still adhere to all their former Protestations.* And in pursuance of this resolve they declare six former General Councils to be Null, Deprived all the Bishops, some of which they Excommunicated, and shortly after abolished Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

The Marques's Speech.

The Scots *Protestation.*

All things now tending to a Rupture, the Marques's ask'd and obtain'd leave of the K. to return into *England*, and he was no sooner gone but the Confederates drew up a Declaration addres's'd to all good Christians in *England*, wherein were so many undutiful reflections upon the King's Government, that it was suppressed by Authority: And the K. Published a Declaration to satisfie all his faithful Subjects of the Seditious Practices of the *Scotch Presbyterians*, who under pretext of Religion, designed the Subversion of his Royal Authority. This was read in all Parish Churches. *Mary de Medicis* Widow of *Henry* IV. K. of *France* and Mother to the Q. came now into *England*, and was Honourably entertained in the K.'s Palace at St. *James*'s; but she perceiving the King was like to be involved in troubles, to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to obedience, after some Months stay returned into *Holland*.

1638

The *Scots* having run all things into desperation, are now making vigorous Preparations for War. They seiz'd the Castles of *Edinborough*, *Dunbarton* and all other Places of strength in the Kingdom. They took the

the King's Arms and Ammunition of *Dalkeith*, and chose *Alexander Lesley*, an old experienc'd Officer to be Captain General of their Armies: The Marques of *Argyle* took care of the Frontiers against *Ireland*, the Earl of *Montross* had the charge of *Aberdeen*, and Colonel *Monro* was sent to the borders of *England* to keep quiet there while their Forces were raising. D. A. 1638

The King likewise made Preparations, and having got his Army together, gave the Command thereof in chief to the *E.* of *Arundel* as General, to whom the E. of *Essex* was Lieutenant General, and the E. of *Holland* was General of the Horse. The rest of the Officers were Persons of the best Quality, and the Army in general consisted of the flower of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Kingdom. With this Army the K. encampt within two miles of *Berwick* on the 28th. of *May*, and General *Lesley* at *Dunce*, on the other side *Tweed*, within four miles of *Berwick*. The Marques of *Hamilton* was sent with a Fleet of Ships well furnish'd with Soldiers to *Leith*, to reduce *Edinborough*, and when he came into the road before the Town called the *Frith*, he landed some of his Men to refresh them, where he received a visit from his Mother, a *Rigid Covenanter*, which made many of the King's Friends suspect his Integrity, and the *Scots* upon the shoar that saw the Interview, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not hurt 'em.* At last all this noise without a Blow struck on either side, ended in a Treaty, and that in a Pacification. *A Peace concluded.*

The great Affair of this Summer 1639, was a Sea Fight between the two Fleets of *Spain* and *Holland*, in the *Downs*, which I shall now relate in the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-Admiral, who rode there at the same time. The *Spanish* Fleet consisting of near 70 Sail, bound for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with a recruit of Men and Money for that Garrison, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, consisting of 17 small Ships, and began a very hot dispute on *Septemb.* the 7th. till the *Hollanders* finding themselves too weak, got to Windward, made their way towards *Dunkirk*, continually firing to give notice to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the rest of the Fleet. In the first Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by 2 of the Clock the Admiral came up, and joining with the Vice-Admiral between 1639 *A Sea Fight betwixt the* Spaniards *and* Hollanders.

Dover

A. D. 1639

Dover and *Calais*, they ſet upon the *Spaniards* and continued a very ſharp Fight till paſt noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two *Galleons*, ſunk another, and much ſhattered the reſt, tho' they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forc'd them upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt near *Dover*, where they left them and bore up to the Coaſt of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing in the K. of *England*'s Dominions. The *Spaniards* being now got under the *Engliſh* Protection, began to conſider how they ſhould get rid of the *Hollanders*, and the *Spaniſh* Reſident importuned the King that he would keep the *Hollanders* under ſubjection two Tides, that in the mean time their Ships might have the opportunity of ſlipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in Alliance with them both, was reſolved to ſtand Neuter, and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired ſome *Engliſh* Ships to tranſport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*. The K. upon complaint of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, ſtrictly commanded that none ſhould take in any *Spaniards*, nor paſs beyond *Graves-End* without Licence; but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* plotting a great while, counter to one another, the *Spaniard* at length out-witted his Enemy, and by a Stratagem in the night ſent away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them 4000 Men.

The Fight renewed.

In the beginning of *October* the K. ſent the Earl of *Arundel* to *Don Antonio D' Oquendo*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, deſiring him to retreat with the firſt fair Wind, becauſe he would not that they ſhould engage within his Seas; but the Wind continued Eaſterly ſo long that the *Hollanders* got daily Supplies from *Zealand*, ſo that at length their Fleet encreaſed to 100 Sail, with which they ſo hem'd in their Enemies 4 days together within Piſtol ſhot, that at laſt it turn'd to an Engagement. On the 11*th.* of the ſame Month *Van Trump*, the *Dutch* Admiral charged the *Spaniards* ſo furiouſly with his great Guns and Fire-ſhips, that they all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 of them run aground, and were ſtranded in the *Downs*, 5 of which were burnt 2 ſunk, and 2 were ſtav'd to pieces on the ſhoar. One of theſe was a great *Galleon* of *Gallicia*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Caſtro*, which had 50 Braſs Guns: The remainder of the 23 Stranded and Deſerted by the *Spaniards*, were Mann'd by the *Engliſh*, to preſerve them from the *Dutch*. The other 30 *Spaniſh* Ships, under

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the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D' Oquendo* and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal* put to Sea, and kept in close order till a Fog made them separate; which the *Dutch* taking advantage of, interpos'd between the Admirals and their Fleet, and Fought them stoutly till the Fog cleared up, and the Admiral of *Portugal* being attack'd by two *Dutch* Fire Ships, began to flame, which *D' Oquendo* perceiving, he made Sail for *Dunkirk* with the Admiral of that place, and a few Ships more, for most of the rest were taken. Of these 30, 11 were sent into *Holland*, 3 perished upon the Coast of *France*, 1 near *Dover*, 5 were sunk in the Engagement, and only 10 escaped. A. D. 1640

The Scots break the Peace.

The *Scots* having broke the Articles of Peace, and maknig Preparation for War, the K. did the like, and his Treasure being exhausted by the last Summers Expedition, a Parliament was intimated to be held on the 13*th.* of *April* 1640; but because the King's Affairs would not admit of so much Delay, as was usual in raising money by Parliament, he borrowed money of his Richest Subjects, who all freely contributed to his assistance according to their several Abilities. The *Scots* in the mean time sent an Address to the K. that things might be amicably composed without a War; but still continued to raise Men, sent for Commanders out of *Holland*, and other Places; and that which more directly discovered that they only intended to abuse the King, by pretending to Peace, was a Letter Written by the Lord *Lowden* (one of their Commissioners in the Treaty) to the *French* K. to lend them assistance; the Original coming to the King's hands, and being known to be his Character, he was committed to the *Tower*. Cardinal *Richlieu* was also a great fomenter of this War, and sent over his Chaplain and Almoner Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain*, a *Scotch* Man, to assist the Covenanters in advancing the Quarrel, and exasperating the Male contented against the King. The Pope's Agent and one *Reed* were also busie Ticklers, besides many *Scotch* Jesuits that were sent into *England* to blow the Coals. These secret practices were discovered in a great part by *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, that came into *England* with the *Palsgrave's* Widow, who also made it apparent that many of the Nobility of *England* and chief Favourites at Court, as the Earl and Countess of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*

1640

Cardinal Richlieu an Incendiary.

A. D. 1640

bank and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, were acquainted with, and conſenting to theſe Tranſactions; but the King out of a Principle of good nature would not give credit to that report. About this time died in *London*, *John Spotswood* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of all *Scotland*, and was buried in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. As alſo that Grave and Learned Judge Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counſellor to the King, and 15 years Lord *Keeper* of the Great Seal. A Man of an incomparable Character, and ſo uncorrupt in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that Malice it ſelf ſtands mute in the blemiſh of his Fame; Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, ſucceeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seal.

A Parliament Aſſembled.

April the 13*th*. the Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and *Wentworth* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, being created E. of *Strafford*, took his Place in the Houſe of Lords, and gave them an account of his Service in *Ireland*, where he had procured a Grant of 4 Subſidies for the maintenace of an Army againſt the *Scots*. Mr. *Glanvil* was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and generally the Members of that Houſe were ſuch good Men, that there were great probabilities of a happy Union and Agreement betwixt the *K.* and this Parliament; but in the midſt of theſe expectations, ſome ill inſtruments at Court, and particularly Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, out of a grudge to the E. of *Strafford* for being made Baron of *Raby*, to which *Vane* aſpir'd, he undermin'd all the E.'s endeavours in keeping up a right underſtanding between the *King* and *Parliament*, and to effect his purpoſe, inſinuated on the one ſide the dangers to be feared from the Army raiſed in *Ireland*: To others, the Juſtice of the *Scots* Pretenſions, and the good that might be obtained by favouring them at this conjuncture; and on the other ſide repreſented things to the *K.* in the worſt ſence that could be put upon them, and that ſo ſlily and cunningly that his Artifice was not eaſily diſcoverable. The matter of Supply gave occaſion to heighten Diſcontents, for before the Commons would enter upon that Debate, they deſired the *King* firſt to give them ſecurity for redreſs of their Grievances: *In clearing the Subject's Property: Eſtabliſhing Religion, and Confirming the Privileges of Parliament.* The Houſe of Lords more ſenſible of the K.'s wanting a Supply, after many Conferences had diſpoſed

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the Commons to grant it; but the Question being ask'd in that House, how much would answer the present Emergencies of State? Secretary *Vane* demanded 12 Subsidies, which raised such a heat among them, that rendred all things desperate, so that on the 4th. of *May*, by Unanimous Consent of the King's Council, the Parliament was Dissolved. A.D. 1640. *And Dissolved.*

The Dissolution of it being ascribed to the Advice of Dr. *Laud* Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Paper was Posted up in the old Exchange by *John Lilburn* a *Soap-Boyler*, encouraging the Apprentices to Rise and Rifle his Palace at *Lambeth* on *Munday* following. Accordingly in the dead of Night 500 of the Rabble beset his House, and strove to force an entrance; but his Friends and Servants being provided to entertain them, they were beaten off without doing any further mischief than discovering their malice. The King being disappointed of a Supply by dissolving the Parliament, sent to borrow a Sum of the City of *London*, but they refused him: However, the Gentry supplied him as far as they were able, and he quickly raised an Army, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was made General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. *Northumberland* being sick, the K. went against them in Person, as soon as the Queen, then great with Child, was delivered of her Son *Henry* at *Oatlands* on the 20th. of *June*, 1640. The Lord *Conway* marched with the Van before the rest, and the *Scots* being entred into *England*, he met and encountred them at *Newborn* upon *Tine*, but was worsted, *not without reflections on his Conduct*. Then the *Scots* without opposition marched into *Newcastle*, from whence they held such a Correspondence with some of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, that the King was betrayed in all his Councils, and circumvented in all his Actions. Hereupon the *Scots* grow Insolent, and Declare in a Printed *Pamphlet* that they will not lay down their Arms, till the *Reformed* Religion was settled in both Nations, and the Authors and Abettors of their Troubles were brought to Publick Justice in Parliament. These Abettors they declar'd were the *Prelates*, but more particularly the *Arch Bishop of Canterbury* and the *Earl of Strafford*. They pretended at their march into *England*, to take nothing from any

Lilburn *sets up for a Reformer.*

The Insolency of the Scots.

A. D. 1640 of the *Engliſh* but for ready Money or Bonds; but as ſoon as they were ſeated in *Newcaſtle*, they ſeized 4 Ships laden with Corn, impoſed a Tax 350 *l. per diem* upon the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, 300 *l. per diem* upon the County of *Northumberland*, and at length raiſed it to 850 *l.* a day.

The King in great perplexity reſolves to ſummon a Council of his Peers, to meet at *York*, to adviſe what was fitteſt to be done on this extraordinary occaſion, and Writs were iſſued out accordingly; but this diſpleaſed thoſe that favour'd the *Scots*, whoſe chief deſigns aim'd at the calling a *Parliament*, which they fear'd the meeting of the Peers might prevent: Therefore the E.s of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Mulgrave*, *Bullingbrook*, *Briſtol*, and the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mandevil*, and the Lord *Edward Howard*, preſented a Petition to the K. againſt it, and requeſted the Calling of a Parliament: To which many Citizens of *London*, who combined with theſe Lords and the *Scots*, did ſo influence the Common Council, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of *London*, for the ſame purpoſe as that of the Lords was, and ſo did the *Scots* alſo. The K. ſaw by theſe Applications what endeavours were uſed to weaken him in the Opinion of the People, and therefore when he met the Lords at *York*, and finding they alſo unanimouſly adviſed him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, he complied with their advices, appointed Commiſſioners to manage the Treaty, and iſſued out Writs for a Parliament to ſit in *November* 1640, and after a Truce was concluded, adjourned a further Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*. And here I muſt not omit, that the E. of *Montroſs*, who was one of the forwardeſt in all the *Scotch* Commotions, finding that in the Treaty at *Rippon*, his Countrymen ſlighted the King and endeavoured to ſet up a kind of Arbitrary Deſpotical Government, he found means to write a Letter to the King, aſſuring him of his *Fidelity, and a ready Obedience to his Commands*. This Letter was pick'd out of the King's Pocket, by ſome of the *Scotch* in the King's Bed-Chamber, and a Copy of it ſent to General *Leſley*, who told him of it, ſaying, *He had known the Heads of Princes toſs'd for leſſer matters.* The Earl required a Proof of the Charge, and *Leſley* produced a Copy of his Letter to the

Several Petitioners for a Parliament.

The Earl of Montroſs's Converſion.

the King; to which the Earl boldly answered, *That he did not understand that Writing to the King was Corresponding with an Enemy, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign*: Which answer so amuzed the General, that he did not think it fit to pursue the matter further, for fear of a Revolt in the Army, wherein *Montross* had a considerable Party. A. D. 1640

A Parliament Assembled.

On the day prefixt the Parliament Assembled, and great were the Peoples expectations from it. No Age ever produced Men of greater Abilities, than those that sate in this Parliament, or ought to have been more concerned in rend'ring their King and Country happy, and without doubt had done it, if particular and divided Interests, Piques and Private Animosities, had not by a Chain of concurring Accidents ripened the Kingdom for Destruction. At their first sitting down a Scene of Grievances, some of which were Real, and others Fictitious, was laid open, and all imaginable Arts imployed to paint them out in the most frightful Figures. The many Cruelties and Illegal practices of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commission Court*, that had alienated the Peoples minds from a due Respect and Honour to the *Hierarchy*, were now insisted on to throw down those two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, which very few, or none, were for supporting of, they were now grown so odious; but yet little did they think that were most zealous in removing those intolerable Oppressions, that there was a Party (yet unknown) lurking among them, that at the same time were shouldering the Bishops out of the House of Lords, and rooting Episcopacy out of the *English* Church, to make way for the Exaltation of a *Scotch* Presbytery. It was not a few in either House, but many great Patriots that concurr'd in declaiming against Grievances, all which suffered afterward on the King's side, and generally the Men that took the King's part in the succeeding War were those that appeared with the greatest Courage, to Redress things that were apparently injurious to the common Good, and made sharpest Speeches against Misimanagements; the intentions of these Gentlemen were certainly Just and Noble, and equally Advantageous to King and People; tho' at first their Zeal against Abuses would not suffer them to see the ill designs of some Antimonarchists that mingled with them, to Accomplish their own Ends in the Ruin of the King and Kingdom.

The Effects of unpremeditated Councils.

A. D. 1640. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners were now come to *London*, in order to conclude ſome particulars that were undetermined at *Rippon*. Here they had private Conferences with their Friends of the Houſe of Commons, betwixt whom it was agreed, that the E. of *Strafford* ſhould be immediately Impeached, at his firſt coming to the Houſe of Peers, which had a deeper reach in it than many yet either are not, or will not, be ſenſible of: For by being before hand with him, they prevented an Impeachment he had ready againſt Mr. *Pym* and other Leading Members of both Houſes, for holding Correſpondence with the *Scots*, who were the declared Enemies of the Kingdom. Here we might admire at the ſtrange humour of the Times, and ſome Men's Deſtinies: *Wentworth* had made a great Figure in this K.'s firſt three Parliaments, and no man appeared with greater Zeal againſt Ship Money, Tonnage and Poundage, and other Illegal Exactions impoſed on the People. He and Dr. *Laud*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, together with *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, were the firſt, and had the greateſt hand in perſwading the *K.* to aſſemble this Parliament; and yet all loſt their heads by it, tho' not at the ſame time.

The Fate of three Great Men.

The E. of *Strafford*, tho' a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, ſeemed to miſs it by neglecting the advice of his Friends, who perſwaded him againſt coming to this Parliament. 'Twas eaſie to foreſee there was ſomething deſigned to his prejudice, and he had two plauſible pretences for his Abſence, the neceſſity of his preſence in *Ireland*, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the North of *England*, where he was Lieutenant General of the Army raiſed againſt the *Scots*. But being too Confident not only of the King's Favour and his Intereſt among the Lords, and to uſe his own words, that an *Humble, Honey Speech might prevail with the Houſe of Commons*; he came to Town late at night, and took his place next morning in the Houſe of Lords, with an intention to ask leave that very day to go down to the Houſe of Commons upon ſome extraordinary buſineſs, as has been hinted at before, and to clear himſelf of the miſrepreſentations he lay under.

The E. accus'd by Mr. Pym.

Mr. *Pym*, who had formerly threatned him with the loſs of his Head, for deſerting his Party, hearing he was come, mov'd to have the Doors lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, leſt any Member ſhould

give

give intelligence of what they were upon: Which being done, he accused the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treason, and an Impeachment being drawn up, he went immediately to the House of Lords and delivered it in these Words, *My Lords, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received Informations of divers Traiterous Designs and Practices of a great Peer of this House, and by virtue of a Command from them, I do here in the name of the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of* England, *accuse* Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland *of* High Treason; *and they have Commanded me further to desire your Lordships, that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith Committed to Prison; they have further Commanded me to let you know, that they will within a very few days resort to your Lordships, with the particular Articles and Grounds of this Accusation.* Hereupon the Earl was Committed to safe Custody to the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and at the same time Mr. *Pryn*, *Burton*, *Bastwick* and Dr. *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, were released from Imprisonment, and Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State, fled into *France*. A. D. 1640

After this the Commons without hearing the King's Council, or the Judges Reasons for their Opinions voted Ship Money Illegal, and all proceedings in the Case at the Council Table, Star Chamber and Courts of Justice to be Null and Void; they also proposed a Charge of High Treason to be drawn up against the Lord Keeper *Finch* and ten of the Judges. Then they resolved upon a Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*, and received many Petitions, among the rest, one from Sir *John Pennington* against Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, subscribed by Fifteeen Hundred Citizens of *London*. Next they Voted down the Authority of the Convocation in making Canons without the Parliament, and the Canons themselves; and Mr. *Hollis* carried up to the Lords House, an Impeachment of High Treason against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who upon reading the *Scots* Charge against him was Committed to the Black Rod, where he lay Ten Weeks before any particular Charge was brought against him. The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next great Delinquent, against whom the Commons intended to proceed, of which having

Ship Money voted Illegal.

The Arch-Bishop and Sir John Finch *accused.*

A. D. 1640

having notice, he moved by his Friends in that House, that he might be admitted to clear himself before them, of several imputations that lay upon him; Which the Commons agreed to, upon which he made an Elegant Speech, tending to his own Vindication in every particular; but notwithstanding all he could say, *they Voted him a Traytor; for refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer* Weston, *when the Parliament desired him.* 2dly. *For soliciting, perswading and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinions for the Levying of Ship Money.* 3dly. *For several unlawful Actions done in Forest matters.* 4thly. *For ill Offices done in moving the K. to dissolve the last Parliament.* The next day he was accused before the Lds. but he wisely withdrew himself into *Holland*, thereby escaping the danger that threatned him, and Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.

A stroke at the English *Clergy.*

Upon Mr. *Pym's* carrying up an Impeachment and Articles against the E. of *Strafford*, and young Sir *Henry Vane's* carrying up another against his Grace the Arch-Bp. of *Canterbury*, they were both taken from the Black Rod and Committed to the *Tower*. The *Scotch* Commissioners now labour'd hard to set up their Presbyterian Discipline in *England*, and made a strong Party in the House of Commons for the utter Abolition of Episcopacy: Among which *Nathanael Fines*, younger Son of the Ld. *Say*, was their great Spokesman; but the Lds. *Faulkland*, *Digby* and many others of great Learning and Integrity, prevailed so far by their solid Reasons, that they yet preserv'd the Order in being, tho' their Power was much lessened by a Vote in the House of Commons, Preparatory to a Bill, *viz. That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the* Star-chamber, *nor have any thing to do in Temporal Affairs; and that no* Clergyman *should be in Commission of the Peace.*

The Earl of Strafford's *Tryal.*

The next thing the House of Commons went upon, was the Tryal of the E. of *Strafford*, which began on the 22*d.* of *March*, 1640, at which time he was brought from the *Tower* by a strong Guard into *Westminster-Hall*, whither the K. Q. and Pr. came about 9 a Clock, but kept themselves private within their Closets, so that the King saw and heard all that pass'd, but was seen by none. The Earl of *Arundel* sat as Lord High Steward of *England*, and at the Earl's being brought to the Bar, he Commanded the Prosecutors to proceed.

Mr.

Mr. *Pym* being Chairman of the Committee of Commons that were appointed to profecute, delivered in the Articles of Impeachment following, *viz.* 1640

1. That He the ſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* hath Traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by Traiterous Words, Councils and Actions, and by giving his Majeſty Advice by force of Arms to compel his Loyal Subjects to ſubmit thereunto.

2. That he hath Traiterouſly aſſumed to himſelf Regal Power and Authority over the Lives, Liberties Perſons, Lands and Goods of his Majeſty's Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exerciſed the ſame Tyrannically to the ſubverſion of many, both of Peers and other his Majeſty's Liege People.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himſelf to go through with his Traiterous deſigns, he hath detained a great part of his Majeſty's Revenue, without giving Legal Account, and hath taken great Sums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own uſe, when his Majeſty was neceſſitated for his own urgent occaſions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath Traiterouſly abuſed the Power and Authority of his Government, to the encreaſing, countenancing and encouraging of Papiſts, that ſo he might ſettle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himſelf and that Party, and by their help proſecute and accompliſh his Malicious and Tyrannical Deſigns.

5. That he hath maliciouſly endeavoured to ſtir up Enmity and Hoſtility between his Majeſty's Subjects of *England* and thoſe of *Scotland*.

6. That he hath Traiterouſly broken the great Truſt repoſed in him by his Majeſty, of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majeſty's good Subjects to Death, his Army to a Diſhonourable Retreat by the *Scots* at *Newburn*, and the Town of *Newcaſtle* into their hands, to the end that by the effuſion of Blood, by Diſhonour, and ſo great a loſs of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty's Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and Irreconcilable Quarrel with the *Scots*.

7. That to preſerve himſelf from being Queſtioned for theſe and other his Traiterous Courſes, he laboured

A. D. 1640. boured to ſubvert the *Rights of Parliaments*, and the Ancient courſe of Parliamentary proceedings, by falſe and malicious ſlanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt Parliaments, by which Words, Councils and Actions, he hath traiterouſly, and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's Liege People from his Majeſty, to ſet a diviſion between them, and to ruin and deſtroy his Majeſty's Kingdoms; for which they Impeach him of High-Treaſon againſt our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

1641. 8. And He, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant General of the Army there, of his moſt Excellent Majeſty for his Kingdoms both of *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord Preſident of the North, during the time that all and every of the Crimes and Offences before ſet forth were done and committed, and he the ſaid Earl was Lieutenant General of all his Majeſty's Army in the North parts of *England* during the time that the Crimes and Offences in the fifth and ſixth Articles ſet forth were done and committed.

Theſe Articles were more particularly branched into one and Thirty, which being read, and the Earl's Anſwer to them, took up the time till Two a Clock in the Afternoon, at which hour the Court roſe, and the Earl was remanded to the *Tower*, with order to be there again at Eight the next morning; which being come, Mr. *Pym* aggravated the Charge which was read the day before, ſaying, 'It was a Treaſon be-

Mr. Pym's Speech. 'yond the reach of words to expreſs the heinouſneſs 'of it, that a native Subject and a Peer of *England*, the 'Prime Governour of *Ireland*, the Commander of his 'Majeſty's Forces, and a Proteſtant in Religion, ſhould 'in ſuch an Impious manner abuſe his Majeſty's Fa'vours and Goodneſs, and put all his Dominions into 'hazard; for which no Puniſhment could be thought

The Earl's Anſwer. 'great enough to expiate his Crimes. The Earl with 'great Moderation in his own defence, recounted the 'Services he had done for the King and Crown of *Eng*'land, and as to *Ireland*, there had been more Parlia'ments in that Kingdom ſince his Government, than 'in Fifty Years before; that he had oppoſed divers 'Projects and Monopolies, and improved the King's 'Revenue from 50000 *l.* to 120000 *l. per an.* That 'he had reſtored the Church's Rights, ſuppreſſed the

'Out-

'Outlaws; eſtabliſh'd Obedience to Royal Authority, 'and reſtrain'd the Tyranny and Uſurpations of the 'great Ones over meaner People. A. D. 1641.

The Proſecutors.

Then the Tryal proceeded from day to day upon every Article *gradatim*, being managed againſt him by Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Mr. *John Maynard*, Mr. *Bulſtrod Whitlock*, Mr. *John Glyn*, the Lord *George Digby*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *John Selden*, Mr. *John Hambden* and Mr. *Stroud*, who laid a great ſtreſs upon Sir *Henry Vane*'s Information, who accuſed the Earl *for adviſing the King in Council to an Offenſive War, and to bring over the Army out of* Ireland *to reduce this Kingdom*; but being now examined in Court, Sir *Henry* Depoſed *he heard the Earl ſay ſuch or the like words.* Now this Article contributing more to the undoing this great Miniſter than all the reſt, the Lords were ſtrict in examining it. The Lord *Savile* deſired Sir *Henry* to be poſitive, whether the Earl ſaid *This* or *That Kingdom*, adding withal, *That it was very hard to Condemn a Man upon ſuch Nice and Petty Circumſtances.* The Earl of *Southampton* deſired to know whether Sir *Henry Vane* would Swear theſe words poſitively, or not? Sir *Henry* ſaid, *Poſitively either them or the like.* To which the Earl replied, *Under favour, Sir, thoſe or the like are not poſitive.* The Earl of *Clare* deſired to know what could be meant *by this Kingdom*, for my part, ſays he, I think the word *This* relates to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the foregoing diſcourſe; and that which the rather enclined him to be of that Opinion, was becauſe by no Grammatical Conſtruction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce *England*, which was not in diſobedience to his Majeſty, and therefore could have no relation to it. The truth is, that the whole ſeems to be a Miſtake, being only words contain'd in Mr. Secretary *Vane*'s Notes, ſaid *to be ſpoken at the Council Table*, and naturally refer to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and not to *England*; the thing (as was ſaid before) then under debate, *being how to reduce* Scotland: And tho' Secretary *Vane* ſwore to the Truth of his Notes, yet it was after ſuch a manner as left the matter ſtill more *Dubious*: And tho' he had ſworn more poſitively, *It was but the Teſtimony of one Witneſs, he a Profeſt Enemy, and the whole contradicted by four Lords who were then*

The Article a miſtake.

A. D. 1641.

then preſent in Council, and who at the Tryal declared, upon their Honours *that they did not remember that they heard the Earl of* Strafford *ſpeak theſe words.* However, the Proſecutors concluded the Charge, that the words were ſo monſtrous that to aggravate them was to abate their malignity, and therefore would leave them to the Judgment of the Lords in their own Dreſs, and ſo proceeded to the reſt.

Certainly there never was a more ſolemn Tryal than this, whether we conſider the Accuſers, or the Perſon accuſed, the Accuſation or the Defence; for as in every thing elſe, ſo more particularly in this, The Earl of *Strafford* expreſſed a wonderful Preſence of Mind, and a vaſt compaſs of Thought, with ſuch various and moving flights of Eloquence, as came nothing ſhort of the moſt celebrated pieces of Antiquity: which manifeſtly appeared in his ſumming up the long Speeches of the Proſecutors, and the Anſwers he made *Extempore* to every one of the Articles againſt him, with this *Pathetick* concluſion. 'My Lords, *ſaid he*, I 'have troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, 'were it not for the Intereſt of theſe dear Pledges a 'St. in Heaven has left me. *At this word he ſtopt, 'pointing to his Children that ſtood by him, and drop-'ping ſome Tears went on*, What I forfeit for my ſelf is 'nothing, but that my indiſcretion ſhould extend to 'Poſterity wounds me to the very Soul. You will 'pardon my infirmity; ſomething I ſhould have added 'but am not able, therefore let it paſs. And now my 'Lords for my ſelf, I have by the Bleſſing of God 'been taught, that the Afflictions of this preſent Life, 'are not to be compared to that eternal weight of Glo-'ry which ſhall be revealed hereafter. And ſo, my 'Lords, even ſo with all Tranquility of mind I freely 'ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgments: And whether that 'Judgment be of Life or Death, *Te Deum laudamus.*

Strafford's concluding Speech.

The Earl having ended, Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Pym* ſpent ſome time in repeating the Charge, Article by Article, and endeavoured by Rhetorical Declamations, to render his Offences as Odious as Art or Ill Will could make them. By the Earl's modeſt behaviour he had exceedingly won upon the good opinion of the Lords and many of the Commons, and by the clearneſs of his Anſwers to the ſeveral parts of his Charge, his Crimes appeared not to be comprehended under the

Letter

Letter of any Statute declaratory of Treaſon, and the Proſecutors perceiving that the Judgment of the Lords would not anſwer their expectation, they urged, that tho he was not guilty of Treaſon by the Statute of the 25 of *Ed.* III. yet his Crimes were ſo great, that according to a branch of that Statute, *they ought to be declared Treaſon by the Parliament*, and accordingly debating this matter in the Houſe, they concluded to draw up a Bill of Attainder againſt him. The Lords in the mean time let the Commons know, that they were reſolv'd to hear the Earl's Council *to matter of Law, and then proceed to give Judgment*: To which the Commons replied, *They would go on with the Bill of Attainder*, and if it ſhould be rejected by the Lords, it might prove of dangerous conſequence. Notwithſtanding the Lords heard the Earl's Council, and the Commons being diſpleaſed at it, went on with their *Bill of Attainder*, which met with great oppoſition in the Houſe from three great Lawyers, *Selden*, *Bridgman* and *Holborn*, who made it appear, *That the Salvo of the Statute of* 25 Ed. III. *was repealed, and that no man could be convicted of Treaſon, but by the Letter of that Statute.* The Lord *Digby* alſo who was one of the fierceſt Proſecutors of the Earl, was ſo well ſatisfied with his Anſwers at his Tryal, that ſeeing the Houſe of Commons were reſolved to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, he could not forbear ſhewing his diſlike of it in an Excellent Speech to this purpoſe. A. D. 1641.

The Lords and Commons differ.

Mr. Speaker,

WE are now upon the point of giving as much as in us lies, the Final Sentence unto Death or Life upon a great Miniſter of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *a name of hatred in the preſent Age by his practices, and fit to be made a Terrour to future Ages by his Puniſhment. I have had the honour to be imployed by the Houſe in this great buſineſs, from the firſt hour it was taken into Conſideration. It was a matter of great Truſt, and I will ſay it with Confidence, that I have not only ſerved the Houſe in it with Induſtry, but with exact Faithfulneſs and Secrecy; and as I have hitherto diſcharged my Duty to this Houſe and my Country in the progreſs of this great Cauſe, ſo I truſt I ſhall do now in the laſt Period of it to God, and to a good Conſcience. I know well, Mr. Speaker, that I am now* Cenſured

The Lord Digby's *Speech againſt the Bill.*

A. D. 1641. *Cenſured by ſome, for appearing againſt the Attainder of the Earl of* Strafford *now, againſt whom I have been formerly ſo Keen, ſo Active. I have ſtill the ſame Opinion of him, and confidently believe him to be the moſt dangerous Miniſter, and the moſt unſupportable to free Subjects that can be character'd. I believe his practices in themſelves as high, as Tyrannical, as any Subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by thoſe rare Abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a word, I believe him ſtill that grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, who muſt not be pardoned in this World, till he be diſpatch'd into the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand muſt not be to that diſpatch: I proteſt as my Conſcience ſtands informed, I had rather it were off. I make a diſtinction between a* Proſecutor *and a* Judge. *It's honeſt and noble to be Zealous in the diſcovery of Truth, but as Judges we ought to be very calm and cautious: For in caſes of Life, Judges are God's Stewards of the Parties Blood, and muſt be accountable for every drop of it. I was once you know of opinion that he ought to be accuſed of Treaſon, and had the ſame reaſon remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately did, I ſhould not have been tender in his Condemnation; but to deal plainly with you, Sir, that ground of our Accuſation, that ſpur to our Proſecution, and the reaſon which ſhould be the Baſis of my Judgment of the Earl of* Strafford *as to Treaſon, in my underſtanding is utterly vaniſhed.*

Whilſt I was a Proſecutor and under Tye of Secrecy, I might not diſcover any weakneſs of the Cauſe, which now as a Judge I muſt. The firſt time Mr. Secretary Vane, *was examined as to the* Iriſh *Army, he ſaid poſitively, I cannot charge him with that, and upon his ſecond Examination made the ſame anſwer, and here we thought we had done with him; but upon his third Examination, he depoſes theſe words to have been ſaid by the Earl of* Strafford *to his Majeſty;* You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (*or ſome word to that ſence*) this Kingdom. *Now, tho I would not have this driven to a perſe Mr. Secretary, yet this may be infer'd from it,* that he who twice upon Oath, *having time to recollect himſelf,* could not remember any thing of ſuch a buſineſs, might well a third time miſremember ſomething. *And thus Mr. Speaker I have faithfully given you an*

Account,

Account, what it is that hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord Strafford. I profeſs I have no Notion of any bodies Intents to ſubvert the Laws, Treaſonably, or by Force, and this deſign of Force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount ſo high with me; but had that of the Iriſh Army been proved, it would have diffuſed a complexion of Treaſon over all, it would have been a Wyth indeed to bind all thoſe other ſcattered Branches as it were into a Faggot of Treaſon. I do not ſay but others may think him worthy of Death, and juſtly direct us to enact that they ſhall be Treaſon for the future; but God keep me from giving Judgment of Death on any Man, and of Ruin to his Innocent Poſterity, upon a Law made à Poſteriori. Let this mark be ſet on the door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, die. I know Mr. Speaker, that the Parliament have a double Power of Life and Death, Judicial and Legiſlative, the meaſure of the one is what is Legally Juſt, and the other what is Prudentially and Politickly Fit, for the Good and Preſervation of the whole; but theſe two, under favour, muſt not be confounded in Judgment. We muſt not piece up want of Legality with matter of Convenience. Therefore my humble Advice is, that laying aſide this Bill of Attainder, we may think of ſome other way, ſaving only life, that may ſecure the State from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it by diviſion concerning his Puniſhment; but if this may not prevail, let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and ſadly conſider what we are going to do, with a Breath, either Juſtice on the one ſide, or Murder heightned and aggravated to its utmoſt extent on the other; for as the Caſuiſts ſay, that he who lies with his Siſter commits Inceſt, but he that marries his Siſter ſins higher by applying Gods Ordinance to his Crimes: So doubtleſs he that commits Murder with the Sword of Juſtice heightens that Crime to the utmoſt: Therefore let every Man clear his heart from all Paſſion: Away with perſonal Animoſities: Away with all Flatteries to the People, in being ſharper againſt him becauſe he is odious to them, Away with all Fears leſt by ſparing of his Blood they may be incenſed: Away with all ſuch Conſiderations as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accused by it of Treaſon ſhould eſcape with Life: Let not former Vehemence of any againſt him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be ſafe while that Man lives, be

A. D. 1641

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A. D. 1641.

an ingredient in the Sentence of any one of us. Of all these corruptions of Judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do before God discharge my self to the utmost of my power; and do, with a clear Conscience, wash my hands of this Mans Blood, by this solemn Protestation, that my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of Strafford's *Life.*

This Speech gave great Offence to all that designed the Earl's death, who took the Names of all the Dissenters upon a Division of the House when the Bill passed, and dispersed them among their Party in the City, who came in great Triumph to *Westminster* to Clamour for Justice, and, in the *Old Palace-yard*, all that were against the Bill were posted up to be exposed to the Fury of the ungoverned Multitude, who were at this time so mad and violent, that some of them were heard to say, *If they could not have the Earl of* Strafford's *Life, they would have the King's.* The same Afternoon the Bill of Attainder was carried up to the House of Lords, where it rested many days, and probably had never passed, if many of the Peers had not been so terrified from coming to the House, by the Tumultuous Rabble, that they saw their lives in imminent danger; for this was the common practice of many Members in both Houses, that when any debate was like to be carried against them in either House, they would send for great numbers of the Mobility with Swords, Staves and Clubs, who would Menace, Reproach and violently Assault such Members as disliked them, and prevailed so far by these methods, that many of the Lords were now enclined towards the Earl's Condemnation, whereof the King being informed, he came next day to the House of Peers, and sending for the House of Commons told them, *That in Conscience he could not Condemn the Earl of High Treason, and therefore hoped they would find a way to satisfie Justice, and their own Fears, without oppressing his Conscience; for tho he would do great matters to please his People, yet neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever should ever make him go against it.* This shewed the King's good Will; but,

The Mobility are raised.

It was believed by many, that the King's appearing so heartily for him, did him no good with the House of Commons, and its confidently said, that the Earl himself was of the same Opinion, and therefore wrote his

The Earl's Friends mistaken.

his Majesty a Letter from the *Tower*, praying him not to Intercede for him, and *that his not seeming to be concern'd in it, would be the best method to calm the rage of his Enemies.* However, you see the King would do it, notwithstanding this Caution; which some of his Friends took for so good News, that they went strait from *Westminster* to acquaint him with it: Which *Strafford* received as his Doom, and told them, *The King's kindness had ruined him; and that he had little else to do now but to prepare himself for Death.* A. D. 1641

Saturday the 8th. of *May* the Bill of Attainder pass'd in the House of Lords, tho' with great difficulty; for of 45 that were present, 19 were against it: Many of the Earl's Friends were forced to be absent for fear of the Tumults, otherwise the Suffrages for him had more than Counterpois'd the Votes for his Death. The same day they sent to the King to desire access to him, who told them they might expect his Answer on *Monday*. Under this trouble the King sends on *Sunday* for the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln* and *Carlisle*, and desired them as Casuists to resolve him, *Whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill against the Earl of* Strafford. All but *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln* were very tender in this affair, and told him that he being at the Tryal *could best Judge of it*; but the Bishop of *Lincoln* insisted upon the expediency of his Death, because nothing else would satisfie the enraged multitude; tho' it is not said that the King was convinced by his Arguments. Which the Earl being acquainted with, and that his Majesty was under great perplexity, he sent the King this Letter. *The Bill of Attainder pass'd.*

'SIR, to set your Majesty's Conscience at Liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the prevention of such mischiefs as may happen by your refusal, to pass the Bill; by this means to remove, praised be God I cannot say this Accursed, but I confess, this Unfortunate Thing out of the way, towards that blessed Agreement, which God I trust shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God than all the World can do besides: To a willing Man there is no injury done. And as by God's Grace I forgive all the World, with a Calmness and Meekness of infinite Contentment to my dislodging Soul; *The Earl's Letter to the King.*

A. D. 1641

'So, Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with 'all Chearfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt acknowledge- 'ment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg that 'in your Goodneſs, you will vouchſafe to caſt your 'gracious regard upon my poor Son and his three 'Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than their Un- 'fortunate Father ſhall appear more or leſs guilty of 'this Death. God preſerve your Majeſty.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subject and Servant,

Strafford.

The next day the King Signed a Commiſſion to the E. of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, the E. of *Pembrook* and others, to paſs the two Bills; one for a *Triennial* Parliament, the other for Attainder of the E. of *Strafford*, the laſt of which he did with great reluctancy at preſent, and afterward bewailed it with greater Remorſe of Conſcience. Tho' the K. ſigned the Commiſſion, yet the Royal Aſſent was not given till the 10*th.* of *May*, and on the 12*th.* the E. was conveyed from the *Tower* by a Guard of the Trained-Bands, accompanied by the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his firſt coming out, being to paſs under the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*'s Lodging, who ſtood waiting at his Window to ſee him, he lifting up his Eyes, and eſpying him, made a profound Obeiſance to the Arch-Biſhop, ſaying, *My Lord, your Prayers and your Bleſſing.* The Arch-Biſhop lifted up his hands and gave him both; but being overcome with grief, fell almoſt into a Swoon. The E. going a little further bowed to him a ſecond time, ſaying, *Farewel, my good Lord, God Protect your Innocency*; when the Arch-Biſhop being a little recovered, returned his good wiſhes with, *My Lord, God Bleſs and Strengthen you.*

He takes his leave of the Arch-Biſhop.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addreſs'd his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect,

My Lord Primate of Ireland,

'IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lord- 'ſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known 'to you theſe many years, and I do thank God and your 'Lordſhip for it. I am come hither by the good Will 'and Pleaſure of the Almighty, to pay the laſt debt I owe 'to Sin, and to ſubmit to that Judgment which has paſs'd 'againſt me. I do it with a very Quiet and Contented 'mind: I thank God I do freely forgive all the World;

The Earl's Speech upon the Scaffold.

'I thank

'I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me Witness, that in all my Employments since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the Joint and Individual Prosperity of K. and People, altho' it has been my Ill Fortune to be misconstru'd. A. D. 1641

'There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of *England* were the most happy Constitutions, that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and People happy.

'For my Death I here quit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, tho' in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am not made Guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort to me, that his Majesty believes that I do not deserve so heavy a Punishment as this.

'I wish this Kingdom all Prosperity and Happiness, and I desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously, whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be Written in *Letters of Blood*. Let me never be so unhappy as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgment against any of you, but *I fear you are in the wrong way*.

'I profess I die a True and Obedient Son of the Church of *England*, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.

Having thus concluded his Speech, he desired all that were present to assist him with their Prayers, wherein he continued about a Quarter of an hour, and then rising up, bids all his Friends *Farewel*, especially by name Sir *George Wentworth* his Brother, by whom he sent his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his Children, desiring him to Charge his Son in his name never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church. Then he Undrest himself to the Block, and having prayed a while, gave the Executioner a sign, who at one blow divorc'd his head from his Body. *His Execution.*

Thus died this Unfortunate Earl: A Gentleman of Incomparable Qualifications, of a happy Fluency of Speech, and a Sound Judgment, Courteous to all Men, Faithful to his Master, and a Friend to his Country. But his Character is best expresst by his Sovereign,

A. D. 1641 who said, *He look'd upon the Earl of* Strafford *as a Gentleman whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather Afraid than Asham'd to employ him.* His Children were restored to their Honours and Estates at the Petion of the Lords and Commons.

Great Alterations made at Court.

The King did every thing that was possible to give satisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reasonably expected from a Gracious and Beneficent Prince. He took into his Council the Earls of *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and others, that courting Popularity were the Darlings of the People. Hereupon divers of the Kings great Ministers surrendred their Offices to the King: The Bishop of *London*'s Office of Treasurer was put into the hands of Five Commissioners of that Sett. The Earl of *Hertford* was sworn Governour to the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*. The Earl of *Essex* was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold, in the Place of the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Office of Master of the Wards was resigned by the Lord *Cottington*, and conferr'd on the Lord *Say*, and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Having thus begun the King was resolved to proportion Remedies to all the Diseases of the State, by the advice of both Houses of Parliament, making no rule to his Concessions but their Asking. He expres's'd himself to their satisfaction in the matters of Loan, Ship Money, Tonnage and Poundage, and other methods that were thought Grievances in raising Money, and shewed a settled Resolution to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the Ease and Security of the Subject. As in the Preceding Parliament he had pass'd *The Petition of Right*, so in this he agreed to the Acts for *Triennial* Parliaments, and for Abolishing the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts, which exceeding their Just Bounds, were become great Grievances, and with Chearfulness passed that Act which seem'd inconsistent with his own Prerogative, that *That Parliament should not be Dissolved but by Act of Parliament, nor Prorogued or Adjourned but by their own Consents.*

The K. having made these Concessions, receiv'd the Publick Thanks of both Houses, and the Loud Applauses of his People, both Armies being disbanded he took a Journey into *Scotland*, to settle matters there that required his Presence, leaving the Parliament sitting,

which

which they continued to do for some time, and then adjourned themselves to *October* following. At the K.'s going away, Affairs had been already settled between both Kingdoms by an Act of Pacification; but while the King was in *Scotland* there broke out a Rebellion in *Ireland*, which was carried so closely that no certain notice was given of the Conspiracy, till the very Evening before it was to be put in Execution. The Innocent Protestants were upon a sudden dissei'sed of their Estates, and the Persons of about 200000 Men, Women, and Children murder'd within the space of one Month, and many of them with exquisite and unheard of Tortures. The discovery was made by one *Owen O Conally* to two Lords Justices the night before the Massacre was to be Committed; by which means the Lords *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mohun* were presently apprehended, and many Conspirators of great Note escaped that night out of *Dublin*, so *Dublin* was preserved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one day; but the horrid design was past prevention; for the Conspirators were up at the day prefixt in all Countries round about, and poor *English* Protestants came every day to *Dublin*, Robb'd and Spoil'd of all they had, complaining how their Houses were seiz'd, Towns and Villages burnt, and Cruel Outrages Committed thro' the whole Kingdom. The Lords Justices of *Ireland* send notice hereof by the first Discoverer *Owen O Conally*, to whom the Parliament Voted a free Gift of 500 *l.* and 200 *l.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houses, resolved to consider on the relief of *Ireland*, but little was done till the King returned to *London*.

A. D. 1641

The Irish Rebellion.

The *Irish*, to keep the *English* from making any resistance, bragg'd that they had the King's Commission for what they did, and shew'd a Patent indeed that themselves had drawn, and affixed an old Broad Seal to it, that was taken out of *Farnham Abby*, by one *Plunket*, in the presence of some of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many, tho' this monstrous Lye was afterwards improved to slander the King, as the Author of that Rebellion. The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he first designed it, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer, referr'd the whole to be managed by the Parliament of *England*, who sent over Twenty Thousand Pounds to their

their lying Pretences.

A. D. 1641 relief, and many brave *English* Commanders rais'd Companies there, and went to their Assistance, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Ormond*, who did great service; but no publick Levies of Men were made in *England*, till the King had disclaimed his Power of Pressing Soldiers, *and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were raised against him*, and then the first Soldiers they sent, was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the last of *December*.

The King returned to London. The K. returned to *London* at the latter end of *Nov.* and was received with all demonstrations of Affection. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry and Trained Bands, met him without the City, and Conducted him in great State, with the Acclamations of the People (the City Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each side) to *Guild-Hall*, where he was Royally Feasted, and after dinner Conducted him with great Pomp to *White-hall*, and now what Man that had seen a Prince thus received into his Capital City, could have imagined, that within less than seven weeks, he should be obliged to leave it upon the Account of *Tumults*, never to see it again, but as a *Prisoner brought thither to die upon a Scaffold*? Yet this was that good King's hard Fortune: And here I could willingly draw a Veil over the remaining part of this Reign, that ended in one of the blackest and most dismal Tragedies that ever was Acted upon the *English* Stage, and that rendred our Nation a Reproach to all the World, insomuch that an *English* man durst scarce shew his Face abroad, or own himself of that Nation which produced such horrid Monsters, as had embrued their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed.

New Heats in Parliament. The House of Commons had begun some few days before his return, to fall into *New Heats about Innovations in Religion*; *the Rebellion in* Ireland; *Plots said to be laid in* Scotland; *the disabling the Clergy to exercise temporal Jurisdiction, and excluding the Bishops from their Votes in Parliament*: All which matters, together with some Reports that were buzzed about of some designs against the Parliament, led the House into that Remarkable *Petition and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation*, in which they rip'd up again all the Mismanagements in the Government, since the King's coming to the Crown; and attributed all to *Evil Counsels and Councellors, and a Malignant Party*, as they call'd them about

about the King. This Remonſtrance was roughly Penn'd, both for Matter and Expreſſion, and met with great oppoſition in the Houſe; the Debate laſting from Three a Clock in the Afternoon till Ten a Clock next Morning; and was preſented to his Majeſty the 8*th.* Day after his return from *Scotland.* A. D. 1641

It was no wonder the King was ſurpriz'd at this Petition and Remonſtrance, conſidering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they deſired. However the King promiſed to ſend them an Anſwer to their Petition, and deſired their ſcandalous Remonſtrance might not be Printed; but without giving the King leiſure to Anſwer, they Printed and Publiſhed it through all parts of the Kingdom, and having paſs'd a Bill in their own Houſe againſt the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, which found but a Cold Reception in the Houſe of Lords, down comes the Tumultuous Rabble to back their Proceedings, and were ſo Inſolent that they aſſaulted ſome of the Peers even at the Doors of their Houſe, crying out againſt the Biſhops, and bending their Malice wholly againſt them, ſo that they durſt not come to the Houſe to diſcharge their Duty. From thence they went to *White-Hall*, and made a ſtand againſt the Court Gate in a great Body, ſaying, *They would have no Porters Lodge, but would ſpeak with the King when they pleaſed*: And when the Lords at a Conference with the Commons deſired them to join with them in a Declaration for ſuppreſſing ſuch Tumults; ſeveral Speeches were made in Juſtification of them, Mr. *Pym* ſaying, God forbid that the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any way to diſhearten People to obtain what they deſire in ſuch a way. This Force being offered to the Biſhops, ſo that they could not come to the Houſe but in danger of their Lives, they made a Proteſtation *againſt all the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords as Null and Void, which had been Tranſacted in their Abſence.* Which Proteſtation they humbly deſired the King to Command the Clerk of that Houſe to Record; but this ſo irritated the Lords and Commons, that they declared it was of dangerous Conſequence, and the Commons, by Mr. *Glyn*, Accuſed them all of High Treaſon for doing it, and the Lords Committed them to the *Tower*, where they continued about four months in Durance.

The Rabble grow Inſolent.

Their Proceedings Juſtified.

A. D. 1641. While the King was in *Scotland* he expoſtulated with ſome of the Chiefs of the Faction, concerning their coming in Hoſtile manner into *England*, and found that ſome of the leading Men of the Houſes of Parliament had invited them to it. And having ſufficient proof againſt them, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treaſon againſt ſome of them, *viz.* the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Houſe of Peers, *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Arthur Hazlrig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Siroud*, all Members of the Houſe of Commons; commanding him alſo to acquaint the Houſe of Lords with the general matters of the Charge, and in the mean time the King ſent a Serjeant at Arms to acquaint the Houſe, that he accuſed and intended to proſecute five of their Members for High Treaſon, and therefore required that their Perſons might be ſecured in Cuſtody. The Houſe of Commons took no notice of the King's Command, but on the contrary prevented the Serjeants coming, by paſſing a Vote, *That if any Perſon came to Attack them without an Order from that Houſe, they might ſtand upon their own Defence, and make Reſiſtance.*

Six Members accuſed.

The King goes to the Houſe of Commons.

The King ſeeing the ordinary methods of Juſtice obſtructed, took with him the *Palſgrave*, with about a hundred Lords, Gentlemen and their Attendants, and went to the Houſe of Commons, where commanding his Followers to come no farther than the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor tho provoked, to return any uncivil Langue to any: He and the Palſgrave only entered the Houſe, and demanded the accuſed Perſons might be delivered to him, promiſing to deal with them only according to Law; but the Accuſed Members having private notice of the King's coming from the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, they had withdrawn themſelves into the City, and the King having renewed his Charge departed, without injury either by word or deed to any. However, this Act of the King's was Voted by the Commons a breach of Priviledge, and the City Trained Bands were appointed to bring the Accuſed Members in Triumph to *Weſtminſter* and reinſtate them in the Houſe: As if they had been ſuch worthy Patriots, that the Common Weal could not be preſerved without them. As theſe proceedings in the Houſe were without precedent, ſo indeed the

The ill conſequences of it.

King's

King's going to the House in that manner was impruden, and highly reflecting upon those that gave him the Advice, for it was believed that if the King had found the Five Members in the House, and had called in his Guards to seize them, the House according to their Vote, would have endeavoured their Defence, and opposed Force by Force, which might have endangered the King's Person. But the Consequences were bad enough without this, for immediately upon it there was nothing but Confusion and Tumults, Fears, and Jealousies every where, which spread themselves to *White-hall* in the rudest manner imaginable, so that his Majesty thinking himself not secure there, he retired to *Hampton-Court*. But that nothing might be omitted by him, he sent a message to the Parliament, which was received with Thanks, and most People expected good from it; but that it might not have effect, the accused Members and their Faction, Petition the King, as a ground to secure their Confidence in him, *That the* Tower *of* London *might be put into their hands, together with the Navy, and all the Forts, Castles, and Trained Bands in the Kingdom*, which they comprehended under the name of the *Militia*. This Petition, which at once ty'd the King's hands behind him, was disrelished; but he concealed his resentments, and in *February* he and the Queen went to *Canterbury*, with the Princess *Mary*, from thence to *Dover*, and there embarked her self and Daughter, and accompanied her into *Holland*. In this time the greatest business in Parliament was taking away the Bishops Votes. The King came from *Canterbury* to *Greenwich*, and afterward with the Prince and the Duke went to *York*, as a Place of greater safety. The Parliament sent two Petitions to him in his Journey *for the Militia to be put into their hands*, which the King refusing, both Houses pass'd it by an Ordinance, and settled it in divers Counties in the hands of such as were their Confidents, upon which a bloody War ensued.

A. D. 1641.

The Parliaments demands.

This the King look'd upon as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surprized, issued out several Commissions of Array to Persons of the best Quality, to Muster and Train his Subjects for the Defence of his Person and Kingdom. Each Party blam'd the other for beginning this War, and it is not easie to determine which of them began it.

A. D. 1641. it. Some ſay the King made the firſt ſteps towards it, 'In raiſing a Troop for the Guard of his Perſon; 'in ſummoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of ſe- 'veral Counties to attend him in his Progreſs to the 'North, and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be 'brought from *Holland* for his uſe. Yet the Parlia- 'ment did as much at the ſame time; for they like- 'wiſe raiſed Guards of their own, and took care that 'the Magazines at *Hull* ſhould not fall into the King's 'hands, and in giving the Charge of that important 'place to Sir *John Hotham*, who denied the King en- 'trance, for which he was proclaimed a Traytor. So that the King and Parliament prepared themſelves inſenſibly for War, without conſidering that theſe preparations muſt gradually and inevitably terminate in Blows. The King's ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, was not the firſt notice of this War, as has been commonly reported by our Hiſtorians, who ſhould have known better; for that was not done till *Auguſt* the 22. 1642. But the Houſe of Commons paſs'd theſe two Votes the 12 of *July* before. 1. 'That an 'Army ſhould be forthwith raiſed for the ſafety of the 'King's Perſon, Defence of both Houſes of Parliament, 'and of thoſe who have obeyed their Orders and Com- 'mands, and preſerving of the true Religion, Laws, 'Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom. And, 2. That 'the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be General of the Foot, and 'the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horſe. To which Votes the Houſe of Lords agreed.

Now while each ſide had commiſſioned their Generals, and were preparing for War, they skirmiſhed a while by Propoſals tending to an Agreement, which rather widening than cloſing the Breach, the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, and Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, the Second and Third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, coming to offer their Uncle their Service, he put them both into Command. To Prince *Rupert* he gave thoſe Forces which he had gathered together, with which he marched into *Warwickſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Worſterſhire* and *Cheſhire*, his Forces ſtill increaſing as he marched. While the Prince was thus active, the King moved on ſlowly with his Forces thro *Derbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and ſo to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to Quarter, as a fit Rendezvous for the Troops he expected from *Wales*, for

The King ſet up his Standard.

for all that Country was hearty for him. At *Shrewsbury* he ſet up a Mint and Coined all his own Plate that he was poſſeſs'd of, into Money, and alſo that which was ſent him by the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and by many Noblemen and Gentlemen in the Kingdom, who had a dutiful reſpect to his Perſon, and favour'd the Cauſe he was embark'd in. Others ſent him in Horſes, Men and Arms, ſo that in a ſhort time his ſtrength was far greater than he could have expected, conſiſting in three Weeks time of 600 Foot, 3000 brave Horſe, and 2000 Dragoons in one Body, beſides what he had in other places, of which he gave the chief Command to the Earl of *Lindſey*. A. D. 1642

The Parliaments Army raiſed under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, was grown to a conſiderable bulk, conſiſting of about 16000 Horſe and Foot, united in one Army, beſides many Parties Abroad; their general Rendezvous was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Roberts*, Colonel *Hambden*, and many other chief Commanders expected their General's coming. On the 9*th* of *Septemb.* 1642, he ſet out of *London* with great ſolemnity, and when he came to *Northampton*, the Parliament ſent him a Petition to deliver to the King; the effect of which was, *To entreat his Majeſty to withdraw his Preſence from thoſe wicked Perſons about him* (for ſo they call'd the whole King's Party,) *and not mix his danger with theirs; but that he would return to his Parliament without his Army, and by their Advice compoſe the preſent Diſtempers.* Eſſex *made General.*

The War firſt began between the Marqueſs of *Hertford* for the King, in the Weſt, and Earl of *Bedford* for the Parliament, the Earl being worſted by the Marqueſs at *Sherburn Caſtle*. *Goring* got into *Portſmouth* and held it for the King, but could not hold it long, for the Country joyning with Sir *John Mericek*, forc'd him to ſurrender, and ſent him into *Holland*. The Lord *Say* and Sir *John Weemer*, with Colonel *Whitlock* enter *Oxford* and keep it for the Parliament. But the Face of Affairs ſoon changed, for the two Armies under *Lindſey* and *Eſſex* met, and fought at *Edgehill* with uncertain Victory, both ſides claim'd it, and gave Thanks to God for what they had not. All the ſign there was of a Victory turn'd in favour of the King, for he kept the Field, took the Plunder, and immediately Portſmouth *ſurrendred.* Edgehill *Fight.*

A. D. 1642

ately marched to *Banbury*, took both the Town and the Caſtle, and in a few days after, the City of *Oxford*. Prince *Rupert* alſo took the Lord *Say*'s Houſe at *Broughton*, and made Excurſions near *London*. Whereupon the Parliament recall'd *Eſſex* to defend themſelves, and it was time, for the King was marching towards *London*, having taken *Reading* and *Henly*. At *Brentford* both Armies Fought, and *Eſſex* being aſſiſted by the Trained-Bands of *London*, they forced the King to retreat, tho it was rather for want of Powder and Bullet than Courage, having not ſo much left as would have held a quarter of an hour longer. At the latter end of the year Prince *Rupert* ſtormed *Cirenceſter*, put the Lord *Stamford*'s Regiment to the Sword, and took Eleven hundred Priſoners. Colonel *Fines* in the Weſt was alſo routed by Prince *Rupert*. In the North Sir *John Hotham* was beaten by the Forces commanded by the E. of *Cumberland*, Sir *Francis Worſely*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Thomas Glenham*.

Brentford Fight.

This year was a Treaty of Peace at *Oxford*, which began *March* the *4th* 1642, and ended in the Continuation of the War on the *15th* of *April* following.

1643.

The Queen about the beginning of *May* this year landed at *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire* from *Holland*, and having eſcaped a Squadron of men of War deſigned by the Parliament to intercept her, ſhe brought abundance of Arms, and about 3000 Soldiers with her, and not long after joined them with the King's Army at *Edgehill* in *Warwickſhire*, and was proclaimed a Traytor by the Parliament. If the Parliament ſo ill ſucceeded laſt year, they had greater misfortunes in this; for the Earl of *Northampton* entred *Litchfield*, drove the Parliaments Forces into the *Cloſe*, and after that defeats Sir *John Gell* and Sir *William Brereton*; but the brave Earl was killed at the head of his Forces. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* in the North overthrew the Parliaments Forces Commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* at *Bradford*, Sir *William Waller* is defeated in the Weſt. Prince *Rupert* takes *Briſtol*, Prince *Maurice Exeter*, *Biddiford*, *Barnſtaple*, *Appelford* and *Dartmouth*: Colonel *Hambden* is routed and mortally wounded at *Chalgrave* Field, by Prince *Rupert*. And now the King had two Conquering Armies in the North and Weſt, and the Parliament had no conſiderable ſtrength to oppoſe them; ſo that if either the King or the Marqueſs

The King's ill Conduct.

queſs of *Newcaſtle*, had marched directly to *London*, they might have put an end to the War, but inſtead of this the King was perſwaded, contrary to his own Opinion, to ſit down before *Glouceſter*, and the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* before *Hull*, and ſo gave the Parliament an opportunity to recruit *Eſſex*'s ſhattered Army, and to procure the *Scots* to bring an Army into *England* again, to aſſiſt the Parliament. In this Treaty between the Parliament and the *Scots* to obtain their Help, you may ſee what Religion ſignified with the Parliament, the year before they took a National Proteſtation, *To maintain the true Proteſtant Religion expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of* England * *and according to their Duty and Allegiance, to maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subjects*, but now the *Scots* would not move a Foot, unleſs the Parliament would joyn with them in their Covenant, which ill agreed with their Proteſtation, and yet the Parliament ſubmitted to it, after Sir *Henry Vane* had been ſo kind to blot out the word *Covenant*, and to make the Article, *That they ſhould ſubmit to the Diſcipline of the Kirk of* Scotland, *according to the word of God*, and ſo left room for Independency and all other Sects whatſoever.

A. D. 1643.

The Parliaments Religion.

* *This is left out in* Whitlock's *Memoirs.*

The Parliament having recruited the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Troops, he forc'd his paſſage and relieved *Glouceſter*; the King's Army retreat to *Newbury*, where it was charged by *Eſſex*, and worſted, and there was killed the Learned Lord *Faulkland*, and the Brave *Caernarvan* and *Sunderland*. The King's ill ſucceſs before *Glouceſter* was attended by worſe in the Lord of *Newcaſtle* at *Hull*; for the place being Mooriſh and Sickly, his whole Army fell into Fluxes, and other Diſeaſes, that forced him to raiſe the Siege. Here Sir *John Hotham* being offended that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, treated with the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* to deliver *Hull* to the King, which being either ſuſpected or diſcovered to the Parliament; Sir *John* and his Son were both ſent to *London*, and ſoon after loſt their Heads. *March* the 29*th*, the King's Army Commanded by *Gen. Forth* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was totally routed near *Wincheſter*, by Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and ſoon after Captain *Swanly* ſecured *Milford Haven*,

Newbury Fight.

1644.

A. D. 1644

ven, *Haverford West* and all *Pembrookshire*, for the Parliament. *April* the 11*th*, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, Sir *Thomas*, took *Selby* in *Yorkshire* by Storm, and in it Colonel *Bellasis* the Governour, with most of the other Officers, and 1600 private Soldiers, with 14 pieces of Canon. To qualifie these Losses in some measure, the King, about the latter end of *June* Fights *Waller* at *Cropredy* Bridge, and routs him, kills 300 of his Men; *Weems*, General of the Ordnance was taken Prisoner, with 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 3 Captains, several other Officers, and 1800 private Soldiers, with 14 Pieces of Cannon.

Marston-Moor Fight.

But this small Victory held no proportion with the Irreparable loss which the King sustained in the North; for *York* being besieged by the united Forces of *Manchester*, both the *Fairfax*'s and *Lesly* General of the *Scots*; Prince *Rupert* with all the Powers he could raise, after he had relieved *Latham* House in *Lancashire*, *so bravely defended by the Countess of* Darby, marched to the relief of it: Whereupon the Parliament's Forces rais'd the Siege, and the Prince fetching a Compass about relieved *York*, and joyning with the Marques of *Newcastle*, he was 27000 strong; with which Army he march'd to *Marstone Moor*, whither Parliament Forces were gone before him. On *July* the 3 both Armies engaged, and the Prince with the Left Wing charged the Parliaments Right, and routed and persued them far; so did General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major General *Porter* rout the Main Body of the Parliaments Army; so that all the Parliament Generals, *Fairfax*, *Manchester* and *Lesly*, gave up all for lost; but the Prince, as he did before at *Edgehill*, pursuing the Enemy too far, gave Sir *Thomas Fairfax* an opportunity to rally his Forces, and joyning with *Cromwel*'s Regiment of *Iron-sides*, fell upon the Right Wing of the King's Army, and routed them, and also the rest of the King's Foot, who wanting the assistance of the Horse, were soon vanquish'd. In this Engagement about 7000 were slain, 3000 of the King's Party taken Prisoners, and 25 Ordnance, 44 Colours, 10000 Arms, two Wagons laden with Carbins and Pistols, 130 Barrels of Powder, with all the Bag and Baggage. After this *York* was surrendred, the Marquels of *Newcastle* went beyond Sea, and the whole North of *England* was reduced

duced in Obedience to the Parliament; and though in the Weſt the King had ſome ſucceſs againſt *Eſſex* and other Parliamentarians, yet in general the Tyde run againſt the King, and his Forces grew weaker every day. A. D. 1644.

January the 10*th*, 1644, *William Laud*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, after he had been kept Four Years a Priſoner in the *Tower*, his rents Sequeſtred, his Books, Papers and all his Goods ſeized. His Charge was a Conſtructive Treaſon under ſeveral Heads, reducible into two particulars, *viz. For endeavouring a Subverſion of the Laws of the Land*; *and* 2dly, *A like endeavour to overthrow the Proteſtant Religion.* His Tryal was at the Lord's Bar, and Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, his profeſs'd Enemy, was made his Proſecutor; wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his Offences, though when all that could be alledged againſt him at 23 days ſeveral hearings, nothing that amounted to Treaſon could be proved againſt him, in the Opinion of their own Set of Judges and the Houſe of Lords; till it was pack'd for a purpoſe to deſtroy him: But the *Scots*, who were at that time very prevalent, would not be ſatisfied unleſs he were put to death, that they might with more eaſe aboliſh Epiſcopacy, and uſher in their Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, and therefore by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons he was adjudged Guilty of High-Treaſon, tho at the Paſſing this Ordinance in the Houſe of Lords, there were but ſix Peers preſent, *viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembrook*, *Salisbury* and *Bulingbrook*, and the Lords *North* and *Gray* of *Wark*. He ended his Life with ſo much Chearfulneſs, Modeſty, Aſſurance and Piety, that his greateſt Enemies preſent, who came to behold the Execution with Hearts full of Joy, return'd back with their Eyes full of Tears. In the management of the Tryal againſt him I cannot but take notice that there was one Thread that run through his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd, and that was his *Inclination to Popery*, *and his deſign to introduce the Romiſh Religion*, which was all ſo Falſe, Malitious and Scandalous, that it needs no other Confutation than his *Immortal Book againſt* Fiſher, *and his Declaration at his Death.* It was this great Man's

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A. D. 1644. misfortune to die at a time when his Enemies had all the Power in their own hands, and when none durſt appear in his Vindication; ſo that many were prejudiced againſt him, becauſe they could know him by no other Character than what his Enemies were pleaſed to give him; which ſince the Publication of Mr. *Wharton's Hiſtory of the troubles and tryal of that great Man*, have changed their Sentiments into a more favourable opinion of his Life and Actions; for certainly in ſpite of Malice he was a Man of an Elevated Capacity, and Vaſt Deſigns; a great encourager of Learning and Learned Men, and ſpared no Pains or Coſt to enrich *England* with ſuch a noble Collection of Books and Manuſcripts, in moſt Languages, as look'd rather like the Bounty of a King, than of a Subject; and as he left behind him many laſting Monuments of his Beneficence to the Learned World, ſo he was in a fair way to have carried it much further, if his misfortunes had not interven'd, and his Enemies prevailed, to deprive Learning of ſo great and powerful a Benefactor. But ſince his pretended Inclination to Popery was his greateſt Crime, give me leave to diſabuſe the Reader, by giving him the Copy of two Letters that ſhew what Opinion they had of him at *Rome*; both from Men of great Integrity.

I Do remember, that being Chaplain to the Honourable Sir Lionel Talmaſh, *Baronet, about the year* 1666. *I heard him relate to ſome Perſons of Quality, how that in his younger days he was at* Rome, *and well acquainted with a certain Abbot, which Abbot ask'd him whether he heard any News from* England? He Anſwered, *No.* The Abbot replied, *Then I will tell you ſome, Arch-Biſhop* Laud *is Beheaded.* Sir *Lionel* anſwer'd, *You are ſorry for that, I preſume,* The Abbot repli'd again, *That they had more cauſe to rejoyce; that the greateſt Enemy of the Church of* Rome *in* England *was cut off, and the greateſt Champion of the Church of* England *was ſilenc'd. Or in words to that purpoſe, in witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my Hand this* 28th *of* September, 1694.

Johna Whiſton *Vicar of* Betherſden *in* Kent.

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A. D. 1645

I Was at Rome *in the Company of divers of the* Engliſh *Fathers, when the News of the Arch-Biſhops ſuffering, and a Copy of his Sermon made upon the Scaffold, came thither. They read the Sermon and Commented upon it with no ſmall Satisfaction and Contempt; and looked upon him as one that was a great Enemy to them, and ſtood in their way*; whilſt one of the Blackeſt Crimes imputed to him was his being Popiſhly Affected.

John Evelyn.

The Self Denying Ordinance.

The year 1645 begins with the *Self Denying Ordinance*, as they called it, which the Lords refuſing to comply with the Commons in, it begot a Rupture between the two Houſes, & work'd the ruin of the Parliaments as well as the King's deſigns: However, the Commons paſs'd it, *and no Member of Parliament muſt bear any Office in the Army, except* Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton *and Sir* William Waller. Hereupon *Eſſex*, *Denbigh* and *Mancheſter* lay down their Commiſſions; and 'tis obſervable, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, as he was the firſt that Headed an Army againſt the King, and whoſe Intereſt was ſo great, that 'twas thought the Parliament could not have raiſed an Army without him, is now the firſt that was Diſcarded by the Parliament, without giving any Reaſon. In this new Eſtabliſhment of the Army, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, *Cromwell*, Lieutenant General, *Skippon*, Major General, in which new diviſion of the Army the Royaliſts promiſed themſelves mountains of Advantages, but it ſucceeded quite contrary; for, upon the 3*d*. of *April*, *Fairfax* having gathered his Army together at *Windſor*, he ſent *Cromwell* with a Brigade of Horſe and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horſe which Prince *Rupert* had ſent from *Worceſter*, to fetch off the King from *Oxford*, with a Train of Artillery to take the Field; which *Cromwell* met at *Iſlip* and routed them, took 200 Horſe, and from thence march'd and took *Bletchingdon* Houſe, Commanded by Colonel *Windebank*, Son of Sir *Francis*, who Surrendred at the firſt Summons; for which being Sentenc'd by a Court Martial, he was ſhot to Death. But *Cromwell* had not ſuch good ſucceſs at *Farringdon*, which he Aſſaulted, and was beaten off with the loſs of 200 of his Men. The King underſtanding that *Fairfax* had a deſign to beſiege *Oxford*, ſent to Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring*, to fetch him off,

A. D. 1645. which they did about the beginning of *May*. Then the King march'd and reliev'd *Chester*, and, in his return, takes *Leicester* by Storm. This made *Fairfax* at a loss, for if he had continued the siege of *Oxford*, he had left all the Midland parts of *England* to the King's mercy; so he raised his siege, and march'd to fight the King's Army.

Naseby Fight. Now it was first resolved, by the Advice of the Lord *Astly*, that the King should march Northward, but next morning Order was given to prepare to Fight, and so forward was the King in this resolve, that he marched to meet *Fairfax*'s Army, near *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*; and if the resolution to Fight was Rash and Inconsiderate, so was the Fight, for Prince *Rupert*, who Commanded the Right Wing of the King's Horse, charged the Left Wing of the Parliament's, Commanded by *Ireton*, and routed them, wounding *Ireton* in the Thigh, and as before at *Edge-Hill* and *Marston Moor*, pursu'd the Enemy so far, that he left the rest of the Army exposed to the Assaults of the Enemy: so here he followed the Chace almost to *Naseby*, leaving the Left Wing of the King's Army, Commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, open to be charged by *Cromwell*, who joyning with *Fairfax*, obtained an absolute Victory over the *King*'s Army. In this Fight the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Astly*, and Colonel *Russel*, were wounded, and 20 Colonels, Knights and considerable Officers, and 600 private Soldiers were killed on the *King*'s side; and 6 Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 200 Ensigns and other Officers, and 4500 private Soldiers were taken Prisoners; 12 pieces of Cannon, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages with all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Pillage, 3000 Horse, one of the King's Coaches, with his Cabinets of Letters and Papers: And the King fled towards *Wales*.

After this great loss the King's Garrisons surrendred by heaps, and his Affairs being desperate in *England*, all his hopes was now of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Montross* had almost Conquer'd it from one end to the other, and there was no visible Army to oppose him; but at length these blooming hopes were also blasted, for *Montross* having lost a great part of his Army, was forced to retreat into the *Highlands*, and there Act Defensively. Under these Disappointments and Distresses, the

The King pacifies the Scots.

the King finding no ſecurity for his Perſon; for the Parliament refuſed to permit him to come to *London*, unleſs he would ſign their Propoſitions; the *French* Ambaſſador adviſed him to throw himſelf upon the *Scots*, where you may obſerve that tho' *Richlieu* was dead, *Mazarine* continued the Correſpondence between *France* and *Scotland*, which ſtill were Penſioners to *France*. The King, having no other choice, accompanied only by Mr. *Hudon*, a Miniſter, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, puts himſelf into the Power of the *Scots*; then beſieging *Newark*, and, to avoid his preſent ill Circumſtances, ſeeks Protection from thoſe that had brought him into them: And, who inſtead of protecting him, will make a Bargain and Sale of him; for now having him in their power, they reſolve to make a double Market of him: Firſt, that he ſhould order *Montroſs* to Disband his Army and retire out of *Scotland*, and then to Sell him to the Parliament for the utmoſt Groat they could procure. That of *Montroſs* was no ſooner asked but it was granted: The Parliament alſo deſire the *King* to give Order, that the *Engliſh* Garriſons ſhould ſurrender, which was alſo granted: So here we end the Wars in *England* and *Scotland*, between the *King* and *Parliament* at preſent. A. D. 1646

The Wars ended.

And now you'll think it ſtrange, that the ending of theſe Wars ſhould begin the ruin of the Parliament and the *Scotch* Covenanters, yet ſo e'er long you will find it come to paſs. The *Scots* having got their Ends by diſbanding *Montroſs* his Army, yet the Bargain for the Sale of the *King* being a mighty matter to the *Scots*, required a longer time, for they would not loſe *a Bodle of what they could get for him*, therefore, tho' the *King* put himſelf into their hands the 5*th.* of *May* 1646, yet the Bargain and Sale was not concluded till *January* following: Which was, *That the* Scots *ſhould receive* 200000 *l. in hand, and* 200000 *l. more when they had delivered up* Berwick *and other* Engliſh *Garriſons they were Poſſeſſed of, to the Parliament.* Then the *Scots* abounding with *Engliſh* Money, returned into their own Country, and the Parliament having Bought the *King*, confine him to *Holmby*, a Houſe of his own in *Northamptonſhire*, under the Guard of a ſelect company of Covenanters. And now the *King*'s Enemies think they have a ſure Game on't.

A. D. 1646.

But see the Instability of Humane Affairs, where they are not Established in Truth and Righteousness; for the *Scots* Directory, Catechism and Ecclesiastical Discipline, agreed as ill with the *English* Genius, as the *English* Liturgy, Canons and High Commission agreed with the *Scots*, and tho' the Cavalier Party being under the Hatches, said but little, yet the Brawls and Invectives between the Presbyterians and the new Sects that were spawn'd from them, were as fierce as those formerly between the Arminians and the Calvinists, so that things were not like to continue long in this posture. The Parliament were apprehensive that the temper of the Army, whose Principles were Anti-Presbyterian, were against their Interest, and therefore they resolv'd to send 18000 of them into *Ireland*, under the Command of Major General *Skippon*, and only to keep up 6000 Foot in *England*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

Differences among the Parliamentarians.

Cromwell being aware that the Parliament design'd to lay him aside as an Useless, yet Dangerous Tool, he by his Independant Agents, spreads a Report, *That the Parliament would Disband the Army without paying them their Arrears*, which rais'd such a ferment among them, that they chose two of every Regiment which they call *Adjutators*, to whom they gave Power to hold Councils, and judge what was fit to be done for the common Good. Their Proceedings startled the Parliament, and in a great measure the Colonels and Officers of the Army, who concluded that none but *Cromwell's* going to them, could restrain that Usurpt Authority. *Cromwell* also knew that these *Adjutators* struck at him as well as the other Officers, and therefore when a Debate arose in the House of Commons, about Suppressing them, *He profess'd, and call'd God to Witness, that he believed the Soldiers would at the first Word of his Command, throw down their Arms at the Parliaments Feet, and solemnly swore, that he rather wish'd himself and his whole Family burnt, than that the Army should break out into Sedition*: And the Parliament having Faith enough to believe him, he was sent down to appease the Army. *Cromwell* Order'd a general Muster of the Army at *New-Market* Heath, to which the *Levelling* Party, (for so they were called) refused to come; upon which *Cromwel* sent to them to send some of their number to him, to treat of their Grievances, which they did; and when

The Council of Adjutators.

when they came, *Cromwell*, with an undaunted Courage Piſtol'd Three of the boldeſt of them, and ſeizing the reſt, the *Levellers* ſubmitted. A.D. 1646

The *Sectaries*, of which the Army was now generally compos'd, tho' they had the Sword in their Hands, yet they had no Authority to recur to; for the *Presbyterian* Members in both Houſes were Three to One; therefore giving themſelves Authority, they ſent *Cornet Joice* with a Party of Horſe to *Holmby*, to take the King out of the Parliaments Cuſtody, and bring him to the Army; and now this poor Prince is fallen into the Hands of another ſort of Enemies who intended him as little good as the former, and yet in the Higheſt Degree of Hypocriſie; *lament the hard Conditions the Members impoſe upon him, not only in his Liberty, but in keeping him from his Friends and Children, profeſſing they would allow him both, and never lay down their Arms, till they had put the Scepter into his Hands, and procured him better Conditions for his Friends.* In order hereunto they ſeem to join the King's Intereſt with their own, and in their Declaration for redreſs of Grievances, *Declare for the King and the People, and that the Members preſix a certain time for their Sitting, ſo that a New Parliament may be called, and the Nation ſettled upon a ſure Foundation*; and in the concluſion, charge Eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons with Treaſon. *The Army ſeize the K.*

In Oppoſition to theſe Proceedings of the Army, both Houſes of Parliament Order,

1. *That the King ſhould reſide at* Richmond.
2. *That he ſhould be attended by the ſame Perſon that he was at* Holmby.
3. *That Colonel* Roſſiter's *Regiment ſhould Guard him.*

But the Army inſtead of Complying with this Order, ſent a Repreſentation to the Parliament, wherein they propoſed, *That the Houſe might be Purged of ſuch Members as were not fit to ſit there*; and as to the King's going to *Richmond*, the General deſired to be excuſed, intreating them not to Command that, till things were more at quiet, and that they would appoint the King to reſide no nearer *London* than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be. After which the King was Conveyed to *Royſton*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Cauſum*, while *The Army oppoſe and give Laws to their Maſters.*

A. D. 1646 the Army Quarter'd at *Reading*, from whence, when the General march'd with his Army to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedford*'s at *Ouburn-Abby*, and during all this time, he was received with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Love and Duty; ſome of his Chaplains were admitted to him, who Read the Common-Prayer as formerly, and the way was open to all thoſe of his own Party that were deſirous to ſee him. In this time the Members that favour'd the Army, and the Speakers of both Houſes went to the Army, and there complain'd of Violences offer'd to the Parliament, tho' none were done. After four Days Adjournment, the Houſes met again, and the Peers choſe the Lord *Hunſden* for their Speaker, and the Commons, Mr. *Henry Pelham*, and paſs'd theſe Votes.

Some Members deſert.

1. *That the King ſhould come to* London.

2. *That the Malitia of* London *ſhould be Authoriz'd to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the City.*

3. *That Power be given to the ſame Militia to chuſe a General.* And

4. *That the Eleven Impeached Members ſhould take their Places in Parliament.*

The Citizens arm'd with theſe Powers, proceed to raiſe Forces under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Maſſy*, and Colonel *Pointz*; but upon better Conſideration, that they were like to do little good againſt an old experienc'd and Victorious Army: That the Burrough of *Southwark* was for the Army: That a Party of the Army had ſeiz'd upon the Block-houſe at *Graves-end*, and had blocked up the City by Water towards the Eaſt, and the Army to the Weſt; the Aldermen, and Common Council of the City deſert their three Generals, and ſent to *Fairfax* for a Pacification, which he Granted them upon theſe Conditions.

That they ſhould deſert the Parliament then Sitting, and the Eleven Members.

That they ſhould Recall their Declaration lately publiſhed.

That they ſhould Relinquiſh their preſent Militia.

That they ſhould Deliver up all their Forts, and the Tower of London, *to the General.*

That they ſhould Disband all the Forces they had lately raiſed, and do all other things which were neceſſary for

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the Publick Tranquility. All which the City ſubmitted to: So the Speakers and Members which had run to the Army returned again, and Annul'd all the Acts and Orders which had paſs'd ſince the 26th. of *July.* Now the Militia of *London* being ſettled to the Armies good Liking, the General march'd out of *London*, and Quarter'd his Army in the Towns and adiacent Villages, only leaving ſome Regiments about *White-hall*, and the *Mews*, to Guard the Parliament. His head Quarters being at *Putney*, and the King about the middle of *Auguſt* was lodged at his Palace at *Hampton-Court.* Now both the Parliament and Army ſeem to Court the King, and the Parliament ſent Propoſitions of Peace to him, the ſame that they ſent to him at *New-Caſtle*, which you may Read in *Whitlock*'s Memoirs: And now the Myſtery of Iniquity begins to work, for *Cromwell* being fearful that the King ſhould agree with the Parliament, gave Inſtructions to ſome of his Creatures, that if the King would not aſſent to the Parliaments Propoſitions, the Army would ſettle him in his Throne: Hereupon the King made Anſwer to the Parliament, *That he waved their Terms, and would rely upon the Propoſitions made him by the Army, and deſired there might be a Treaty appointed to conſider them.* Upon Reading this Anſwer, a Day was appointed by both Houſes to conſider of it. In the mean time *Cromwell* conſidering, that he could not accompliſh what he had projected, while the King was ſo near the Parliament and City, as *Hampton-Court*, therefore he ſent privately to the King, that he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the Malice which the *Adjutators* bore him, and that he would be in more ſafety in the *Iſle of Wight*: Hereupon the King makes his Eſcape thither by Night, accompani'd by Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Leg*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, which was morally impoſſible to have been done, if *Cromwell* and his Agents had not put the King upon it.

A. D. 1647

They return again.

Cromwell's Artifices.

The King goes to the Iſle of Wight.

From the *Iſle of Wight*, the King gave Notice to the Parliament where he was, *And that he had withdrawn himſelf upon no other Conſideration but the Security of his Life, againſt which he was informed there was a Conſpiracy, and that he was willing to hearken to Terms of Accommodation.* The Parliament were at firſt Surpriz'd at this unexpected News, tho' not Diſpleas'd to hear he was in the *Iſle of Wight*, and therefore upon the 10th. of *September*, Order'd,

A. D. 1647

1. *That he ſhould continue there, and in the Caſtle.*

2. *That none that have bore Arms againſt the Parliament, but Inhabitants that have Compounded, ſhould remain in that Iſland.*

3. *That no Delinquent or Foreigner, ſhould be admitted to come to him, without leave of the Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland, *and that Propoſitions ſhould ſpeedily be ſent to him.*

4. *That* 5000 l. *ſhould be advanced for his Accomodation.*

5. *And that it ſhould be conſider'd who ſhould attend his Perſon.*

After this the Lords and Commons ſent ſeveral Propoſitions to the King, which the King refuſing to ſign, as being proteſted againſt by the Scotch Commiſſioners, and that he would have a Peace concluded that might comprehend all Intereſts, the former ſeeming Concord and Kindneſs in the Parliament, was changed into theſe angry Votes.

1. *That they will make no further Application, or Addreſſes to the King.*

2. *That no Addreſſes, or Applications, be made to the King by any other Perſon whatſoever, without leave from both Houſes.*

3. *That the Perſon, or Perſons that ſhall make a Breach of this Order, ſhall incur the Penalty of High Treaſon.*

4. *That they will receive no more Meſſages from the King, and that no Perſon do preſume to bring any Meſſages from the King to both, or either Houſes of Parliament, or any other Perſon.*

The Nation Diſcontented.

Theſe Votes were generally diſlik'd by all the Sober Party of *England*, as openly diſcovering that the Parliament intended to Subvert the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and ſet up an Arbitrary Power of their own: Which cauſed an Inſurrection in *London*, another in *Wales*, and many other Places in the Kingdom: And while ſome, by Arms, were endeavouring to Free their Country from Vaſſalage to their fellow Subjects, others attempted milder ways, and by Petitions to obtain their *Common Right*, which would not without much effuſion of Blood be procured by Force. The County of *Eſſex* was the firſt that began this Juſt and Peaceable way of Proceeding, Supplicating the Parliament, *That the Army might be Paid and Disbanded; and the King admitted to a Perſonal Treaty.* *Surrey* followed, but in higher Terms,

Terms, for which they were beaten and wounded by the Soldiers at *Weſtminſter*, when they came to deliver their Petition. *London* was the next, but they were better treated. The *Kentiſh* Men finding thoſe of *Surry* ſo barbarouſly uſed, when they came in a peaceable way to Petition the Parliament, they reſolved to make their requeſts with their Swords in their hands, and to that purpoſe aſſembled a numerous Body at *Maidſtone*, which were routed by the Lord *Fairfax*. *Colcheſter* was alſo Garriſoned for the King, by divers Men of Quality, and after a Siege of Eleven Weeks, being reduced to ſuch extreme Famine that they were forced to eat Horſe Fleſh, Cats and Dogs, and at laſt wanted that courſe kind of Food alſo, they were forced to Surrender, upon which the every way brave Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were ſhot to death, contrary to Articles. The Earl of *Holland* alſo Headed a freſh Inſurrection at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; his chiefeſt Aſſociates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Brother the Lord *Francis Villers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*. They were encountred near *Nonſuch* Park by Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons*, where the Lord *Francis Villers* refuſing Quarter was killed, with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s; many were taken Priſoners, *Dalbeir* was killed, the Earl of *Holland* fled to St. *Neods*, and was taken by Colonel *Scroop*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped beyond Seas.

A. D. 1648

Several Inſurrections

The Parliament endeavoured to pleaſe the *Scots*, by Voting them their Arrears, and paſſing an Ordinance, *July* the 24*th*, to Eſtabliſh the *Presbyterian Government in* England *and* Ireland; but this would not ſerve their turn, *unleſs the King might be brought to* London, *the Army disbanded, and a laſting Peace be ſettled between the two Kingdoms*; which being delayed, the *Scots* marched an Army into *England* the 13*th* of *July*, under the Command of Duke *Hamilton*, who joyned with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, General of the *Engliſh* for the King; they fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appelby* in *Weſtmoreland*, and forced him to retreat. The *Scots* ſtaid ſome time at *Kendal* to refreſh themſelves, and afterwards marched into *Lancaſhire*, intending for *London*, which the Army reſolv'd to hinder, and therefore Rendezvous'd at *Preſton*, where *Cromwel* and *Lambert* joining, the Armies faced each other. Major *Smithſon* Commanded the Forlorn of the

The Scots *came into* England.

A. D. 1648

Preſton Fight.

the *Engliſh*, and charg'd the *Scotch* Van ſo furiouſly that they routed them, and allarm'd the whole Army. The Battel join'd on a Moor, and two miles Eaſt from *Preſton*: The Fight was very hot and bloody for about two hours, then the *Scots* gave ground, and the *Engliſh* follow'd them ſo hard that they were forced to divide, one part amounting to about 3000 moving toward *Lancaſter*, were followed and diſperſed by Colonel *Twiſleton* and Colonel *Thornlow*, who took multitudes of them Priſoners. The other part of the Horſe and Foot, march'd over *Ribble Bridge*, where they made a ſtand, and ſtoutly defended the Paſs for about two hours, even to Puſh of Pike, but then were forced to Retreat. Paſſing through *Wiggan*, they Plundered the Town, and march'd toward *Warrington*, the *Engliſh* ſtill perſuing them. Near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Poſt, made another Halt, but were beaten off again, with the loſs of 1000 Men, and were perſued to the very Bridge, where the Foot in number about 4000, being Deſerted by the Horſe, laid down their Arms and ſubmitted to Mercy. *Hamilton* eſcaped with 3000 Horſe to *Nantwich*, where the whole Country being up in Arms, they were moſt of them taken: *Hamilton* himſelf was met at *Utoxeter*, nd there ſubmitted to *Grey* of *Grooby*. In this Fight the *Engliſh* took more priſoners than their whole Army amounted to.

Cromwel *march'd into* Scotland.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a reſerve of *Scots*, but he being recall'd, *Cromwel* marched into *Scotland*, and having made good Terms for his Maſters, returned again into *England*. Whilſt the Armies were buſied in fighting, the Parliament were plyed with Petitions from *London*, and the ſeveral Counties of *England*, *for a Treaty with the King*, and they being freed from the Inſolency of the Army by their diſtance from them, were well inclined to it, and knowing the King was of the ſame mind, the Parliament readily Voted,

That the Votes of Non Addreſſes ſhould be recalled.

That ſuch perſons as he ſhould ſend for, as neceſſary to him in the Treaty be admitted.

That he be in the ſame ſtate of freedom as at Hampton-Court, *with ſuch Servants as he deſired.*

That Five Lords and Ten Commoners, be choſen Commiſſioners

missioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport *in the* Isle of Wight, *and that the King be admitted to invite the* Scots *thereunto, to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.* A. D. 1648

Monday being the 11*th* of *September*, the Treaty began: The Propositions were Eleven in Number. The first was,

For calling in all the King's Declarations. This the King assented to with this Proviso, *That no advantage should be made, neither by this Concession nor any other, unless the whole were concluded.*

The second was concerning the Setlement of the Church In reference to which, the King condescended, *to Settle the Directory, to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly of Divines, and to establish the* Presbyterian *Government for three years, reserving liberty to himself and his Party to use the Old Form:* But would not agree to the utter Abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands. *The Propositions and Answer.*

The third Proposition was, *For settling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years wholly:* To which the King consented.

Likewise the fourth, *For remitting the Government of* Ireland, *both Civil and Military, to the two Houses at* Westminster.

And the fifth and sixth, *For nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away the Great Seal, and for payment of Publick Debts.*

The seventh Proposition, *concerning Delinquent, which were very Severe*: The King moderated them.

The eighth, *For impowering the Parliament to appoint all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates, for twenty years*; He agreed to. And to

The ninth, *For confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it.* And to

The tenth, *For ratifying all Privileges, Grants, Charters and Immunities, to the City of* London, *Authority to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia be confirmed to them: And the Citizens to be Exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliaments appointment.*

The last was, *For the Total Extermination of the Court of Wards*, Which the King also consented to under this Condition: *That a Hundred Thousand Pounds should be yearly paid him in lieu of it.*

After

A. D. 1641

After this the Members met upon the first Day of *November*, and Vote *the King's Concessions to be a sufficient Ground for a Peace*, and now every body thought the King and Parliament would have United; but it was too late, for those that formerly might have saved the King if they would, to pretend to it now, was all but a jest; for while the King was Treating of Peace at the *Isle of Wight* with the Parliaments Commissioners, the Officers of the Army were contriving the Destruction of both, and many private meetings were had, both there and at *London*, by the *Levellers* and *Independants*, about a Frame of Government, in which they proceeded far, to little purpose, for they could never please themselves in their own Models. When this project would not take, they framed a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Parliament by Six of their Officers, inclosed in a Letter from the General, Dated *November* the 10th.

The Army Out-Plot the Parliament.

Requiring that the King be brought to Justice, as the principal cause of all the Evils of the Civil Wars.

Secondly, *That a Peremptory Day be set for summoning the Prince of* Wales, *and Duke of* York, *and if they refuse to come, to declare them uncapable of Government or Succession, and to stand exil'd as Traytors; and if they rendred themselves, yet to be proceeded against for Satisfaction, and the Revenues of the Crown to be Sequestred.*

Thirdly, *That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.*

And lastly they concluded, *Desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Country of Free-Quarter*, and Request, *That a Period may be put to this Parliament, and care taken to Elect new Representatives; and that no King should be admitted for the Future, but upon Election of, and upon Trust for the People, to be limited by the Representatives.*

The King Removed to Hurst-Castle.

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* Commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters, to deliver up his charge of the King's person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the *Isle of Wight* to *Hurst Castle*, the 30th of *Nov.* but the Parliament declared their ill Resentment of this Action, and Voted, That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, was without the Advice & Consent of the two Houses, And thus the Treaty was

Violently

Violently broken off, and the Army being now come up to *London*, they Quarter'd themſelves at *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, the *Mews*, and in the Neighbouring Villages, reſolving to hinder the Proceedings in Parliament. To that end, when the Members were to ſit again, they beſet all the Avenues to the Houſe with Soldiers, excluding all the Members that were not of their Faction, from entering the Houſe, ſome of which they committed to Priſon, and others to Guards in ſeveral Inns in *Weſtminſter*. The Commons being diſpleaſed at theſe Proceedings, Adjourned for four or five days, in which time the Army having long conceived was delivered of a *Model of Government*, wherein, among other things, as ridiculous as *Cant* could make it, they propoſed, *That the preſent Parliament ſhould be Diſſolved the laſt of* April *next, and that the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, ſhould conſiſt of three Hundred Perſons, half which number ſhould ſuffice, to make an act of Law, and that in the intervals of Parliaments, a Council of State ſhould Govern.* This with a few other Modifications, they ſtiled *the Agreement of the People*, and ſent it to the Houſe by Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and Sixteen Officers, when the Houſe new Moulded by the Army, met again; for beſides thoſe they forced out, a great number voluntarily abſented themſelves, and now the Houſe being Packt according to the Armies Humour, they to manifeſt their Submiſſion to their Sovereign Lord the *Army*, reſtored the Votes of *Non Addreſſes*, *Repeal'd thoſe which approved of the King's Conceſſions*; and Voted. *That no Meſſage be received from the King upon pain of Treaſon: That the General ſhould take care of his Perſon, and that the Council of State ſhould draw up a Charge of Treaſon againſt him.* Accordingly ſome of the chief Sticklers in this Horrid Action, preferr'd an Indictment in *Hampſhire*, againſt the King for Treaſon, which by the Grand Jury was returned *Ignoramus*, by the Advice of *Mainard*, becauſe there was but one Witneſs to each Fact, and the Law required Two.

A. D. 1648.

The Junct's Votes.

December the 10*th*, the King was brought from *Hurſt-Caſtle*, by a ſtrong Guard to *Wincheſter*, next day to *Farnham*, and next day after to *Windſor*: In the mean time the two Houſes differ'd among themſelves; the Commons affirm'd it was Treaſon for the King to Levy War againſt the Common-Wealth, and

The King brought to Windſor.

drew

A. D. 1648. drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traytor. The Lds denyed that the K. could Commit Treason against the Common-Wealth, and therefore threw the *Ordinance of the Commons over the Bar, declared, That no Act of the Commons is binding without their Consent*, and Adjourned for a Fortnight. Upon this, the Commons Voted, *That the House of Lords were useless and dangerous, and that all Members and others, appointed to act in any Ordinance with the Peers, are impowred and injoyned to sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the Peers joined not therein.*

January the 6th, the Ordinance for the King's Tryal was turned into an Act of the *Junto Commons* only, which was Ingross'd, and Proclamation made two days after in *Westminster-hall*, *Cheapside*, and at the *Old Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it, while a Subborn'd Faction in the City, petition'd the House for Justice against the King, and *Hillary* Term beginning the 23 of *Jan.* was adjourned till 14 days after, to give place to the Proceedings against him. *Jan.* 19th, the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James*'s-House, and all things were prepared for his Dismal Tragedy; in which the *Junto* proceeded, notwithstanding the Dissent of the *House of Lords*, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland* against it. The Pretended Act of this *Junto*, which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a New Tribunal called *the High-Court of Justice*, who were impowred to Convene, Hear, Judge and Execute *Charles Stewart*, King of *England*. His Title in Writs they Abrogated, Order'd the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, a New Seal was made with a *Cross for* England, *and a Harp for* Ireland, with these words, *The Great Seal of* England, and on the Reverse, *The Picture of the House of Commons sitting*, with these words, *In the first year of Liberty by God's blessing restored*, 1648. The Nation was astonished at these Proceedings; for the Person of the King of *England*, by our known Laws, was ever accounted Sacred, and tho his Ministers were accountable for Crimes against the State, yet in no Age, how Barbarous soever was a K. of *England* ever tried by his own Subjects.

From Winsor *to* St. Jame's House.

On *Saturday*, *Jan.* 20, this wicked High Court of Justice sat in *Westminster-Hall*, *John Bradshaw* of *Gray*'s-Inn, being President, and the Persons whose

names

names are here inserted were Commissioners. There were many other persons nominated in the Act, but since they did not think fit to Act in this Infamous Assembly, I shall forbear to record their Names to Posterity. A. D. 1648

Names of the Commissioners.

Oliver Cromwel, *Henry Ireton*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Valentine Walton*, *Thomas Harrison*, *Edward Whalley*, *Thomas Pride*, *Isaac Ewer*, *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, *William* Lord *Mounson*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bouchier*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Robert Wallop*, *William Henningham*, Alderman *Isaac Pennington*, *Henry Martin*, *William Purefoy*, *Gilbert Millington*, *John Barksted*, *John Blackston*, Sir *William Constable*, *Edward Ludlow*, *John Hutchinson*, Sir *Michael Livesey*, Alderman *Robert Tichburn*, *Owen Rowe*, *Robert Lilburn*, *Adrian Scroop*, *Richard Dean*, *John Okey*, *John Hughson*, *William Goff*, *Cornelius Holland*, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, *Francis Allen* Goldsmith, *Peregrine Pelham*, *Thomas Chaloner*, *John Moor*, *William Say*, *John Alured*, *Francis Lassels*, *Henry Smith*, *James Chaloner*, *Humphrey Edwards*, *Gregory Clement*, *John Fry*, *Thomas Wogan*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Serjeant *John Bradshaw*, *Edmund Harvey*, *John Venne* of *London*, *Thomas Scot*, Alderman *Thomas Andrews*, *William Cawley*, *Anthony Stapely*, *John Downs*, *Thomas Horton*, *Thomas Hammond*, *John Lisle*, *Nicholas Love*, *Vincent Potter*, *Augustin Garland*, *John Dixwel*, *George Fleetwood* of *Buckinghamshire*, *Simon Maine*, *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, *Daniel Blagrave*, *Thomas Wayte*.

Officers of the Court.

John Bradshaw was President of this pretended Court. The Counsellors to draw up and present the Charge, were, *Dorislaus*, Dr. of Civil Law, *John Cook* was the States Sollicitor, Serjeant *Danby* the younger Serjeant at Arms, *Daniel Broughton*, *John Phelps* two Clerks attending; *Wallford*, *Radley*, *Pain*, *Powel* and *Hull*, were Messengers and Door-keepers, and Mr. *King* Cryer of the Court. The Court being thus sat and called over, the *King* was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker* with Halberdiers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to a Chair within the Bar, where he sat, and then *Bradshaw* said to the King,

Bradshaw *his Speech.*

'*Charles Stewart*, King of *England*, the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, being sensible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation,

'and

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'and of the innocent Bloodshed which are referr'd to 'you as the Author of it, according to that Duty 'which they owe to God, that Nation, and them-'selves, and according to that Power and Fundamen-'tal Trust repos'd in them by the people, have Con-'stituted this High Court of Justice, before which you 'are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge 'upon which the Court will proceed.

Sollicitor *Cook*. My Lord, *In behalf of the Commons of* England, *and of all the People thereof, I do Accuse* Charles Steuart, *here present, of High-Treason and Misdemeanors; and I do in the name of the Commons of* England *desire the Charge may be Read unto him.*

The King. Hold a little.

Bradshaw. Sir, *The Court commands the Charge to be Read, afterward you may be heard.* The Charge was read, containing in general.

The Substance of the Charge.

'That the said *Charles Steuart*, being admitted King 'of *England*, and trusted with a limited Power, to 'Govern by according to the Laws of the Land, and 'not otherwise, and by his Trust Oath and Office be-'ing obliged to use the power committed to him for 'the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the pre-'servation of their Rights and Liberties: Yet never-'theless out of a wicked design, to erect and uphold in 'himself an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to Rule 'according to his Will, and to over-throw the Rights 'and Liberties of the People, and to take away, and 'make void, the Foundations thereof; He, the said '*Charles Steuart*, for accomplishing such Designs, Trai-'terously and Maliciously levied War against the pre-'sent Parliament, and the People therein represented, 'particularly at *Beverly* in *Yorkshire*, at *Nottingham*, 'where he set up his Standard of War; at *Edg-hill*, '*Keinton-Field*, *Brentford*, *Caversham-Bridge*, *Glou-'cester*, *Newbery*, *Cropredy-Bridge*, *Bodmin*, *Leice-'ster* and *Naseby-field*, at which, and several other 'places, he, the said *Charles Steuart*, caused and 'procured many thousands of the Free People of this 'Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties and In-'surrections in this Land, and Invasion from Foreign 'Parts, and by many other evil Ways and Means, hath 'maintained and carried on the said War by Sea and 'Land, and hath renewed it against the Parliament, 'and good People of this Nation, in this present

'Year

'Year 1648, in the Counties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, A. D.
'*Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and many other Counties and Pla- 1648
'ces in *England* and *Wales*, and alſo by Sea: By which
'Cruel and Unnatural Wars renew'd as aforeſaid, much
'innocent Blood hath been ſpilt, many Families have
'been undone, the publick Treaſure exhauſted, Trade
'obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt Expence and
'Damage to the Nation incurr'd, and many parts of
'the Land ſpoil'd, ſome of them even to Deſolation.

'And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil De-
'ſigns, he the ſaid *Charles Stewart* doth ſtill continue
'his Commiſſions to the Prince of *Wales*, and other
'Rebels and Revolters both *Engliſh* and Foreigners:
'To the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the *Iriſh* Rebels and
'Revolters aſſociated with him, from whom farther
'Invaſions upon this Land are threatned, upon the
'Procurement, and on the Behalf of the ſaid *Charles*
'*Stewart*. All which wicked Deſigns of War, and e-
'vil Practices, are carried on for the advancing and up-
'holding the Perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power,
'and pretended Prerogative to himſelf, and his Family,
'againſt the Publick Intereſt, common Right, Liberty,
'Juſtice, and Peace of the people of this Nation, by,
'and for whom he was Intruſted as aforeſaid. By all
'which it appeareth,

'That he the ſaid *Charles Stewart* hath been, and is
'the Occaſioner, Author and Contriver of the ſaid
'Unnatural, Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein
'Guilty of all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines,
'Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damages and Miſchiefs
'to this Nation, Acted or Committed in the ſaid
'Wars or occaſion'd thereby. And the ſaid *John Cook*
'by Proteſtation, ſaving the Liberty of Exhibiting at
'any time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the
'ſaid *Charles Stewart*, and alſo of Replying to the
'Anſwers which he the ſaid *Charles Stewart* ſhall
'make to the Premiſes, or any of them, or any o-
'ther Charge that ſhall be ſo Exhibited, doth for the
'ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the ſaid
'People of *England*, Impeach the ſaid *Charles Stewart*,
'as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick
'and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of
'*England*, and pray that the ſaid *Charles Stewart*
'King of *England*, may be put to Anſwer all and
'every the Premiſes, that ſuch Proceedings, Exami-

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'nations, Trials, Sentences and Judgment, may be 'thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

The King often ſmiled while the Charge was Reading, eſpecially at theſe Words, *Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy to the Common-wealth.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard your Charge, and you find in the cloſe of it, that the Court is prayed, in behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you Anſwer to your Charge, which the Court now expects.

The King. 'I would know by what Power I am 'call'd hither: I was not long ago in the Iſle of '*Wight*, how I came thither is a longer ſtory than I 'think fit at this time to relate. There I enter'd into a 'Treaty with both Houſes of Parliament, with as much 'faith as is poſſible to be had of any People in the 'World: I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honeſtly and 'uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did Nobly with me: 'We were upon a concluſion of the Treaty: Now I 'would know by what lawful Authority (There are 'many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers 'on the High-way) I was brought from thence, and 'carried from place to place, and I know not what, 'and when I know by what Authority, I ſhall Anſwer. 'Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and 'what ſins you bring upon your own Heads, and the 'Judgment of God upon this Land; think well upon 'it, I ſay, before you go on from one Sin to a greater; 'therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am 'ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to Anſwer. 'In the mean time I ſhall not betray my Truſt: I 'have a Truſt committed to me by God, by Old and 'Lawful Deſcent, and I will not betray it, to An'ſwer to a new Unlawful Authority.

Bradſhaw. If you had been pleas'd to obſerve what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: Which Authority requires you in the Name of the People of *England*, of whom you are Elected King, to Anſwer them.

King. *I deny that.*

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authori'ty of the Court, they muſt proceed.

King. 'I do tell them ſo, *England* was never an 'Elective Kingdom; but an Hereditary Kingdom

'for

'for near these 1000 Years; therefore let me know by 'what lawful Authority I am called hither: I do stand 'more for the Liberty of my People than any here that 'come to be my pretended Judges, and therefore let 'me know by what lawful Authority, and I will An-'swer, otherwise I will not Answer. A. D. 1648.

Bradshaw. How really you have manag'd your Trust, is known; your way of Answer is to Interrogate the Court, which beseems you not in this Condition, you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. 'Here is Lieutenant Colonel *Corbet*, ask him 'if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by force, 'I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will 'stand as much for the Privilege of the House of Com-'mons, Rightly understood, as any Man here, what-'soever; I see no House of Lords here that may Con-'stitute a Parliament, and the King too, it should have 'been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parlia-'ment? Is this the putting an end to the Treaty on 'the publick Faith? Let me see a Lawful Authority 'Warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or 'by the Constitution of the Kingdom. I will not be-'tray my Trust, or the Liberties of my People; I am 'Sworn to keep the Peace by that Duty I owe to God 'and my Country, and I will do it to the last breath 'in my Body. As it is a Sin to withstand lawful Au-'thority, so it is to submit to a Tyrannical or any o-'therwise unlawful Authority.

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till *Monday* next: We are satisfied with our Authority who are your Judges, and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms; and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that's our present work. So the Court adjourned, and the King was Conducted back. They had so con-trived it, that divers Factious Soldiers and Lewd Fel-lows were placed round about the Court to cry Ju-stice, Justice, when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of the People would have bellowed to the same Tune; but they almost all cry'd *God Bless him*; and some of them were well Cudgell'd by the Soldiers for saying so, and not Exclaiming and Reviling him, as the Rebel Army did; yet the Court took no notice of it. So far was his Majesty already Prejudg'd and Con-demn'd to Sufferings.

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Monday, January the 22*d.* the King was brought again to his Tryal.

The Second ſitting.

Sollicitor Cook. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I did at the laſt Court, in behalf of the *Commons of England*, Exhibit, and gave into the Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the Name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was Read unto him, and his Anſwer requir'd. My Lord, he was not then pleas'd to give an Anſwer; but inſtead of anſwering, did diſpute the Authority of this High Court, my humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the Kingdom is, that the Priſoner may be directed to make a Poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation, which if he ſhall refuſe to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *Pro Confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you may remember at the laſt Court, you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard the Charge Read againſt you, *&c.* You heard likewiſe what was prayed on behalf of the People, that you ſhall give an Anſwer to that Charge; you were then pleas'd to make ſome Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and ſaid you knew not by what Authority you was brought hither, you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often Anſwered, that it was by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, Aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account, for thoſe High aud Capital Miſdemeanors, wherewith you then were Charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Conſideration, what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfi'd with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied therewith too; and they do require, that you give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to their Charge exhibited againſt you, they expect you ſhould either Confeſs or Deny. If you deny, it is offered on the behalf of the Kingdom, to be made good againſt you; their Authority they avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied therein, and you are to reſt ſatisfi'd in it, and therefore you are to give a Poſitive Anſwer.

King. 'When I was here laſt, it's true, I made that 'Queſtion, and truly, if it were only my particular 'caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with a Proteſtation

'I made

'I made here the laſt time, againſt the Legality of this 'Court, and that a King cannot be Tryed by any Supe- 'riour Juriſdiction upon Earth; but it is not my caſe 'alone, it is the Freedom and Liberties of the People 'of *England*, and do you pretend what you will, I 'ſtand more for their Liberties than you, for if Power, 'without Laws may make Laws, and may alter the Fun- 'damental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what 'Subject he is in *England*, that can be ſure of his Life, or 'any thing that he calls his own, therefore when I came 'hither, I did expect particular Reaſons to know by 'what Law, by what Authority you proceed againſt me 'here, and therefore I am a little to ſeek what I am to 'ſay to you in this particular, becauſe the Affirmative 'is to be proved, the Negative is often very hard to 'do. I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can. All 'Proceedings againſt any Man whatſoever ——

A. D. 1641

Here *Bradſhaw* ſhew'd his good Manners, and interrupted the King, ſaying, Sir, I muſt interrupt you, what you do, is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Juſtice; you are about to enter into Argument and Diſpute, concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an High Delinquent, you may not Diſpute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to Submit to it, *&c.*

King. *Under favour, I do plead for the Liberty of the People of* England, *more than you do, and therefore if I ſhould impoſe a Belief upon any Man without Reaſons given, it were unreaſonable*----There *Bradſhaw* interrupted him again!

Bradſhaw. Sir I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you; Sir, the Vote of the *Commons of* England, *Aſſembled in Parliament*, is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are thoſe that have given you that Law, according to which you ſhould have Ruled and Reigned. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in Contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be Recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by all the Laws that ever I heard of, all Men may put in Demurrers againſt any Proceedings, as Illegal, and I do demand that, if you Deny that, you Deny Reaſon.*

A. D. 1648

Bradshaw. Sir neither you nor any Man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not Demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they Over-Rule your Demurrer; they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors and you are Responsible to them.

King. *I deny that, shew me one President.*

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. *Sir, I say, by your favour, That the Commons of* England *were never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be so.*

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth, *Charles Stewart, King of* England, *you have been Accused in the behalf of the People of* England *of High Treason, and other High Crimes; the Court hath determin'd that you ought to Answer to the same.*

King. *I will Answer the same, so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradshaw. If this be all you say, then Gentlemen you that brought the Prisoner hither take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give my Reasons, why I did not Answer; and give me time for that.*

Bradshaw. Sir, it is not for Prisoners to Require.

King. *Prisoner! I am not an ordinary Prisoner.*

Bradshaw. The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not Answer, we shall give Order to Record your Fault.

King. *You never heard my Reason yet.*

Bradshaw. Sir your Reasons are not to be heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. *Shew me that Jurisdiction where* Reason *is not to be heard.*

Bradshaw. Sir, we shew it you here: The Commons of *England.* And the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final Determination.

King.

King. *Shew me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.* A. D. 1648

Bradſhaw. Sergeant, take away the Priſoner.

King. *Well, Sir, remember that the King is not ſuffer'd to give in his Reaſons, for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to have Liberty to uſe this Language; how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberty of the People, let all *England*, and the World judge.

King. *Under favour, Sir, it was the Liberty, Freedom and Laws of the Subject that ever I took, I defended my ſelf with Arms, I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws.*

Bradſhaw. The command of the Court muſt be obey'd, no Anſwer will be given to the charge.

So the King was Guarded out to Sir *Robert Cotton's*, and the Court adjourned to the *Painted Chamber*. *Tueſday January* the 23*d.* the Court ſate again, and Seventy three Commiſſioners of thoſe before named were preſent.

The Third Sitting.

The King being brought into the Court, Sollicitor *Cook* ſumm'd up what had been already done in it, and complaining of the great delay of Juſtice, moved for a ſpeedy Judgment againſt the King.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard what is mov'd by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom againſt you, and now the Court expects that you give in your Poſitive and Final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*, whether you are *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*, of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

King. *When I was here yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People of* England; *I was interrupted, I deſire to know yet, whether I may ſpeak freely, or not.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard the Reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion, and that you ought to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of it, and Anſwer to your Charge, and when you have done that you ſhall be heard at large.

King. 'For the Charge I value not a Ruſh, it is 'the Liberty of the People of *England* that I ſtand 'for; for me to acknowledge a new Court that I 'never heard of before: I, that am your King, that 'ſhould be an example to all the People of *England*, 'to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the Old Laws, In-

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'deed I do not know how to do it. You ſpake well 'one day of the Obligation that was laid upon me by 'God to maintain the Liberties of my People; the ſame 'Obligation you ſpeak of calls upon me to defend, as 'much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the King-'dom; therefore till I know that this is not againſt 'the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in 'no particular Anſwer: If you will give me time, I 'will ſhew you my Reaſons, and this —— *Here the 'King was again interrupted, but recovering himſelf 'went on, ſaying,* By your favour, you ought not to 'interrupt me: How I came hither I know not, there's 'no Law to make your King your Priſoner. I was in 'a Treaty on the publick Faith of the Kingdom, made 'to me by the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the 'Repreſentative of the Kingdom, and I had almoſt made 'an end of the Treaty, when I was hurried away and 'brought hither, and therefore——

Bradſhaw. Sir, you muſt know the pleaſure of the Court.

King. *By your favour, Sir,* ——Here *Bradſhaw* interrupted him.

Bradſhaw. Nay, Sir, by your favour you may not be permitted to fall into thoſe Diſcourſes; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your poſitive Anſwer. *Clerk,* Do your Duty.

King. *Duty, Sir!*

Then the Clerk read: *Charles Stuart,* King of *'England,* you are accuſed in behalf of the Commons of *'England,* of divers High Crimes and Treaſons, which 'Charge has been read unto you; the Court now re-'quires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer, by 'way of Confeſſion, or Denial of the Charge.

King. *I ſay again to you, ſo that I may give Satisfaction to the People of* England *of the clearneſs of my Proceedings, not by way of Anſwer, but to ſatisfie them, that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to Acknowledge a* New Court *againſt their Privileges to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: Sir you muſt excuſe me.*

Brad Law. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly diſavowed this Court, and put an Affront

upon

upon it; how far you have preſerved the Privileges of the People your Actions have ſpoken; but, truly, Sir, Men's intentions ſhould be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but, Sir, you underſtand the Pleaſure of the Court. *Clerk*, Record the Default; you that took Charge of the Priſoner take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourn'd to the *Painted Chamber*, the Cryer, as at other times, ſaid *God bleſs the Kingdom of* England. A. D. 1648

Saturday the 27th of *Jan.* 1648, the Court ſate again in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *Bradſhaw* was in Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commiſſioners anſwer'd to their Names, the King came in, in his wonted poſture with his Hat on, a company of Soldiers and ſeditious Perſons were placed about the Court, to cry for *Juſtice*, *Judgment* and *Execution*, the People not daring to cry *God bleſs him*, for fear of being beaten again by the Soldiers. *The Fourth Sitting.*

Bradſhaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all here preſent, that the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral times convented, and brought before this Court, to make Anſwer to a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes exhibited againſt him, in the Name of the people of *England*, to which Charge being required to Anſwer, he hath been ſo far from Obeying the Commands of the Court, by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him reaſoning, and debating unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Higheſt Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being Over-rul'd in that, and required to make his Anſwer, he ſtill continued contumacious, and refus'd to ſubmit to an anſwer; hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themſelves, nor the Truſt repos'd in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulneſs prevent Juſtice, they have conſider'd of the Charge, and of the Contumacy, and of that confeſſion which, in Law, doth ariſe on that Contumacy; they have alſo conſider'd the Notoriety of the Fact charg'd upon this Priſoner, and upon the whole matter, they are reſolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced againſt him; but in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be pronounced againſt him, the Court doth reſolve to hear him; yet, Sir,

this

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this I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, if that which you have to say be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offer'd it formerly, and you have *struck at the root*, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that Acts upon Authority derived from them: But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self, concerning the matter charged, the Court has given me in command to hear you.

King. 'Since I see that you will not hear any 'thing of Debate, concerning that which, I confess, 'I thought most material for the Peace of the King-'dom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall 'wave it; but only I must tell you, that this many 'a day all things have been taken away from me, but 'that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is 'my *Conscience and my Honour*, and if I had respect 'to my Life, more than the Peace of the Kingdom, 'and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should 'have made a particular defence for my Life, for 'by that at least wise, I might have delay'd an *Ugly* 'Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me, there-'fore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some under-'standing, some knowledge of the World, if that 'true Zeal to my Country had not over born the care 'that I have for my own preservation, I should have 'gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, 'Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once pass'd, may 'sooner be repented of, than recall'd, and truly the 'self same desire that I have for the Peace of the King-'dom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than 'my own particular Ends, makes me now at last de-'sire that I may say something that concerns both. I 'desire that before Sentence be given, that I may be 'heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords 'and Commons. This delay cannot be prejudicial to 'you, whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason, 'those that hear must be Judges. I cannot be Judge 'of that which I have to say, if it be reason, and 'really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the 'Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well 'worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you

love

'love that which you pretend, I hope its real, the 'Liberty of the Subject and Peace of the Kingdom, 'that you will grant me this hearing before any Sen- 'tence passeth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I 'do protest that your fair shews of Liberty and 'Peace, are pure shews, and that you will not hear 'your King. A. D. 1648.

Bradshaw said this was declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay, yet the Court withdrew for half an Hour, Advised upon it, and Sate again.

Bradshaw said to the King, that the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority; the return from the Court, said he, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and are Judges appointed by the highest Authority, and Judges are no more delay than to deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have Offer'd, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, that is their Unanimous Resolution.

The King press'd again, and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber with great Earnestness, and was as often denied by *Bradshaw*, at last the King desired that this motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, highly aggravating the King's pretended Offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose; and when *Bradshaw* had done speaking, *Braughton* the Clerk, Read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this Effect.

That whereas the Commons of *England* had appointed them an High-Court of Justice, for the Trial of *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, before whom he had been three times Convened, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of *England*, *&c.* which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said *Charles Stewart* was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so express'd the several passages at the Trial, in refusing to Answer, for all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth Adjudg, that he the said *Charles Stewart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to Death by Severing his Head from his Body. *The Sentence.*

After

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After the Sentence was Read, *Bradſhaw* ſaid, This Sentence now Read and publiſhed, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court, and then the whole Court ſtood up, as aſſenting to what *Bradſhaw* ſaid.

King. *Will you hear me a Word, Sir?*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. *No, Sir!*

Bradſhaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Priſoner.

King. *I am not ſuffered to Speak, expect what Juſtice other people will have.*

This pretended Court, after Judgment given, went into the Painted Chamber, and appointed, Sir, *Hardreſs Waller*, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, *Dean* and *Okey*, to conſider of the time and place for the Execution.

The Inſolency of the Soldiers.

The King being not allowed to Reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, and as he paſs'd down Stairs, the *Rude Solders* Scoff'd at him, blew the Smoak of their Tabacco in his Face (a thing always very offenſive to him) ſtrewed pieces of Pipes in his way, and one more abominable inſolent than the reſt, *Spit in his Face*, which his Majeſty patiently wiped off, taking no farther notice of it: And as he paſs'd farther, hearing ſome of them by the inſtigation of their Officers, cry out, *Juſtice, Juſtice, and Execution*, he ſaid, *Alas poor Souls, for a Piece of Money, they would do as much for their Commanders.* Afterward the King hearing that his Execution was determined to be the next day, before his Palace at *White-hall*, he ſent an Officer in the Army to deſire them, that he might ſee his Children before his Death, and that Doctor *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, might be permitted to aſſiſt him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament, both which were granted to him upon a Motion to the Parliament.

The King ſees his Children.

The ſame day that the Warrant was Signed for his Execution, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, were brought to him, whom he received with great Joy and Satisfaction, and giving his Bleſſing to the Princeſs, *He bid her remember to tell her Brother* James, *that he ſhould no more look upon* Charles *as his Elder Brother only, but as his Sovereign, and that they ſhould Love one another, and for give their Fathers Enemies.*

Then

Then taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, *Sweet Heart, now they will cut of thy Father's Head* (at which words the Child looked very wiſhfully upon him) *Mark Child what I ſay, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King; but mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King ſo long as your Brothers,* Charles *and* James *are alive; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads, as ſoon as they can catch them, and cut thy Head off too at laſt, and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child ſighing ſaid, *I will be torn in pieces firſt* ------ which falling ſo unexpectedly from a Child ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly. A. D. 1648.

On the fatal day, being the 30*th* of *January*, the Biſhop of *London* read Divine Service in his preſence, and the 27 of *Matthew*, the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion being appointed by the Church for that Day; he gave the Biſhop thanks for his ſeaſonable choice of the Leſſon; but the Biſhop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it comforted him exceedingly, and then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended, he was brought from St. *James*'s to *White-hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind, with a Private Guard of *Partiſans* about him, the Biſhop of *London* on the one Hand, and Colonel *Tomlinſon* who had the Charge of him on the other Bareheaded. The Guards marching but a ſlow pace, the King bid them go faſter, ſaying. That he now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to Fight for an Earthly Diadem. Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in *White-hall*, where formerly he uſed to Lodge, and there finding an expected delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he paſt moſt of that time in Prayer. About Twelve a Clock, Colonel *Hacker*, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought the King with the Biſhop and Colonel *Tomlinſon* through the Banquetting-Houſe, to the Scaffold, a Paſſage being made through a Window. A ſtrong Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot, were planted on all ſides, which hindred the near approach of his Mourning Subjects (who for diſcovering their ſorrow were barbarouſly uſed) and the King from ſpeaking to be heard, and therefore

He is brought to the Scaffold.

being

A. D. 1648.

being upon the Scaffold, he chiefly directed his Speech to the Biſhop, and Colonel *Tomlinſon* to this purpoſe.

The Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

'I ſhall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall 'therefore ſpeak a word to you hear; indeed I could 'have held my peace very well, if I did not thing that 'holding my peace would make ſome Men think that I 'did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as the Puniſhment; 'but I think it is my Duty to God firſt, and then to 'my Country, to clear my ſelf, both as an Honeſt 'Man, a Good King, and a Good Chriſtian. I ſhall 'begin firſt with my Innocency, and in Troth I think 'it not very needful to inſiſt long upon this, for all the 'World knows, that I did never begin a War with 'the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to 'Witneſs, unto whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, 'that I did never intend to Encroach upon their Pri'leges, they began upon me, it is the Militia they be'gan upon, they confeſt the Militia was mine, but 'they thought fit to have it from me, and to be 'ſhort, if any body will look to the *Dates of Commiſ'ſions*, of their Commiſſions, and mine, and likewiſe 'to the *Declaration*, he will ſee clearly that they be'gan theſe Troubles and not I. So as for the Guilt of 'theſe Enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I 'hope that God will clear me. I will not, for I am 'in Charity, and God forbid I ſhould lay it upon the 'the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of 'either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I 'believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, 'have been the cauſe of all this Bloodſhed, ſo that as 'I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope, and pray God, 'that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid I 'ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay God's Judg'ments are juſt upon me, many times he doth pay 'Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary, I will 'ſay this, that an unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffer'd to take 'effect, is puniſh'd by an unjuſt Sentence upon me; ſo 'far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an Innocent Man.

'Now to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, I 'hope there is a good Man * that will bear me witneſs, 'that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in 'particular that have been the cauſe of Death; who 'they are God knows, I do not deſire to know, I 'pray God forgive them; but this is not all, my Cha'ity muſt go farther, I wiſh that they may Repent,

* *Pointing to the Biſhop.*

indeed

'indeed they have committed a great ſin in that par- A. D.
'ticular. I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that be not 1648.
'laid to their charge; and withal, that they may take
'the way to the peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity
'commands me not only to forgive particular men,
'but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp, the peace of the
'Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul,
(*I ſee there are ſome here that will carry it farther*)
'the peace of the Kingdom. Sirs, I muſt ſhew you
'how you are out of the way, and put you in the
'way; firſt you are out of the way, for certainly all the
'ways you ever had yet, as far as ever I could find by
'any thing: If in the way of Conqueſt, certainly
'this is an ill way, for Conqueſt in my Opinion, is ne-
'ver juſt, except there be a good and juſt Cauſe, ei-
'ther for matter of Wrong, or a juſt Title, and then
'if you go beyond the firſt Quarrel, that makes that
'Unjuſt at the end that was Juſt at firſt; for if there
'be only matter of Conqueſt then it is a Robbery, as
'a Pirat ſaid to *Alexander*, that he was a great Rob-
'ber, himſelf was but a petty Robber; and ſo, Sirs,
'I think for the way that you are in, you are much
'out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way,
'believe it, you ſhall never go right, nor God will
'never proſper you, untill you give God his Due, the
'King his Due, (that is my Succeſſor) and the peo-
'ple their Due: I am as much for them as any of you.
'You muſt give God his Due, by regulating the
'Church (according to the Scripture) which is now
'out of order; and to ſet you in a way particularly
'now I cannot, but only this, *A National Synod free-* *Obſerving one to Write.*
'*ly call'd, freely debating among themſelves muſt ſettle*
'*this*: When every Opinion is freely heard: For
'the King indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land
'will clearly inſtruct you for that, therefore becauſe
'it concerns my own particular I only give you a
'touch of it. For the people truly I deſire their Liber-
'ty and Freedom as much as any body whoſoever; but
'I muſt tell you that their Liberty and Freedom con-
'ſiſts in having Government under thoſe Laws, by
'which their Lives and theirs may be moſt their own.
'It is not in having a ſhare in the Government, that is
'nothing appertaining to them; a Subject and a Sove-
'reign, are clear differing things, and therefore until
'you do that, I mean, that you put the People into

that

A. D. 1648.

'that Liberty as I ſay, they will never enjoy themſelves.

'Sirs, It was for this that now I am come hither, 'for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Courſe, 'to have all Laws chang'd according to the Power of 'the Sword; I need not to have come here; and there'fore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to 'your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. 'In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you any longer, I will 'only ſay this to you, that I could have deſired 'ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have a little 'better digeſted this I have ſaid, and therefore 'I hope you will excuſe me; I have delivered my 'Conſcience, I pray God you take thoſe Courſes, that 'are the beſt for the good of the Kingdom, and your 'own Salvation.

Biſhop. Tho your Majeſties affections may be very well known as to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould ſay ſomething thereof for the World's Satisfaction.

King. *I thank you heartily my Lord, for that I had almoſt forgotten it; in Troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father; and this honeſt Man I think will witneſs it.* Then ſpeaking to the Executioner, he ſaid, *I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands,---let that be your Sign.*

Then he called to the Biſhop for his Night Cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you*; who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, with the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe, and a Righteous God on my ſide.*

Biſhop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and full of trouble, it is a ſhort one; but you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way. It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you will find a great deal of Cordial Joy and Happineſs.

King. *I go from a Corruptible, to and Incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.*

Biſhop.

Biſhop. You are Exchanged from a Temporary, to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange. A. D. 1648

Then the King ſaid, *is my Hair well.* and took off his Cloak and his *George*, giving his *George* to the Biſhop, ſaying *Remember.* Then he put off his Dublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, he put on his Cloak again; then looking upon the Block, he ſaid to the Executioner, *you muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt Sir.

King. *When I put out my Hands this way*, ſtretching them out ---*Then do your Work*; after that having ſaid two or three Words to himſelf as he ſtood with Hands lift up to Heaven, immediately ſtooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to ſtrike, ſaid, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and't pleaſe your Majeſty. Then after a little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his Head from his Body; which, with his Body, was put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodgings at *White-hall*: From thence it was carried to his Houſe at St. *James's*, where his Body was Embalm'd, and put into a Coffin of Lead, and there lay a Fortnight to be ſeen of the People. On *Wedneſday* ſeven night after, his Corps embalm'd and coffin'd in Lead, was deliver'd to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, Captain *Proſton* and Mr. *John Joyner*, who, with others in Mourning, accompanied the Herſe that night to *Windſor*, and placed it in the Room which was formerly the King's Bed-chamber: Whence it was next day removed into the Dean's Hall, and from thence, by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquiſs of *Hertford*, the Marquiſs of *Dorcheſter*, and the Earl of *Lindſey*, convey'd to St. *George's* Chapel, and there Interred in the Vault, as is ſuppoſed, of King *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Jane*; with this Inſcription upon the Coffin,

CHARLES, King of *England*, MDCXLVIII.

This Unfortunate Prince was of a Majeſtick, Comly Preſence, of a ſweet, grave, but melancholy aſpect;

A. D. 1648. His Face was regular, handſom, and well complexioned; his Body ſtrong, healthy, and well made, and tho' of a low Stature, was able to endure the greateſt Fatigues. In his temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal and Conſtant, a great Lover, and as great a Maſter of Manly Exerciſes, and yet no leſs accompliſhed in the Graces, and Entertainments of a Court: Nor did he fall ſhort of the braveſt Hero's in Perſonal Valour, having expos'd his Perſon in every Battel he Fought, and oftentimes Charging in the Head of his Squadrons. He had a good taſt of Learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the Liberal Arts, eſpecially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Medals; and being a generous Benefactor to the moſt celebrated Maſters in thoſe Arts, he acquired the Nobleſt Collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. In his Devotions he was Conſtant, Regular, and Intent, a great Patron of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and ſo Zealous for the Doctrin and Diſcipline of that Church, that he ſeal'd it with his Blood; and when he could no longer ſupport it with his Arms, he defended it by his Pen, beyond all contradiction. He was well read in all the eſſential Points of Divinity, and was as great a Maſter in it as his Father, but without the Allay of Pedantry: Of this, among other things, the Papers that paſs'd betwixt him, and *Henderſon* at *New-Caſtle*, will be a laſting Monument. He was a lover of Epiſcopacy, becauſe he underſtood its Antiquity and Excellency in Eccleſiaſtical Government, in oppoſition to all other new invented Models whatſoever. His great Preſence of Mind was Conſpicuous, both in the Field and on the Scaffold, and was not miſtaken in himſelf, when he ſaid before the High Court of Juſtice, *That he underſtood as much Law as any Private Gentleman in* England. He was a Paſſionate Lover of his Queen, who was a Beautiful Lady, and in all things very accompliſh'd. In ſhort he was the Beſt of Husbands, the Beſt of Fathers, the Beſt of Maſters, and peradventure the Beſt of Men. He ſpake ſeveral Languages very well, and with a Singular good Grace; tho now and then, when he was warm in Diſcourſe he was inclinable to ſtammer. He wrote a tolerable good Hand for a King, but his Sence was ſtrong, and his Stile *Laconick*, and yet ſeldom writ in any Language but *Engliſh*. Some

Some of his Manifesto's, Declarations, and other Publick Papers, he drew himself, and most of them he Corrected. In comparing those of the Kings with the Parliaments, he must have lost his understanding, that does not give the Preference to the Kings, for strength of reasoning, and Force of expression. There are several pieces of his own Hand writing yet to be seen, which for Matter and Form, surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford* or *Falkland*, two most Celebrated Pens of that Time. What his Opinion was about Subjects Defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms, appeared in the Business of *Rochel*. For though some would have perswaded us of late, that Defensive Arms were inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; I hope they will not deny, but this King understood the Doctrine and Principles of the *English* Church, as well as any other Person can pretend to know them; and yet it is certain that in his Practice and Declarations, he approv'd of the *Rochellers* Vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Encroachments made by their Sovereign, and that by Force of Arms; and assisted them in so doing. No Prince was better Instructed in the Principles of Government than he was, and his only unhappiness was, that he some times trusted to other Men's Counsels, rather than to his own, and put so much Power into his Enemies hands in hopes of gaining them, that he was no longer in Power to defend himself. In effect, he was too good a Man to be a happy Prince, and rather was destroyed by his own tenderness than by the Force of his Enemies, as appear'd by the ill use which was made of it in several Treaties, Councils and Battels. To conclude, the War it self was unjustifiable, Rebellious and Barbarous; but the Formalities of proceeding against him by Arraignment, Tryal, Sentence and Execution, fill'd all *Christendom* with Horrour and Indignation; and 'tis to be fear'd that his Blood still cries aloud for Vengeance, against the Contrivers and Instruments of that Execrable Murder, which no sin can equal but the Justifying it; and tho Indempnity has pardon'd it, no Oblivion can deface it.

A. D. 1645

The Life and Reign of King Charles *the Second.*

A. D. 1648

KIng *Charles* the firſt being taken off in the manner before mentioned, upon the 30th Day of *January* 1648; his Eldeſt Son Prince *Charles*, by Unqueſtionable Right, Succeeded the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Age. The uſual Ceremonies of Proclamation and Coronation, were not to be expected as Affairs were now Tranſacted, nor are they abſolutely neceſſary in this Kingdom; for by our Law, which admits of no *Inter-Regnum*, the Succeſſor to the Crown has all the Rights belonging to it, the firſt moment after the Death of his Predeceſſor; but the *Juncto* that had killed and taken Poſſeſſion, immediately publiſhed an Act, even againſt Kingly Government it ſelf, expreſſing their Minds after this manner.

The Juncto's New Act.

That whereas ſeveral pretences might be made to the Crown, and Titles to the Kingly Office ſet on Foot, to the apparent hazard of the publick Peace. Be it Enacted and Ordained by the preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, that no perſon whatſoever doth preſume to Proclaim, Declare, Publiſh, or any way Promote Charles Stewart, *Son of the late King* Charles, *commonly called the* Prince of Wales, *or any other perſon to be King or Chief Magiſtrate of* England, *or* Ireland, *or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, Election, or any other Claim whatſoever, without the free conſent of the People in Parliament firſt had and ſignified, by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpoſe. Any Law, Statute, Uſage, or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding. And whoſoever ſhall, contrary to this Act, Proclaim, &c. the ſaid* Charles Stewart, *ſhall be deemed and be judged a* Traytor, *and ſuffer accordingly.*

This Inhibition notwithſtanding did not affright many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty, and on the

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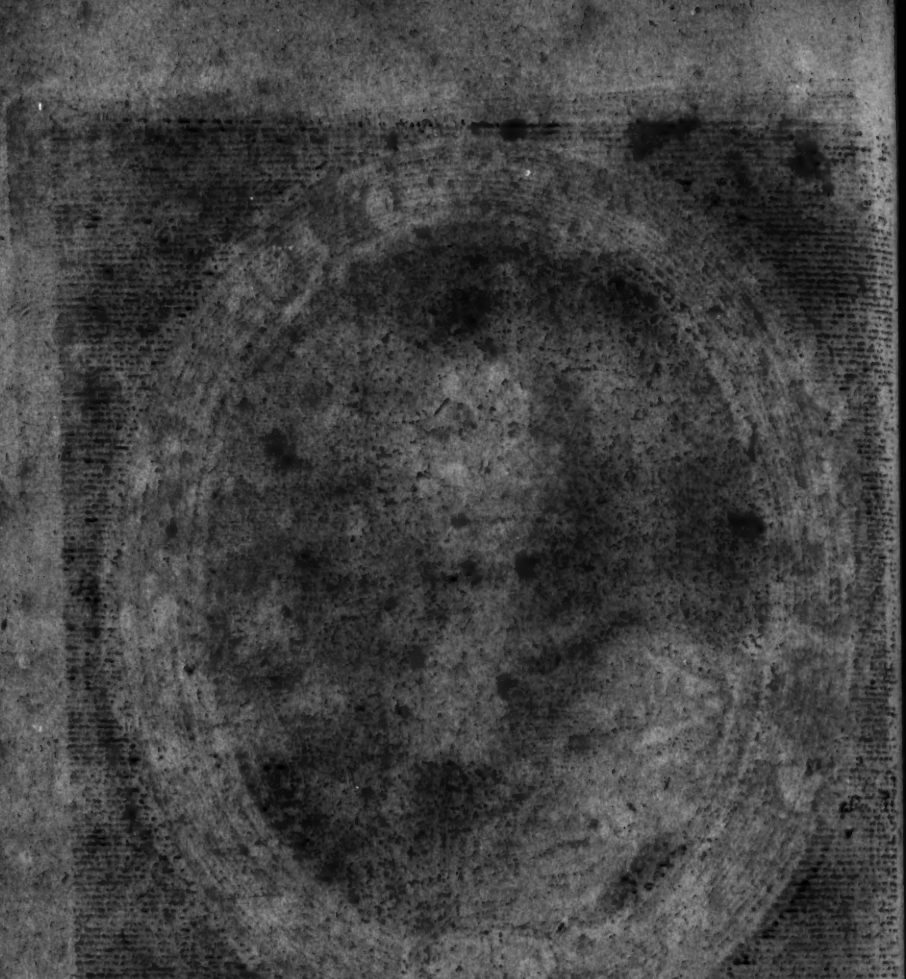

the 2*d* of *February*, this year, the following Proclamation was Printed and ſcatter'd about the Streets of *London*. A. D. 1648

The Royaliſt's Proclamation.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-Holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, *do according to our Allegiance, and Covenant, by theſe Preſents, Heartily, Joyfully, and Unanimouſly Acknowledge, and Proclaim, the Illuſtrious* Charles *Prince of* Wales, *next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King* Charles, (whoſe late Wicked and Traiterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Parties and Conſenters thereunto) *to be by Hereditary Birth Right and Lawful Succeſſion, Rightful and Undoubted King of* Great Britain France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and that we will Faithfully, Conſtantly, and Sincerely, in our ſeveral Places, and Callings, Defend and Maintain his Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity, with our Eſtates, Lives and laſt drop of our Bloods, againſt all oppoſers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traitors and Enemies to His Majeſty and his Kingdoms.* In Teſtimony whereof, we have cauſed theſe to be Publiſh'd and Proclaim'd, throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the Firſt Day of *February*, in the firſt Year of his Majeſties Reign.

God Save King Charles *the* II.

The Houſe of Lords laid aſide.

The Army had been modell'd agreeably to theſe deſigns of changing the Monarchy of *England* and *Ireland*, into a *Common-Wealth*, and now having theſe to Friend, the *Junto* ſecluded above 200 Members from ſitting among them, becauſe they had approv'd the King's Conciſſions in the *Iſle of Wight*. The Judges Commiſſioners were determined by the King's Death; and the Houſe of Lords being yet ſitting, they ſent to the *Junto* to deſire a Conference with them upon that Subject, and other matters relating to the Government; but they without returning an anſwer, *Declared the Kingly Office, to be Unneceſſary and Burthenſom, and that the Houſe of Lords was Dangerous and Uſeleſs*, and therefore to be laid aſide; but that they might not be Totally Excluded from the Government,

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vernment, they declared they might be capable of being Elected into the House Commons, of which afterwards three of them only accepted, *viz.* The Earls of *Pembrook*, and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*; but the Peers in General resenting these Indignities, put upon them by a Fag end of the House Commons, they Published a Protestation in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm, in which,

The Protestation of the Lords.

They asserted their own Privileges, and Protested against all Acts, Votes, Orders or Ordinances of the Members of the House of Commons, for Erecting New High Courts of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of the Realm; for altering the Government, Laws, Great Seal, Antient Forms of Writs, raising New Forces, imposing new Taxes, against Murdering the King, and Disinheriting his Son the Prince of Wales, *and particularly against that insolent and frantick Vote* (as they call'd it) *of* February *the* 6, *concerning their abolishing the House of Peers, as Useless and Dangerous, all which Votes, Acts and Orders, They declare not only to be Illegal, and therefore Void, but likewise Detestable and Destructive to the Rights and beings of Parliament, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People.* But this made little impression upon the Commons, and therefore to prevent the Assembling of the Lords, the Army by their Appointment or Connivance, set a Guard upon the Doors of their House, and in a farther Prosecution of their former Votes, they pass'd an Act, *For the Exhereditation of the Royal Line, the Abolishing of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Common Wealth*, which they ordered to be Published and Proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdom. After the Publication of this Act, to Complete the Model of their Goverment, they abolished all the Ancient Forms of Sovereignty in the Stile and Test of Writs, Commissions, and other Publick Instruments, and Ordered for the Future, that they should all be issued out, *In the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England, *by Authority of Parliament*, and as another ensign of their Dominion, they Ordered, That all the Money from that time to be Coined, should bear the *Cross and Harp*, with this Motto

A Force upon the Lds. and a Common Wealth started.

Motto on one side, *The Common-Wealth of* England, on the other, *God with us*, which gave occasion to a Witty Man, to make this Observation, *That God and the Common Wealth were not both of a side.* A. D. 1649

The Parliament of *Scotland* by Commissioners, protested against these Proceedings, and notwithstanding they were invited by the *Junto* to fall into the same Model, and promising them assistance, yet before this promise could arrive in *Scotland*, the *Scots* had taken other Resolutions, and the 3 of *February* Proclaimed the King at *Edenborough Cross*, the Chancellor of *Scotland* dictating to *Lyon King* at Arms while he publish'd the Proclamation. *The King Proclaim'd in Scotland.*

The *Scots* also, about this time, call'd home their Commissioners, who at their Departure, sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in Mind of *All their Oaths, Vows and Protestations for the maintenance of the King's Person and just Rights*; and upbraided them with their *Shameful and Detestable Abjuration and Infringment of them, by what they had lately Acted*: Which was so ill resented by the Sitting Members, that they Imprisoned the Messenger that brought it, Voted the Paper Scandalous and Seditious, sent after the Commissioners, and secured them, till a Copy of the Paper was sent into *Scotland*, to know if the Parliament there would own it; upon which a Messenger was sent from *Scotland*, to Justifie what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of their Imprisonment as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations, and thereupon the Commissioners were released and returned home; but these Proceedings on either side, encreased Distrusts and Jealousies, between them.

This Summer several Loyal Persons, having unsuccessfully Attempted to free the late King from the Oppression and Danger wherein he then lay, of which number Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, they were Tried and Condemn'd by a High-Court of Justice erected for that purpose: The Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, were Executed; and the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen* were Pardoned; but the Blood of these Noblemen could not quench the Thirst of those that so *The New Government laid in Blood.*

1648. A. D. Prodigally Spilt it; for Lieutenant Colonel *Morris*, and Colonel *Blackburn* were hang'd and Quarter'd at *York*, for surprizing of *Pontefract*, Mr. *Beaumont* a Minister was Hang'd at *Pontefract*, by Sentence of a Court Marshal: Major *Monday*, was Shot to Death at *Lancaster*, and Colonel *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, Three brave and Loyal *Welsh* Men, were Sentenc'd to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal Chance falling upon *Poyer*, he was Shot to Death in *Covent-Garden*.

The King goes into France.

The King being now at the *Hague*, had constant Intelligence of all the Proceedings in *Scotland*, and therefore resolved to go into *France*: for the better Convenience of Treating with their Commissioners; accordingly he left *Holland*, and went to St. *Germains*, where the Queen, his Mother, was, and in his Journey thither, was splendidly Treated by all the Cities through which he travel'd. The Duke of *Lorrain* met him at the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Champaign*, the King of *France* received him, accompanied him to *Paris*, and thence to St. *Germains*; where he staid a few Months, together with the Duke of *York*, who came thither to him out of *Holland*.

Commotions raised by the Levellers.

In this Prosperous Establishment of their New Common-Wealth, there happened a great Disturbance among them from the Levelling Party of the Army, who were pleas'd with nothing that the Parliament, or the rest of the Army transacted, and therefore in Jealousie of *Cromwell*'s and *Ireton*'s aspiring greatness, spirited many private Soldiers to begin a Defection in the Army upon the Levelling Principle: Which in short, was *to make all People alike, both in Honour and Estate*, that there might be no Superiority, nor Inferiority among them. *Cromwell* endeavoured to crush this Viper in the Egg, and for that end, forbad their private Meetings, but not succeeding in it, several of the Soldiers were Seized on, Tried and Condemned by a Court Martial, and one *Lockyer* a busie Fellow among them was Shot to Death. Farther to allay the Heat, Eleven Regiments by Lot, were sent into *Ireland*; but this rather inflamed than mollified the Tumour, which they exclaimed against *as a Contrivance to divide them, and therefore resolved till a Government was setled, that would Answer the end for which they first engaged in a War, they would not*

Divide

Divide. Hereupon many Regiments revolted from their Officers, and if ſome great Ones, that ſeem'd to approve their Actions, had not betrayed them, the *Junto*'s Authority and *Cromwell*'s alſo had been utterly overthrown. Of theſe Levellers 5000 Horſe and Foot were drawn together at *Burford*, under the Faith of *Cromwell*'s Word, that none of the reſt of the Army ſhould come nearer them than at the Diſtance of Ten Miles; but in the midſt of this Security, as the Plot was laid, Colonel *Reynolds* that firſt betrayed their Counſels, fell upon them with greater numbers than they had, and quickly Routed them, taking 900 Horſe, and 400 Foot, Priſoners. One Captain *Thompſon* flying from *Burford*, came to *Northampton*, and there firſt ſeizing upon the Money in *Gifford* the Hoſier's Hands, that had been Collected for Exciſe, gathered a Ragged Company together; but hearing that a Regiment of Horſe was coming againſt them, they took ſhelter in a Wood near *Molton*, where *Thompſon* fighting Couragiouſly till he died, was brought back before a Trooper to *Northampton*, and there buried; which put an end to the Attempts of the Levellers, and then great Preparations were made for *Ireland*.

A. D. 1649.

They are Routed at Burford and Northampton.

Theſe inteſtine Broils, gave the Vigilant and Couragious Duke of *Ormond*, who by the late King's Commiſſion, was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, an Opportunity of reducing the greateſt part of that Kingdom in Obedience to the Crown, for no conſiderable place held out for the Parliament, but *Dublin* and *London-Derry*, and *London-Derry* was alſo beſieged by Sir *Robert Stewart*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*, with a good Brigade. The Lord Lieutenant's Army being ſtrengthend by the Forces of the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, the Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, the Lord *Inchequin*, the Lord *Moor*, and ſeveral others, he march'd againſt *Dublin*, and coming to a Village call'd *Finglaſs*, about two Miles diſtant from it on the North ſide of the Rivers, he uſed his endeavours to Win Colonel *Jones*, who was Governour of the City, to the King's Intereſt; but not ſucceeding in it, ſeveral Skirmiſhes paſs'd between them, while the King's Army remain'd at *Finglaſs*, in which the City always had the beſt on't. Afterwards the Duke made a nearer Approach to the City, by croſſing the River, and making Fortifications, was in hopes

to

A. D. 1649

to ſtarve the City into a ſurrender. To prevent this inconvenience, the Governour reſolved to make a Sally to deſtroy the Works that the Enemy was raiſing; which as ſoon as he Attempted, the *Iriſh* betook themſelves to their Heels, and raiſed the Siege; about the ſame time Sir *Robert Stewart*, and Colonel *Melvin* were alſo beaten from the Siege at *London-Derry*, by Sir *Charles Coot*, who was Governour of it for the Parliament.

Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell* with his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, altered their purpoſe of Landing in *Munſter*, and with great Precipitation Tranſported his Army to *Dublin*, where after he had a little refreſhed his Forces, he march'd to *Drogheda*, which was Commanded by Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a Perſon in whoſe Courage and Conduct, great Confidence was Repoſed. As ſoon as *Cromwell* came within ſight of the Town, he Summon'd it, which being refuſed, he immediately began his Approaches, making many Aſſaults, to the great loſs of his Army, but at laſt carried it by Storm; and, to ſtrike a terror into other Forces and Towns that held out for the King, all that were found in Arms were put to the Sword, among which the Governour himſelf, and Sir *Edmund Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren*, *Tempeſt* and *Finglaſs*, with many other Officers of Note, were alſo kill'd; and tho' *Cromwell*'s Orders extended only to them that were found in Arms, yet ſo great was the rage of the Soldiers, that many of the Inhabitants were alſo ſlain, without reſpect to Age, Sex or Condition. After the taking of *Drogheda*, in leſs than a Year, moſt of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, the whole Kingdom in a manner ſubdued to the power of the Common-Wealth, and the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and all that oppoſed their Authority, withdrew themſelves.

Drogheda taken.

The King Proclaimed at Jerſey.

The King, with the Duke of *York*, about this time ſailed to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, accompanied with about 300 Perſons, and was there ſolemnly Proclaimed King. In *September* Mr. *George Windram* of *Liberton* was diſpatched with an Expreſs from the Council of Eſtates in *Scotland* to the King at *Jerſey*, in preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*; but he was ſo long on his Journey, that the King became doubtful of their Councils in *Scotland*, and had given the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* a Commiſſion to levy Men

in

in that Kingdom, in hopes the Committee of Estates would be induced to Treat with him the sooner, and more effectually. However when Mr. *Windram* landed at *Jersey*, the King received him very well, the Substance of whole Message was, *That the King would be pleased to Acknowledge their Parliament, and especially the last Sessions of it, to be a Lawful Assembly, and then they would Treat of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.* This Overture admitted of a great Debate in the King's Council, whether the *Scots*, in consideration how they had dealt by his Father, were to be trusted or not; but at length it was resolved to try them once more, and therefore sent Mr. *Windram* back with this following Letter.

A. D. 1649

CHARLES R.

WE have received your Letters by Mr. Windram, *and graciously Accept all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity to Us, with your Tender Resentment of our present Condition, and the just Indignation which you profess to have against the Execrable Murder of Our Father: And We believe that your Intentions are as full of Candor towards Us, as We are, and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right Understanding between Us, and our ancient Subjects of* Scotland, *which may be an assured Foundation of their Happiness, and Peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the Seeds of Animosities and Divisions caus'd by these late Troubles, and also to reunite the hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and all of them to Us, their King, and Lawful Sovereign, that thereby We may be put into a Condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty; therefore We have thought fit to command and desire you, to send Us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and Agree with Us, both in relation to your Selves, and what We may expect from you, to bring and reduce the Murderers of Our late most Dear Father of happy Memory, to condign Punishment, and to recover Our Just Rights in all our Kingdoms. And We will that they attend Us on the Fifteenth day of the Month of* March *at the Town of* Breda, *where We intend to be, in order to a*

the King's Letter to the Scots.

Treaty

A. D. 1649

Treaty with them. To the ſame effect, was a Letter Written alſo to the Kirk.

All this while *Montroſs* was buſie in ſoliciting the King of *Denmark*, the Q. of *Sweden*, and other Princes for Money, Arms, and Men to be employ'd in the King's Service; but yet was ſo Generous as to write to the King to make an Agreement with the States of *Scotland*, ſo that he might be Honourably, and with ſafety reſtored to his Right, and Dignities, and rather than break off with them, to give Conſent to have him Baniſh'd the Kingdom, that he might receive no prejudice for his ſake. But the King would by no means yield to his Requeſt in that particular, declaring that he had found him ſo Faithful, and to have perform'd ſuch eminent Services, both to his Father and himſelf, that in Juſtice, or Honour he could not deſert him.

Montroſs raiſing Forces beyond Sea.

1650

The *Junto* unwilling to let the King be at quiet in *Jerſey* ſent part of the *Engliſh* Fleet at *Portſmouth*, with ſtore of Proviſion in order, to attack this Iſland, which put the King upon a ſpeedy remove from that Place into *France*, where he reſided till the time appointed for the Treaty at *Breda* drew near, and then he Journied thither. When Sir *John Windram* return'd with the King's Letter into *Scotland*, the Council of State, and the Committee of the Kirk, having duly conſidered the matter, and drawn up Propoſitions, they choſe Commiſſioners, and diſpatch'd them to *Breda*, where they arrived one day before the King came, and next day after went to meet him at *Berghen op Zome*, and came together to *Breda*, where, after repoſing themſelves two or three days, they were Conducted to their firſt Audience by the Captain of the King's Guards, who was ſent with the King's Coach to receive them. The Earl of *Caſſell*, addreſt himſelf to the King, in the name of the Commiſſioners of Parliament, in a ſhort Speech to this effect, *That the Kingdom of* Scotland *had ſent him, and his Collegues, with Propoſitions, to him, which they humbly tender to his Majeſty, not that they thought to take advantage of his neceſſities, or weary him by importunities, but by making their humble Submiſſions, in which they hope their Deſires will appear ſo Juſt and Reaſonable that he will ſoon Condeſcend to Grant them.* As ſoon as he had ended, the Commiſſioners of the Kirk having preſented themſelves before

A Treaty between the K. and the Scots.

before him, Mr. *John Leviſton* alſo made a Speech, where *He preſs'd his Majeſty to hearken to the joint Deſires of the Eſtate and Kirk of* Scotland, *that ſo he might enjoy the Bleſſing of God, and be receiv-ed by his People in Comfort and Peace, to promote the work of the Lord, and to make them Happy.* Then they produced their Commiſſions, and their Letters, with the Propoſitions from the Eſtates and Kirk of *Scotland*. Which were as followeth, A. D. 1650.

1. That all thoſe who have been, and continue Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, may be removed from having any Acceſs to the Court. *The* Scots *Propoſals.*

2. That he would be pleas'd to Declare, that he would by Solemn Oath, under his Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, and that he would proſecute the Ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. That he would Ratifie and Approve all Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the Solemn League and Covenant, and Eſtabliſhing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worſhip, the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are already approved by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of the Kingdom, that he would give his Royal Aſſent to the Acts of Parliament enjoining the ſame in the reſt of his Dominions, that he would obſerve the ſame in his own Practice and Family, and never make Oppoſition herein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

4. That he would Conſent and Agree that all Matters Civil, might be determined by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and all Matters Eccleſiaſtical by the enſuing General Aſſemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly Condeſcended and Agreed to by his late Father.

A few days after the Treaty began, wherein the King found many Difficulties in every Article, for, tho' that which related to the Prohibiting all from Acceſs to the Court, that were Excommunicated by the *Kirk*, would deprive him from the Service and Attendance of the Earl of *Montroſs*, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he reſolv'd not to break with them for that, not doubting *The Treaty began.*

A. D. 1650.

doubting but when he had obtain'd the Kingdom, he might by degrees make them ſenſible of their miſtaken Zeal againſt ſuch loyal Perſons; but that which moſt preſs'd him was, the cauſe of Religion expreſs'd in the Severity of thoſe Propoſitions, which required him by Solemn Oath, under his Hand and Seal, to allow the *Covenant* and eſtabliſh the Presbyterian Government, and deny'd him the uſe of the Engliſh *Liturgy* to his own Perſon: The King urg'd, 'There was no Reaſon he ſhould relinquiſh the 'Religion he was bred in, and for which his Father was made a Sacrifice, and that while he was 'willing to indulge his Subjects with Liberty of 'Conſcience, it would be inconſiſtent with their 'pretences to Peace and Agreement to deny him 'his: That the Covenant was the Subjects Cove'nant, and bound them to him, and not for him 'to take to Swear to himſelf; however, he would 'paſs an Act for his Subjects to take it. He like'wiſe offer'd to confirm the Presbyterian Govern'ment in *Scotland*, provided he himſelf might al'ways have three Chaplains to attend him of his 'own Election.

Montroſs *lands in* Scotland.

While this Treaty was on foot, the Earl of *Canworth* and Mr. *Murray* came to *Breda*, with new Inſtructions to the Commiſſion concerning the Militia, which put a Demur to the concluſion of it; and it was ſaid that the King was willing to admit of a little Delay, to know what ſucceſs *Montroſs* had, who after many diſcouragements, about this time embark'd for *Scotland*, and about the middle of *May*, landed in the Iſles of *Orkney*, accompanied with the Lord *Trendraught*, the Maſter of *Pitſodder*, Sir *John Urney*, *Henry Graham*, his Natural Brother, Colonel *Johnſton*, *George Drummond*, and other his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships, and a ſmall Frigat of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 *German* Soldiers, Colonel *King* had promis'd to come to him with ſome Horſe from *Sweden*, but diſappointed him. Colonel *Ogleby* and Colonel *Cockrain*, who were entruſted with certain Sums of Money for raiſing of Men and Arms (the one in *Amſterdam*, the other in *Poland*) fail'd in the diſcharge of their Truſt, and converted the Money

to

to their own uſes. Two of the Four Ships, wherein were about two hundred *Germaan* Soldiers, and many Inſtruments of War, were caſt away a little before his Landing; but all theſe Diſaſters, which might have ſhaken a good Reſolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity. The Eſtates of *Scotland* had no Forces in any of theſe Iſlands, which gave him an opportunity of raiſing a ſmall Army, with part of which he landed in *Cathnes*, the utmoſt point of Land in the North Weſt of *Scotland*, in hopes to meet *Pluſcardy* with two Thouſand Men, which he had promis'd to bring to his aſſiſtance; but in this alſo he met with a Diſappointment; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was ſo extraordinary vigilant, that they utterly prevented all hopes of raiſing Forces for him, and immediately after his Landing ſent an Army of ſeven Thouſand Foot, and Thirty Troops of Horſe to oppoſe him, which Encountring the unſeaſon'd and unskilful *Orkney* Men, they ſoon yielded, and in a ſhort time after the *Germans* alſo, tho' not without diſcovering abundance of Courage in a ſtout reſiſtance. A.D. 1650

Montroſs *is routed and taken Priſoner.*

The News of this Victory was ſo welcome to the Parliament and *Kirk* of *Scotland*, that they gave *Straughton* a thouſand pound Sterling, and a Chain of Gold for bringing it, and to Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a thouſand Marks Sterling; but that which crowned this Victory with the Higheſt Joy and Satisfaction, was, that *Montroſs* himſelf was taken, and was hurrying away with a ſtrong Guard to *Edinborough*. At *Leith* he was met by the Magiſtrates of *Edinborough* in a kind of Fatal Pomp, to welcome him to their Inſolent Revenges. All the reſt of the Priſoners walkt on Foot, but the Marqueſs had the reproachful Honour to be mounted upon a Cart-Horſe, for the greater advantage of expoſing him to the view and ſcorn of the wondring Multitude, till he came to the end of the Cannon Gate Street, where the Executioner in his Livery Coat, and other Officers, attended with a Cart having a Chair in it, in which the Marqueſs was ſet, bound with Chains and Bareheaded, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on. In this ſordid and reproachful manner they conveyed him to the *Tal-*

booth,

A. D. 1650

booth; and the next day being *Sunday* perſecuted him worſe, by the troubleſome Viſits of ſome of the Miniſtry and the Parliament, who took upon them to give him Exhortations, which could ſerve no other end, than to aggravate the ſenſe of his Afflictions, and diſcover the mean Spirits of thoſe that inſulted over him.

The next day he was Summoned to appear before the Lords, Barons and Burgeſſes, Aſſembled in Parliament, where he appear'd in a very Rich Attire, and the Chancellor telling him at firſt that he muſt kneel at the Bar, he condeſcending to do it, the Chancellor ſpoke to him after this manner, *Sir, I am commanded to mind you of the laſt Judgment of God befallen you, for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might juſtly provoke God, thus to divert your Councils and Affairs, for having been ſo eminent an Author and Actor of miſchief againſt this Kingdom. You abandon'd the Covenant, and deſpiſed the Oath of God, and did invade your native Country, and with moſt Inhuman and Barbarous Cruelty did burn and waſte divers parts thereof, and have ſpilt much Blood of his Majeſty's good Subjects, taking advantage of that time when the Prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employed elſewhere; for theſe Crimes you were Excommunicated by the Church, and forefaulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet ſtill continued in the higheſt Contempt againſt God, under the Fearful Sentence of Excommunication, and to this day have you remain'd without the leaſt ſhew of Repentance, and God by his Providence hath now juſtly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.*

The Chancellor's Speech.

The Marqueſs's Anſwer.

To which the Marqueſs anſwer'd. 'I am glad 'that I have liberty to ſpeak for my ſelf, tho' I am 'your Priſoner, yet my cauſe is good, nor is there 'any Breach of the Covenant on my part, in which 'I ſwore to be true to his Majeſty, his Heirs and 'Succeſſors, and whatever I have acted in Relation 'to the Wars, and affairs of this Kingdom, I had 'not only a General Commiſſion, but particular 'Orders from his Majeſty to do what I have done, 'and which Orders I was obliged to obey by the ſaid 'Covenant. Adding, *that he* appear'd before them

'now

now with greater Reſpect and Reverence, becauſe he heard there was an Agreement between them and his Majeſty; but as to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, he never took it, and therefore ought not to be condemn'd for breaking it. *And as for my Life*, ſays he, *if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known to all the World that I don't regard it. Death is a Debt we all owe, and muſt once be paid by every man living: and I am not only willing, but heartily rejoice to go the ſame way which my Sovereign and Maſter went before me; for ſince I can do no more, I am ready to ſuffer for him.* But *ſince he had done nothing but what became a good Chriſtian, a good Subject, and a good Neighbour*, he deſir'd them *not to be too raſh and partial in their Judgment, but to judge him according to the Law of God, of Nature, of Nations, and that of the Land, as they would anſwer the contrary to the righteous Judge of all the World.* A. D. 1650.

Then he was commanded to withdraw, and the Parliament not long deliberating upon the matter, proceeded to Sentence of Condemnation, and call'd him in to hear it pronounc'd againſt him; which being an Original, I thought it not amiſs to inſert it. *The Marquis Sentenc'd.*

'You 'are to be carried back to the place from whence you 'came, and from thence you are to morrow, being 'the *One and twentieth day of* May, 1650. to be car-'ried to *Edenborough-Croſs*, and there to be hang'd up-'on a Gallows thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three 'hours, then to be taken down, your Head to be cut 'off upon the Scaffold, then hang'd upon *Edenborough 'Tolbooth*, and your Legs and Arms to be hung up in 'other publick Towns in the Kingdom, and your Bo-'dy to be buried at the place where you ſhall be ex-'ecuted, except the *Kirk* ſhall take off your Excom-'munication, and then your Body ſhall be buried at 'the common place of Burial.

After the denunciation of the Sentence, at which his Countenance never changed, nor his Mind appearing in the leaſt diſturb'd, he was guarded back to Priſon, where being again haunted and importun'd by the Presbyterian Miniſters, he told them, *He was much obliged to the Parliament for the Honour they had done him; for he accounted it a greater Glory to have his Head ſtand upon the Priſon-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the King's Bedchamber; and leſt his Loyalty ſhould be too ſoon forgotten, they had highly honour'd* *His Speech after it.*

A. D. 1650. *him in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities to bear up his Memory to Posterity; wishing he had Flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in* Christendom, *as a Testimony of his Loyalty to his King and Country.* On the next day, which was appointed for the tragical end of his Life, he was led forth to Execution, at which fatal hour his Deportment was so genteel, affable, and winning, and his Speeches so powerful and persuasive, that many were of opinion that his manner of dying had drawn more from the *Kirk* Party, than he could have vanquish'd in the Field by force of Arms. His Speech was much to the same purpose with that you have already seen; which being concluded, the Executioner presented him with a Cord, at which hung his Declaration and his History, which was order'd to be hang'd about his Neck. He chearfully receiv'd it, saying, *He did not think himself more honour'd by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had conferr'd upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he took with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the Garter, or Chain of Gold*; desiring, *if they had any more dishonour* (as they thought and intended it) *to put upon him, he was ready to receive it.* And then with elevated hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, recommending his pious Soul to God, who (as he said) *had given him a full Assurance of Mercy in Jesus Christ*, he submitted to the Execution of the Sentence. Thus was this excellent, but unfortunate Man, sacrific'd to his Enemies Revenge after a shameful and spightful manner, without respect to his Birth, Quality, and other excellent Endowments both of Mind and Body, and that at the very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew had a great affection for him. After him, tho' not in such a spightful manner, were executed Sir *John Urry* and Colonel *Spotswood* Laird of *Daircy* (who had both the favour to be beheaded) with other Persons of Consideration, that came with the Marquis into *Scotland* upon this Expedition.

His Execution and the manner of it.

The King goes into Scotland.

The Treaty being now concluded, the Estates of *Scotland* sent a solemn Invitation to the King *that he would be pleased to hasten his speedy coming into* Scotland; and withal professing, that they would hazard their Lives and Fortunes to restore him to the possession of his other Kingdoms. The King complying with their requests,

requests, took Shipping at *Schevelin* in *Holland* in the beginning of *June*, and escaping a double danger, first of a Storm that cast him upon the Coast of *Denmark*, and afterwards of the Parliaments Fleet that were sent out to intercept him under the Command of *Popham*, he landed safe at a place called *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. At his Majesty's first arrival, they entertain'd him with the highest Complements, and seem'd to congratulate his coming with great demonstrations of joy and Affections. On the 15th of *July* solemnly proclaim'd him King a second time at *Edenborough Cross*, and design'd to have crown'd him the month following; but he had not been long among them, e'er they began to discover their natural Tempers, and imperiously obtruded their *Kirk* Authority in all Affairs, which very ill suited with Regal Authority; for when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with 500 *l.* the Committee of Estates were displeas'd with that Testimony of their Duty, and lest other Cities and Towns should do the like, they declared *what Money or Plate any persons intended to present the King with, they should bring it into the publick Treasury*; and in the next place proceeded to reform his Retinue, interdicting all whom they call'd Malignants from having any publick Employments, which in effect were all his faithfullest Servants, both about his Person and in the Army.

A. D. 1650.

His entertainment there.

The Commonwealth of *England* having notice of these Occurrences, formed an Army, and sent it to the Borders of *Scotland*. *Fairfax* who was appointed to command this Army, refused the Charge by reason of his Indisposition, occasion'd by the many Wounds he had received in the late Wars; whereupon *Cromwel*, who was newly return'd from *Ireland*, after some formal and faint denials accepted it, and towards the latter-end of *June* march'd to *Berwick*, in order to advance into *Scotland*, where he publish'd a Declaration in the name of the Commonwealth of *England*, to justifie their Proceedings against the *Scots*; but so great were the generality of the *Scots* affections to the King, that his Declaration signified little, tho' some of them kept up a private Correspondence with *Cromwel*, to the ruin of themselves and their Country. About the 3d of *July* the *English* Army, consisting of 16000 effective Officers and Soldiers, entred into *Scotland*,

Cromwel marches into Scotland.

A. D. 1650. with a Fleet of *English* Ships attending their motions. First he march'd with little resistance to *Madrington*, from thence to *Haddington*, in view of the *Scotch* Army, consisting of 6000 Horse and Dragoons, and 15000 Foot; and *Cromwel* seeing them so strongly entrenched that it was impossible to force them, after he had faced them a day and night, march'd away to *Musleborough*. The *Scots* seeing the *English* retreat fell into their Rear commanded by *Lambert*, who was wounded, and had like to have been taken Prisoner; but *Cromwel* coming to his Relief, drove them back to their Camp, not without loss on both sides. The next morning early, 15 Squadrons of the *Scotch* Horse commanded by Major-General *Montgomery* and Colonel *Straughton*, came out of the Line with a design to beat up the *English* Quarters about *Musleborough*; they surprized the Out-guards, and routed the first Regiment that opposed them; but advancing to another Body, met with such a stout resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, his whole Party put in confusion, pursued to their Army, and their Camp had been surprized, if the King himself who appear'd unexpectedly among them, had not prevented their precipitated flight.

The Rumps silly Revenge.

The *Junto* at *Westminster* were no less active in carrying on the Cause, than *Cromwel* was in *Scotland*, proceeding with all imaginable rigour and severity against all persons that oppos'd their *Tyrannical Usurpation*. They condemn'd Dr. *Levens* by a Court-Marshal for giving out the King's Commissions, and hang'd him over-against the *Royal Exchange*; and not being contented with murdering the King, they spightfully insulted over his Statues. They cut off the Head of his Effigies in the *Royal Exchange*, took his Body out of the Nich and under the Basis wrote these words, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angl. restitutæ primo, Annoq; Domini* 1648. which remain many years as a Witness of their Guilt to the Native, and a Memorial of their unparallell'd Treason to Strangers.

The *Scotch* and *English* Armies lying near one another without engaging, because the *Scots* had got an advantageous Post, *Cromwel's* Army began to be in great distress for want of Provisions, which made him retreat to *Pentland-Hills*, and thence with some di-

culty to *Muſſeborough*, that he might be ſupplied with Victuals by the Fleet that attended him. Then he march'd to *Dunbar*, with intention to ſhip his Foot, much wearied by Sickneſs and long Marches, and ride away with his Horſe into *England*; but the *Scots* having notice of his deſign, preſs'd ſo hard upon him with their Army, that he could not effect his purpoſe. A. D. 1650.

The ſame night that he came to *Dunbar*, the *Scots* being cloſe at his heels, drew up their whole Army, conſiſting of 24000, upon a Hill within a mile of the Town; the *Engliſh*, not exceeding the number of 12000, drew out into a Corn-field near adjoining, which had a Neck of Land to encamp on, whoſe breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next night the *Engliſh* endeavouring to gain the Paſs at *Copperſpeith*, it alarm'd the *Scots*, and both Armies engage; the *Engliſh* Word being *The Lord of Hoſts*, and the *Scotch* Word *The Covenant*. The *Scots* Right Wing of Horſe made a bold Charge, and put the *Engliſh* Horſe into ſome Confuſion; but they rallying, and being briskly aſſiſted by their Foot, by ſix in the morning the Right Wing of the *Scots* Horſe was routed, and the Left without ſtriking a ſtroke ran away; which the Foot perceiving, and wanting their Horſe, they threw down their Arms and fled, and the *Engliſh* purſu'd them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The number of the *Scots* that were ſlain in this Fight were reckon'd to be 4000, and 9000 taken Priſoners, with all their Ammunition, Bag, and Baggage, with 10000 Arms; and all this with the loſs of not above 200 *Engliſh* Soldiers, and only one Officer, Major *Rookerby*, who ſurviv'd the Battle, but afterward died of his Wounds. *Dunbar Fight.* *The Scots Loſſes.*

This Defeat oblig'd the *Scots* to quit *Leith* and *Edenborough*, which *Cromwel* took poſſeſſion of, and the King retir'd to St. *Johnſton's*, where the Committee of Eſtates were aſſembled. Here, inſtead of enlarging their Intereſt, by taking in thoſe they had rejected for their Loyalty to the King, they aſcrib'd their loſs to the admitting the King into *Scotland before he had given entire ſatisfaction to the Kirk*; and therefore began to impoſe upon him ſtrangely, and remove his faithful Servants from his Perſon. The King unable to digeſt theſe continued Indignities, reſolv'd at any hazard to free himſelf from them. To this end, with three of his *The King leaves the Eſtates.*

A. D. 1650. his Servants, pretending to ride a Hawking, made the beſt of his way to the Lord *Diduo*'s houſe near *Dundee*. This ſudden and ſecret departure of the King ſo perplex'd the Committee of Eſtates, who were now ſenſible of their Errors, that they ſent Major-General *Montgomery* with a Party of Horſe to perſuade His Majeſty to return. *Montgomery* coming to the Houſe, was admitted into his Preſence; who falling before him, beſeech'd the King to pardon what had been done amiſs, aſſuring him of more Duty and Reſpect for time to come; and the King thinking it would be a means to unite all Intereſts to him, freely condeſcended to the Eſtates requeſt, and return'd to St. *Johnſton*'s.

Differences compoſed. Now the *Scotch* Eſtates were more complaiſant to the King than formerly, and applying themſelves to reconcile all different Parties, the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Lythgo*, *Lauderdale*, *Calender*, and *Crawford*, *Lindſey*, *Bechin*, *Dedua*, and *Middleton*, were received into Favour, and promis'd Employments in the Army. Alſo the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and ſome few other *Engliſh* Royaliſts, were continued about the King; for before none of that Nation but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Maſſey*, *Graves*, and *Titus*, were permitted to come near his Perſon upon any occaſion whatſoever.

In *England* ſome Attempts were now made for the King's Service, but without Succeſs; as particularly in *Norfolk*, where many Gentlemen and others were got together; but before they could be formed into Troops, they were ſurprized and ſuppreſſed by two Troops from *Lynn*, and ſome Forces of the Militia: Who being taken, Twenty of them were condemned by a Court of high Injuſtice, and executed accordingly.

The Prince of Orange born. While the Royal Line was reduc'd to theſe Extremities, not only bereft of their Legal Power at home, but forc'd to ſeek a Refuge abroad, on the 4th of *November* 1650, was born his Illuſtrious Highneſs *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*, the Delight of Mankind, and the Terror of his Enemies. He was born a few days after his Father's Death, in Appartments hung with Mourning for that deplorable Misfortune, and the Murther of a Royal Grandfather, of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter of *Charles* I.

King

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, of which in ſucceſſion of time, by the eſpecial Grace of God, and the entire Affections of the People, he became Monarch himſelf. A. D. 1651.

Cromwel all this while was not idle; but having no opportunity to fight, he employ'd his Talent in making Diviſions among them, and corrupting the *Scotch* Commanders, and in both was ſucceſsful; for the firſt, he inſinuated ſo far into Mr. *John Guthry*, *Patrick Gilliſpy*, and Mr. *Rutherford*, Presbyterian Miniſters, and into others, that they withdrew from the Aſſembly at St. *Johnſtons*, and remonſtrated in Print in the Name of the *Weſtern Churches* againſt the preſent Proceedings, and admiſſions of Malignants (for ſo they call'd the King's beſt Subjects) to Power and Employment: and with theſe, *Ker*, *Straughan*, Sir *John Chieſley*, Sir *James Stewart*, and others Confederated. In the other Attempt he had equal ſucceſs; for having ineffectually beſieg'd *Edenborough Caſtle*, he ſo practiſed upon one *Dundaſs* that was Governour of it, that he ſurrender'd it up to *Cromwel* upon very eaſie Articles. *Abernethy* was the Governour's Confident in this Affair, who went often out of the Caſtle to gain Intelligence, as was pretended; but his buſineſs was to make a bargain with *Cromwel* for the Caſtle, for when it was ſurrender'd he ſtaid at *Edenborough*, and was always a Promoter of the *Engliſh* Deſigns for the Conqueſt and enſlaving his Native Country.

January the firſt, the King's Coronation was ſolemnized at *Scoon*, the uſual place for that purpoſe, the King being the 48th Monarch of that Kingdom that had been crowned there. It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonfires, firing Guns, and with as much Pomp and Ceremony as the preſent ſtate of things would allow of. And now the *Scots* acted vigorouſly in raiſing an Army, and having collected their Forces, they encamped at *Sterling*, with intentions to march into *England*, while *Cromwel* endeavour'd all he could to prevent them, by drawing them, if it were poſſible, to an Engagement in *Scotland*. The King did not think the Forces he ſhould raiſe in *Scotland* would be able to fight *Cromwel*, and invade *England*, without preparation there for his farther Aſſiſtance, to divide the *Engliſh* Forces at home, and therefore kept a Correſpondence with his Friends in *London*, *Lancaſhire*, *The King Crown'd at Scoon.*

A. D. 1651. and other parts. And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Major-General *Maſſey*, ſhould march with a Body of Horſe into *England*, to join with a Party in *Lancaſhire*, who only waited for their coming; but in the midſt of theſe promiſing Endeavours, all their hopes were blaſted, by the taking of a Ship at *Ayre* in *Scotland*, which was bound to the Earl of *Darby* in the *Iſle of Man*, and the ſeizing of Mr. *Berkenhead*, whoſe Letters diſcovered the whole Contrivance, whereupon Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays-Inn*, Mr. *Gibbons* a Tayler, Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Dr. *Drake*, and ſeveral other Presbyterian Miniſters were apprehended, and tried for their Lives by a Court of high Injuſtice, and about the latter-end of *July Gibbons* and *Love* were executed, to terrifie the Presbyterian Party, and hinder them from joining with the *Scots*, who were daily expected to come with the King into *England*.

The Battle at Fife. *Cromwel* purſuing his former deſign, in fighting the *Scots* before they left that Country, landed part of his Army in *Fife*, under the Command of Colonel *Overton*: And to drive them from thence, 4000 Horſe and Foot were appointed to march againſt them under the Command of Sir *John Brown*; which *Cromwel* having notice of, ſent over *Lambert* and *Okey* with two Regiments of Horſe and two of Foot, who joining with the reſt, engaged Sir *John Brown*, overthrew him, took him with Coll. *Buchanan* and 1400 more Priſoners, and killed about 2000 of them.

Now the King and his Army were forc'd to take that courſe which they had long ſince deſign'd, to march directly for *England*: Accordingly, as ſoon as he had notice of this Defeat, he march'd his Army Southward, and *Cromwel* made what haſte he could to overtake His Majeſty, but the *Scots* were many days march before him. *Harriſon*, who with about 3000 Horſe and Dragoons lay neareſt *England*, had Orders to attend His Majeſty's motions, and *Lambert* with about as many more was appointed by a Council of War to ſpeed after them, and fall upon their Rear. *Cromwel* himſelf began his March from *Leith* with 1000 Horſe and Foot the ſame day the King entred *England*, which was upon the 6th of *Auguſt* 1651. In *Lancaſhire* the King was hard beſet both by the

The King march'd into England.

Forces

Forces that follow'd him out of *Scotland*, and thoſe that were rais'd in *England* againſt him: *Cromwel* was in his Rear, *Harriſon* and *Lambert* by long Marches were got before him, to whom there came 2000 of the Militia out of *Staffordſhire*, with 4000 out of *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and other parts. To flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* appear'd with many Troops in *Yorkſhire*, and the City of *London* poured out a good part of its Militia againſt him; but, which was worſt of all, the *Scotch* Army dwindl'd away by degrees, ſo that when he came to *Worceſter* he had but 13000 Men. The King was alſo diſappointed of the Countries coming in to him, for the moſt conſiderable Supply he had was only one Troop of Horſe, commanded by Captain *Cecil Howard*, Son to the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*; nor is it to be wonder'd at, ſince the Parliaments Forces and the Militia had ſo overſpread the Country, that none could have an opportunity to ſtir for the King, but they were ſeized by his Enemies; inſomuch that before the deciding blow was given, they appear'd to be in a loſt and hopeleſs condition.

A. D. 1651.

On the 22d of *Auguſt* the King came to *Worceſter*, when after one or two Repulſes by the Forces that kept the City, he quickly entred by the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, who help'd to beat out the Parliamentarians. About two or three days before the King arrived at *Worceſter*, the brave Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Wye-water* in *Lancaſhire*, came to him with 250 Foot, and 60 Horſe, which he brought with him out of the *Iſle of Man*, and immediately returning back into *Lancaſhire*, he gather'd together above 1200 Men; for ſo well was he beloved in his Country, that a little more time would have render'd him formidable. With theſe Forces he was marching to fall upon *Cromwel*'s own Regiment; but News coming to him of Colonel *Lilburn*'s approach, the Earl reſolv'd to engage *Lilburn* and his Party, before the other Troops could come to his aſſiſtance; and accordingly charg'd him ſo furiouſly, that he routed the firſt Troops, and had made ſo great an impreſſion into their Body, that they began to be diſorder'd, till freſh Reſerves both of Horſe and Foot came in, which over-power'd them with Numbers, and routed them. Many Perſons of Quality were taken Priſoners; but the Earl of *Derby* having loſt his George and Garter, fled

The King came to Worceſter.

A. D. 1641. fled with about 30 Horſe towards *Worceſter*, having ſhelter'd himſelf one night in a Houſe in his way call'd *Boſcobel*, which Providence by this means prepared for the King's Retreat and Preſervation.

By this time *Cromwel* had ſurrounded *Worceſter*, in as narrow a compaſs as the Rivers and Paſſes would ſuffer him, the King's Army as yet lying round about it in the Field. Firſt *Cromwel* took the Paſs at *Upton-Bridge*, and the fatal day, *September* the 3d, being come, and having paſs'd over his Army in Boats, he march'd directly towards the City, the King's Forces encountring them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, diſputing every Paſs with abundance of Valour and Gallantry: but being wearied out, and their Ammunition ſpent, the King commanded them into the City. In the Head of one of the Bodies the King himſelf charged with great Gallantry and Conduct, and preſs'd ſo hard upon *Cromwel*'s Life-Guard, that the Troop was much diſorder'd and the Captain dangerouſly wounded. In another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, who fought with undaunted Courage and Reſolution, received a ſhot in his Thigh, and died preſently after it. The Militia-Regiments of *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Cheſhire* were much annoyed by the *Scots*; but *Cromwel* reinforcing them with Veterans, they forced the *Scots* to retire into the City, which they could not do in ſuch order, but many of the *Cromwellians* entred with them. When the Enemy was got into the City, the King retired a while into his Quarters, and hearing they were poſſeſs'd of the Fort-Royal, about Seven at night the King left the City, paſſing out at St *Martin*'s Gate with about 60 Horſe, the chief of his Retinue, and narrowly eſcaped being taken in his Lodging by Coll. *Cobbet*. In this Engagement there was ſlain in the Field, in the Town, and in the purſuit, about 2000, and 8000 taken Priſoners, moſt of the *Engliſh* private Soldiers eſcaping by their *Shibboleth*.

Worceſter.

The King's Eſcape from Worceſter.

The King, as was ſaid before, departed from *Worceſter* in the dusk of the evening, leaving Colonel *Careloſs* in the Rear to keep the Enemy in diſpute, that the approaching night might favour his eſcape. By the Earl of *Derby*'s Advice they made all poſſible ſpeed to a place call'd *White-Ladies*, and recovering it before morning, they committed him to the Care and Fi-

Fidelity of four Brethren called *Penderel*, and their Brother-in-law *Yates*. There they cut off His Majeſty's Hair, bury'd his Buff Coat and Linnen Breeches, and diſguis'd him in a Country habit. Here the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Derby*, and other Lords, with Tears took their leaves of His Majeſty, every one ſhifting for themſelves. The Duke of *Buckingham* was ſecur'd at a Friend's Houſe in that Country, but the reſt were taken at *Newport* by *Lilburn*'s Horſe. The Earl of *Derby* render'd himſelf a Priſoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancaſhire*, on promiſe of Quarter for Life. As ſoon as the King was left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoining, taking the Name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, lately come thither for Work, and was accordingly inſtructed in his Tongue and Behaviour. That day prov'd very wet, ſo that *Yates*'s Wife brought a Blanket to cover him, and a Diſh of Milk and Apples for his Refreſhment: At night returning to *Richard Penderel*'s houſe, his Mother joyfully receiv'd him, and treated him with an ordinary Country Supper; which being ended, the King, with *Richard* his Guide, reſolv'd upon a Journey to *Wales*; but coming to Mr. *Wolfe*'s houſe, where for fear of Search he was forc'd to be lodg'd in a Barn, Mr. *Wolfe* and his Wife attending him, and hearing that the Paſſages by Water over the *Wye* were ſo ſtrictly guarded, it was dangerous to attempt it, he returned in his homely Accoutrements to *Boſcobel*, where he found Coll. *Careleſs* retired thither alſo for ſhelter; by his Advice they both went into *Boſcobel* Wood, and aſcending into the top of an high and great Oak, whoſe thick and wide Branches made them a ſecure Dormitory, the King ſlept upon a Pillow in the Coll.'s Lap, and at night they deſcended and refreſhed themſelves in the houſe; from thence, attended with the five Brethren, and accommodated with the Miller's Horſe, he went to Mr. *Whitgrave*'s at *Moſely*, where he met with the Lord *Wilmot*, and was kindly received and entertained by Mr. *Whitgrave*. Here they conſidered farther of the King's Eſcape; Colonel *Lane* of *Bently* was made acquainted with it, and they all agreed that Mrs. *Jane Lane*, upon pretence of viſiting her Siſter that lay in Child-bed, ſhould travel to *Briſtol*, and the King ride before her as her Servant,

A. D. 1651.

The Royal Oak.

A. D. 1651. Servant, with one Mr. *Laſſels* and his Wife behind them, and for their greater Security a Paſs was procured them to travel thither. On their Journey (as if by accident) they were met by the Lord *Wilmot* with a Hawk upon his Fiſt, and ſo travelled to *Bromſgrave*, where the King's Horſe loſing a Shoe, he was forc'd to lead him to a Smith's Shop; and the Smith enquiring News of the King, was anſwer'd, *That he believed the King was eſcaped into* Scotland. The Smith replied, *No doubt but the King is ſecretly hid ſomewhere in* England; and wiſh'd he knew where, *for he could get a Thouſand Pounds for taking him.* The King departing from thence, conſulting how to eſcape the Troopers at *Eveſham*, they fell into a Village where a Troop of Horſe was drawn up, and ſtopt the way; but as ſoon as they came near, the Captain commanded them to open to the Right and Left, and ſo they paſs'd through a Troop that was in queſt of the King, and rid to *Cirenceſter* to the *Crown*, where he lodged that night. The next day they travelled the Road to *Briſtol*, till they came to *Henbury*, and then they went to *Shire-Hampton*, and at the *Pill* croſſed the Water to Mr. *Norton*'s houſe at *Leigh* in *Somerſetſhire*, the end of the deſigned Journey. Here the King feigning himſelf to be ſick, at Mrs. *Lanes* requeſt, who ſaid he was a Tenant's Son, the King was taken into the Cellar to drink a Glaſs of Sack, where, to his great ſurprize, the Butler, whoſe Name was *John Pope*, preſented the Wine to him upon his knees, told the King he knew him, but *that he would die before he would betray him.* It ſeems he had been a Soldier in the King's Army, and upon aſſurance of his Fidelity the King employed him to hire a Ship for his Tranſportation.

Two narrow Eſcapes.

From hence the King was conducted by the Lord *Wilmot* to Colonel *Windham*'s houſe at *Trent* in *Dorſetſhire*, and continued there almoſt three weeks in expectation of a Paſſage from *Lime*, but at laſt was diſappointed. From this place by Mr. *Coventry*'s advice, it was reſolved the King ſhould go to *Salisbury*. In his way thither he came to a Town called *Mere*, where the *George*-Inn being kept by an acquaintance of the Colonel's, they ſtaid a while, and drinking in the Cellar, the Hoſt ſeeing the King ſtand at a diſtance like a Servant, ſaid, *Come hither Friend, thou lookeſt like an honeſt fellow; here's a Health to the King*; who anſwering

ing unreadily, made the Man expoſtulate with the Colonel what fellow he had brought with him. The King from *Mere* went to Mrs. *Hyde*'s houſe at *Heal*, where he was joyfully received, and introduced into a ſecret Room in the houſe for his Safety; and here Colonel *Robert Philips* coming to him, Colonel *Windham* took his leave, and returned home. Here alſo Dr. *Hinchman* (who was afterward made Biſhop of *London*) had the Honour to be made acquainted with the King's Condition, and *Philips* was diſpatch'd to hire a Veſſel at *Southampton*, to tranſport the King into *France*; but not prevailing, and meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he imparted the ſecret to him, who undertook to provide a Bark at *Bright Hempſtead* in *Suſſex*; and having effected it, the King and the Lord *Wilmot* having taken their leaves of the Noble Matron and the Doctor, in Company of Colonel *Philips*, came in two days to an Inn in *Bright-Hempſtead*, from whence by one *Tetterſhal*, Maſter of a ſmall Veſſel, he was tranſported into *France*. At *Roan* the King's Cloaths were changed by two Engliſh Merchants reſiding there; and upon notice of his arrival, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court, went out to meet him, and to congratulate his wonderful Deliverance; a Providence not to be parallell'd in Hiſtory, *No leſs than fifty two perſons being privy to his Eſcape.*

A. D. 1651.

The King takes Shipping in Suſſex, and lands in France.

On the 22d of *September Cromwel* came to *London*, and was met about *Acton* by the Speaker, the Members of the Rump Parliament, the Lord Mayor of *London*, and Recorder *Steel*, who in a ſet Speech congratulated his Succeſſes, and like a falſe Prophet, by a miſtaken *Prolepſis*, applied theſe Words of the Pſalmiſt to him, *To bind their Kings in chains, and their Nobles in fetters of iron*, arrogantly exalting his Atchievement, to the depreſſing of all that was Loyal, Legal, Juſt, Honeſt, or Honourable in the World. The next day the common Priſoners, driven like a Herd of Swine, were brought through *Weſtminſter* into *Tuttle-fields*, and there ſold to ſeveral Merchants, and ſent to *Barbadoes*. The Colours taken were hanged up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with thoſe that were taken before at *Preſton* and *Dunbar*.

When

A. D. 1651.

When *Cromwel* departed out of *Scotland*, he conſtituted General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army there; which was much regretted by his own Party, becauſe *Monk* had been an old Cavalier, and had ſaid *he would never draw his Sword againſt the King or his Intereſt in* England; however, he had given *Cromwel* ſuch ſatisfaction about his Fidelity, that he would not be perſuaded to alter his Choice. *Monk*'s whole Army amounted not to above 6000 Men; yet, tho' many of them were ſick and weak by long Marches, yet they had gain'd ſuch a Reputation in many Encounters, that the *Scots* were ſo diſ-ſpirited, they dreaded engaging againſt them; and therefore after a ſhort Siege *Cunningham* ſurrender'd the Town and Caſtle of *Sterling* to him, where the King's Royal Robes, the Cloth of State, and all the *Scotch* Records, were found and ſeized, with 5000 Arms, 40 Pieces of Cannon, with great ſtore of Ammunition. Over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Caſtle, this Inſcription was written in the time of K. *James*. I. C. R. *Nobis hæc invicta miſerunt Centum ſex Proavi*, 1617. Which ſhews that place had remained unconquer'd under the Reign of an hundred and ſix Kings, and ſo continued all his and his Son's time. After the taking of *Sterling*, General *Monk* ſate down before *Dundee*: but hearing that old General *Leſley* and many *Scotch* Lords were met at *Elliot*, fourteen miles from *Dundee*, to levy Forces, he ſent Colonel *Allured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons to diſturb their Levies. Theſe march'd away in the night, and before Three in the morning were got undiſcovered beyond the Town: Then they march'd into it with little Reſiſtance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, Miniſters, and about 70 of their Servants; one of which was General *Leſley*, who was found hid in a cloſe Cupboard-Bed. The Earls Marſhal, *Crawford*, *Lindſey*, *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogleby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume* and *Lee*, with many Knights and Gentlemen of Conſideration, were all ſhip'd for *London*; but *Leſley* putting in at *Newcaſtle*, was permitted by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* the Governour to ſtay in *Northumberland*, upon his Parole of Honour. By this means the General had prevented all poſſibility of Relief, and ſeeing he could not prevail with the Governour *Lunſdale* to ſurrender *Dundee*, on the firſt of *September*

Monk *commander in chief in* **Scotland.**

Dundee *taken.*

tember he took it by Storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour and a few others ſaved themſelves a while in a Steeple, but were ſmothered out, and yielded on Terms of Mercy to Captain *Kelly*, who was carrying him to the General to intercede for his Life; but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarouſly ſhot him dead: And after the taking this place, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Caſtles, and ſtrong Holds, either voluntarily ſubmitted, or ſurrendred upon Summons. A. D. 1651. *Butler's barbarity.*

However theſe great Succeſſes did no way mitigate the Severities of the *Junto* at *Weſtminſter*, who about the end of *September* appointed a Court-Marſhal to ſit at *Cheſter* for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and ſeveral other Priſoners taken after the Fight at *Worceſter*, or ſome little time before. The Earl at his Trial pleaded the benefit of the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* who took him Priſoner; but that Plea was over-ruled by the Court, and he was ſentenced to be beheaded, which accordingly was executed upon him on the 15th of *October* at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*; and for the ſame Cauſe of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the ſame Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherſtonhaugh*, Captain *Benbrow* and Captain *Symkins* were ſentenced to Death and executed. *The Earl of Derby beheaded.*

The Engliſh Commonwealth having in a great meaſure quieted all Commotions at home, began to make Acts of Grace to encourage the ſubmiſſion of their Subjects; the firſt related to *Scotland*, paſſing an Act *For the Union of the two Kingdoms, and aboliſhing Kingly Government in that Nation*; which was highly oppoſed by the Kirk, but to no purpoſe. The next Act of Grace was of Obſervation to *England*, wherein they publiſhed, that their intentions were to forget all Injuries, and pardon all Hoſtilities hitherto committed againſt them, upon condition that they took an Oath, *To be true and faithful to the* Commonwealth of England *as then Eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords*. Out of which nevertheleſs were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Son, Sir *John Webſter* of *Amſterdam*, the Executors of the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the perſons that kill'd *Doriſlaus* and *Aſcham*. *The new Engagement.*

But ſcarce were the *Junto* warm in their fancied Tranquility, when there began new matter to exerciſe

A. D. 1651. ciſe their Arms abroad. They thought their elder Brethren the States of *Holland* ſlighted their Authority, in not enquiring more ſtrictly into *Doriſlaus*'s Aſſaſſination, and alſo in affronting their Ambaſſadors, *Oliver St. John* and *Walter Strickland*, by the Mobile in *Holland*. Hereupon they make an Act for the Encouragement of Navigation, wherein they prohibited the importing of any Foreign Commodities, except upon Engliſh Bottoms or in ſuch as were of the ſame Country from which the Goods came. To compoſe all differences, but eſpecially, if it were poſſible, to ſuppreſs the Act of Navigation, ſo prejudicial to their Trade, the *Dutch* ſent *Mijn Here Catz*, *Van da Pere*, *Sharp*, and *Newport*, over into *England*; but at their firſt Audience they were accoſted with ſuch high demands about the Herring-Fiſhing, the buſineſs of *Amboyna*, and a Free Trade in the *Scheld* from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were like to give but a lean acount to their Maſters in what they came about. And tho' for a while ſome Meſſages paſt to and fro for the Vindication of each others Actions, and the *Dutch* made great Proteſtations of Friendſhip for this Commonwealth, yet ſtill Preparations for a War were making on both ſides.

John Lilburn *baniſhed.* This year ended with an Act for the Baniſhment of *John Lilburn*, who being a turbulent Man, had with unwearied impatienee oppos'd all kinds of Government, inſomuch that it was pleaſantly ſaid of him, *That if all the World were depopulated to him alone*, John *would be quarrelling againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *would keep up the Feud againſt* John. In this Act it was provided, 'That if ever he returned without leave from 'the State, he ſhould ſuffer as a Felon.

1652. Now the States of *Holland* ſet out a great Fleet for the ſecurity of their Trade, ordering *Martin Harpert Van Trump*, their Admiral, not to ſtrike his Flag to the *Engliſh* Admiral; and the ſame inſtructions were given to all their Men of War, if occaſionally they met with any *Engliſh* Ships that were not too numerous to engage with. The 17th of *May*, 1652. *Van Trump* came into *Dover* Road with 42 Sail of Ships, and there lay at Anchor. as if he had a mind to dare the *Engliſh* to fight; of which *Blake* the *Engliſh* Admiral having notice, he ply'd up towards him with fifteen

A War begun by the Dutch.

fifteen Ships and Frigats; but as ſoon as *Trump* deſcried the *Engliſh* Fleet, he weighed Anchor, and ſtood towards the Eaſtward, and about two hours after bore directly upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, *Van Trump* being the headmoſt. Hereupon the *Engliſh* lay by, and put themſelves into a fighting poſture. Both Fleets being within a Muſquet-ſhot of each other, *Blake* gave Order to fire at *Trump*'s Flag; which being thrice repeated, *Trump* let fly a Broadſide, which was as briskly return'd by the *Engliſh* Admiral. After ſeveral Broadſides were exchang'd, Major *Bourn* came in to his Aſſiſtance with eight ſtout Ships, and then both Fleets engaged from Four in the Afternoon till Night parted them: Then *Trump* drew his Fleet to the back of the *Goodwin* Sands, and next morning made ſail for *Zealand*. In this Engagement one of the *Hollanders* Ships were ſunk and another taken, with the loſs of about 150 Men: but the *Engliſh* had not one Ship diſabled, and but very few of their Men killed. This Action the States of *Holland* endeavoured to excuſe, by blaming *Trump* for doing it, as their Ambaſſador pretended, without Order, and therefore ſent the *Heer Paw* in Quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary: But he had no Succeſs; for the *Junto* peremptorily required, *To be paid all the Charge and Damages they had ſuſtained by their Preparations for War, before they would treat of any other Propoſition.* Of which the States being adviſed, they recalled their Ambaſſadors, and the War was vigorouſly proſecuted on both ſides. Not long after *Van Trump* put to Sea with 120 Sail, but was not early enough to prevent *Blake*'s ſailing Northward with 70 Sail of Men of War, to interrupt their Trade of Fiſhing. *June* the 6th Sir *George Aſcough* arrived in the *Downs* with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, conſiſting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way 10 *Dutch* Merchants Ships and four Men of War, one of which was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchants that a War was begun with *England*.

A. D. 1651.

Prizes taken by Aſcough.

Upon Sir *George Aſcough*'s arrival, the *Junto* ſent him Orders to ride where he was, till a Fleet that was fitting out in the *Thames* ſhould be ready to join him; Of which *Trump* gaining notice, he laid part of his Fleet between Sir *George* and the River, and ſent the other part Weſtward, to prevent his going that way, reſolving either to ſurprize thoſe coming out of the

A. D. 1652.

Thames, or to ſink or diſperſe thoſe with Sir *George Aſcough*; but the Wind diſappointed that Project, and he return'd into *Holland*, while *Blake* came ſafe into *Yarmouth* with his whole Fleet, and ſix *Dutch* Men of War and 900 Priſoners, which he had taken in this ſhort Voyage. Sir *George Aſcough* having now about 40 Ships, ſailed to *Plymouth*, to ſecure our homeward-bound Merchant-men: and there meeting with *de Ruyter*, a ſmart Fight began between them, till Night drew on, and parted them. The *Dutch* went into a *French* Harbour, and the *Engliſh* into *Plymouth*. *Van Trump* being aſpers'd for want of Conduct in the late Expedition, deſired to be diſcharged from his Employment, which unwillingly the States complied with, and *Wit Wittens* and *de Ruyter* ſupplied his place by a Joint-Commiſſion. Theſe two Commanders putting to Sea, took their Stations near the *North-Foreland*. As ſoon as *Blake* had notice where they were, he haſtened towards them, having been to the Weſtward, to Convoy ſome Merchants Ships homeward, and had taken in his way five *Dutch Weſt-India* Ships of great value, and ſix *Streights*-men valued at 200000 *l.* He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, the firſt was commanded by Himſelf, the ſecond by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*. The Fight was begun by the Rear-Admiral, and immediately after the whole Fleets engaged with equal Courage and Bravery. The *Dutch* Rear-Admiral was boarded and taken, two more of their Ships were ſunk, and one blown up; ſo that *Wit Wittens* was glad to make all the Sail he could to get off, being chaſed by the *Engliſh* within twelve Leagues of the *Maes*, while he, with the remains of his torn and ſhatter'd Fleets, came into *Goree*; which *Blake* being acquainted with, he returned into the *Downs* in Triumph. In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* had worſe Succeſs; for he having there but four or five Ships, was ſet upon by *Van Galen* with ſixteen Sail of Men of War, and loſing the *Phœnix*, was forced to retire with the reſt under the Protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Galen* bought his Victory with the loſs of his Life, and the *Phœnix* was retaken afterwards by the Valour of Captain *Cox*, who had ſometime been Lieutenant of her.

Blake's *ſucceſsful Voyage.*

More Prizes taken.

Van

Van Trump being reſtored to his Office of Admiral, got together 80 Men of War and 10 Fireſhips, with which he ſailed directly to the back of the *Goodwyn*. *Blake* was in the *Downs* but with about 40 Sail, and yet reſolved to fight him; and for that purpoſe ſent out ſeven Ships to find where he was, which were met by nine *Dutch* Ships ſent on the ſame Errand. Theſe began the Fight, and were ſeconded by the Admirals in a long and ſharp Encounter. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himſelf was, with the *Victory* and the *Vantguard*, bore the brunt of the Fight, being engaged at one time with twenty of the beſt *Dutch* Ships, and being overpower'd with Numbers, the *Garland* and *Bonadventure* being taken, the advantage fell to the *Dutch*: And indeed, if the Night had not favoured the Retreat of the *Engliſh*, the whole Fleet had been in danger. The next day *Trump* ſailed through the Channel with a Beeſom upon his Main-Topmaſt, pretending *he had ſwept the Sea of all the* Engliſh. The expence of this War made the *Junto* contrive all ways to husband their Treaſure; and becauſe they thought the Entertainment of the Duke of *Gloceſter* (whom ſince the Murther of the late King they had kept in the *Iſle of Wight*) was too great an Expence, they ſent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promiſing to allow him a ſmall Exhibition for his Maintenance, provided he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations: but as ſoon as he came on the other ſide of the Water, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and was attended to the Princeſs of *Orange* at *Breda*, to the great Joy of Her, and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fears that his Life would have been taken away by thoſe barbarous Blood-ſuckers that murder'd his Royal Father. After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted to *Paris* by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to the King his Brother, to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, to whom he was as welcome as one riſen from the Dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*.

A. D. 1652.

A Dutch *Victory.*

The Duke of Gloceſter *ſent beyond Sea.*

The Reputation of the *Engliſh* Commonwealth was now grown ſo conſiderable, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who managed all Affairs in *France*, oppoſed the League that was offer'd by *Holland*, and rather endeavour'd an Accommodation with the *Engliſh*, and therefore

A. D. 1652. in *December* Monſieur *de Bourdeaux* was ſent as an Agent from the King of *France*, *To acknowledge the States of England*, which was a great ſurprize to all *Europe*.

The States of *Holland* having Advice that the *Junto* were ſetting out a Fleet under the Command of their three Generals, *Blake*, *Monk* and *Dean*, they ſent an Expreſs to *Trump*, who was then at *Rhee*, to haſten away with what Merchant-men were ready, to block up the River of *Thames*, to prevent their going out. *Trump* obeyed their Command; but, contrary to the expectation of the States, and to their amazement, the *Engliſh* Generals ſail'd from *Queenborough* with 60 Sail of Men of War on the 8th of *February*, and on the 11th of the ſame Month were join'd with 20 Sail more from *Portſmouth*, and with this Fleet lay Half-ſeas-over againſt *Portland*, to diſcover the *Dutch* Fleet.

Another Sea-Fight. On *Friday* the 18th of *February* the *Engliſh* ſaw them, conſiſting of 76 Men of War, who had the charge of 300 Merchant-Ships under their Convoy. The *Engliſh* made what ſail they could towards the Enemy, and *Van Trump* prepared to receive them. About Eight in the morning the *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* and *Dean* were, with twelve Ships more, for the reſt could not get up, engaged Board and Board with the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, and the *Triumph* was hard belay'd, having received 700 Cannon-ſhot in her Hull, but was gallantly reliev'd by *Lawſon* that commanded the *Fairfax*. By this time the whole *Engliſh* Fleet came up, a bloody Fight followed, and continued while Night parted them. In this Encounter the *Engliſh* loſt never a Ship, but had many diſabled: ſix of the *Dutch* Men of War were ſunk and taken whereof one was a Flag ſhip, and moſt of the Officers in *Trump*'s Ship were either kill'd or wounded.

On *Saturday* morning the *Dutch* Fleet were again diſcern'd ſeven Leagues off *Weymouth*, and over againſt *Dungen-Neſs*, whither the *Engliſh* plied, and ſoon engaged them, till both Fleets were environ'd with Fire and Smoak. *Trump* put his Merchant men before him, and after the firſt ſhock drew off, and fought retreating towards *Bulloign*, and in his way thither the *Engliſh* took many of his Merchant Ships, and *Lawſon* boarded a *Dutch* Man of War, and brought her off. The next day early in the morning the Fight was renewed,

newed, and continued till Four in the afternoon: but the Wind being croſs to the *Engliſh*, *Trump* got to *Calais* Sands, and ſo rided it home. In theſe three days Fight the *Dutch* loſt 11 Men of War, 30 Merchants Ships, and about 1500 Men were kill'd. The *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, which was ſunk, called the *Sampſon*, but the Captain and moſt of her Men were ſaved. The number of the *Engliſh* that were killed are not computed; but by the moſt impartial Conjectures they were not much fewer than thoſe of the Enemies. A. D. 1652.

Prince Rupert's return to France.

This year ended with the ſafe arrival of Prince *Rupert* with the *Swallow* from the *Caribee*-Iſlands, where in a Hurricane he loſt his Brother Prince *Maurice*, *a Perſon of as much Valour and Generoſity as any one Prince could be Maſter of.* The Prince landed at *Nants* in *Britanny*, where he fell ſick, but upon his recovery was invited to *Paris*, complemented by the *French* King, and heartily welcom'd by the King of *England*, where now almoſt the whole Royal Family were met together.

1653.

The next year, 1653. began with ominous Preſages againſt our new coin'd Commonwealth, which having almoſt eradicated the *Engliſh* Monarchy, began to ſink under its own weight, and ruine it ſelf by inteſtine Diviſions, which no adverſe Power could hitherto accompliſh.

The Ghibellines, *for want of* Guelfs,
Began to quarrel among themſelves. Hud.

The Officers of the Army who effected this change are now as weary of a *Commonwealth* as ſometime they were of *Monarchy*, and therefore plot to change the Government. *Harriſon* was one of the Heads of this Party, known by the Name of *Fifth Monarchiſts*, who could approve of no Government, *but where Chriſt*, as they ſaid, *muſt rule*; which they explain'd as *a Dominion to be exerciſed by Saints under him, till he came to reign himſelf. Cromwel* mingled with theſe Zealots in their new Project, knowing the inconſiſtency of their Intentions would introduce ſuch a Confuſion as muſt neceſſitate his taking the Government upon himſelf, to reſcue the Party from Deſtruction. The *Junto* were very ſenſible of theſe Proceedings, but knew not how to prevent them; and therefore took their

A. D. 1653.

opportunities of reasoning the matter with the Officers, promising to make an Act for filling up the House with qualified Representatives, as the only Expedient for all their Securities. The Officers reply'd in short, *That there was no good to be expected from the present Members, nor any thing they should propose; and their Reasoning* Pro *and* Con *did but make the breach the wider.* In the mean time, the House went on according to their purpose; prepared an Act for setling the Qualification of Members to fill up their House, and made such speed in it, that on the 20th of *April* the Question was ready to be put *to pass it into a Law*; when *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and about eight more Officers of the Army, entred the House, and after a short Speech spoken by *Cromwel*, shewing some Reasons of *the necessity of their Dissolution*, he declared them *to be dissolved, and requir'd them to leave the House immediately*: But the Speaker would not quit the Chair till *Harrison* took him by the Arm: *Cromwel* commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not to be carried any more before him. Then they caus'd the doors of the Parliament-House to be lock'd, and planted a strong Guard before it, to prevent their assembling for the future.

The Junto *turn'd out by* Cromwel.

A New Government.

The next thing done by these Officers, was to constitute a *Council of State*, consisting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and such of the late *Junto* as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was invested, till a Representative should be chosen; and all Writs were to run in the Stile of, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*, as before. The *Dutch* thinking to profit themselves by this Revolution, made all possible speed to get out their Fleet, and our New Governours did the like. The *Dutch* put out their Fleet under the Command of *Van Trump*, assisted with *de Ruyter*, *Wit Wittens*, and the two *Eversons*, consisting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and nine Fireships. The *English* Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* and *Dean*, both in one Ship, assisted by *Penn* Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral, with about 100 Sail of all sorts. On the 2d of *June* both Fleets engaged, and *Dean* standing by General *Monk*, was shot off in the middle at the first Broadside the *Dutch* discharged, and not long after a Calm caus'd them to desist; but in two hours there sprung up a fresh

Another Sea-Fight.

fresh Gale of Wind, and the Fight was renewed in so violent a manner, that it continued with little intermission till it grew dark. *Lawson* press'd so hard upon *de Ruyter* with his Squadron, that he had certainly carried him off, if *Trump* had not relieved him; however, he could not prevent *Lawson* from sinking a Ship of *Holm*, of 42 Guns, and 140 Men. Next day about Noon the Fight began again, and continued till Ten at Night. Ninety of *Trump*'s Fleet were in such great Confusion in the heat of the Fight, and so unwilling to endure it, that he fir'd upon them, and sent his Boat to command them to come up: but nothing could persuade more than twenty of them to return; the rest steer'd away East and by South; but the Wind rising fresh Westerly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, two were blown up among themselves, and 11 Ships and two Hoys were taken, with 1320 Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of Note; and of the Ships, one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals. At the end of the Fight General *Blake* came in with 18 fresh Ships; so that if the *Dutch* had not got upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where our great Ships could not get to them, the greatest part of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The *English* lost not a Ship, nor one disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain was killed. *Van Trump* imputed this Overthrow to the Ignorance of his Captains: but his Masters were so mortified by it, that they took up a resolution to sue for Peace; and a Vessel with a White Flag, and a Messenger to prepare the way for two Ambassadors, was immediately sent into *England*. A. D. 1653.

Another New Model of Government.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over *England*, the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate, to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them, in the Name of *Oliver Cromwel*, *Captain General of all the Forces*, &c. to take upon them the Trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *Whitehall* on the 5th of *July* following. Accordingly they appeared, went to the Parliament-House, chose one *Rous* a *Cornish*-man, lately made Provost of *Eaton*, to be their Speaker, and appointed Committees as other Parliaments use to do, to make their business easie to them.

A. D. 1653.

While these Affairs were transacting, the *Dutch* had made Overtures of Peace to *Cromwel*, which were not received; but that they might make it upon better Terms, they resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputations. *July* the 29th 1653. the two Fleets were in sight of each other; but the *English* being a-stern, could not get up till six in the evening, and then the Fight was begun by a few of our nimblest Frigats, which were afterward reinforced to the number of Thirty, who continued the Battle till Night parted them, tho' the rest of the Fleet could not get up to assist them. The next day the Fight was renewed, the Air was quickly filled with the scatter'd Limbs of Men that were blown up, and the Sea was dy'd with the Blood of the kill'd and wounded. *Wit Wittens* and *Everson* bestirr'd themselves, and often attempted to board the General's Ship; but *Cornelius Everson*'s Ship was sunk, he was taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself, standing with his Sword in his hand on the Poop of his Ship, was killed with a Musquet bullet; which so disheartened the rest of the Fleet, that they crowded their Ships with Sails, and steer'd for the *Texel*. The *English* pursued them a while, but having bought the Victory at a dear rate, tack'd, and stood into *Sole Bay* to repair their shatter'd Fleet, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, *viz. Everson*, *Zanger*, *Femeen*, *Scotten*, and *D'Hayes*; and about 1200 Men by the Compassion of the *English* were taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; thirty three Sail of Ships, out of which they were saved, were sunk to the bottom. The *English* lost 400 common Sea-men and eight Captains, *viz. Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen*, and *Chapman*, all Men of great Resolution; and had 700 Wounded, whereof Five were Commanders; but they lost but one Ship, which was called the *Oak*.

Another Sea-Fight.

Van Trump was a Man of great Courage, and Experience in Maritime Affairs, so that he justly merited the Reputation of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of the Age, and peradventure there was scarce a better at any time before him. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour and Fidelity, and a great Lover of his Country, which made him bear a great Respect

Van Trump's Character.

ſpect to the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Orange*, who laid the Foundation of that High and Mighty Greatneſs which they now enjoy, and by whoſe Prudence and Courage their Liberties were reſcued, and are ſtill preſerved againſt one of the moſt Potent Princes of *Europe*. A. D. 1653.

The new thing call'd a Parliament began to be ſo troubleſom in their Conſultations, that the whole Nation, and eſpecially the Officers of the Army that named them, grew wearier of Them than thoſe which they had lately turn'd out. They were ſo fantaſtical and notional in their Debates, that they would have made the Magiſtracy and Miniſtry ridiculous: therefore *Rous* the Speaker acquainted them on the 12th of *December*, That their ſitting was no longer neceſſary; and being ſeconded by ſome others privy to the deſign, he roſe from the Chair, and went out of the Houſe with the Mace carried before him, and with as many as would follow him, which was the major part of the Members, went to *Whitehall*, and reſign'd the Inſtrument to *Cromwel*, which he had given them at their firſt ſitting. *Harriſon* with a few others continu'd in the Houſe when the reſt were gone, but were quickly diſpers'd by a Company of Soldiers ſent to diſſolve them. About four days after, the Officers of the Army had drawn up another new Syſtem of Government, on which another Dominion was erected, and intreated *Oliver Cromwel* to accept of the Government, under the Title of *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. *Cromwel* at firſt put on a face of modeſty to deny the Dignity; but when the Exigence of Time and the Neceſſity of Affairs were laid open to him, he accepted of it, and at One in the afternoon the ſame day was inſtall'd at *Weſtminſter* in this manner: He went from *Whitehall* to the Chancery-Court in *Weſtminſter-hall*, attended by the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Judges in their Robes. After them went the Learned Councel of the Commonwealth, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns. Then came the Protector, attended with many Chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State ſet in the Court, and the Protector ſtood by it till the Inſtrument of Government was read; then an Oath was adminiſtred to him in theſe words: *I pro-*

The Mock Parliament diſſolved.

A. D. 1653. *I promiſe in the Preſence of God not to violate or infringe the Matters or Things contained in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve, and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved, and in all things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, Govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof, and to ſeek their Peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.* Having ſubſcribed this Oath, and the Inſtrument, he ſate down in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat; the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; all which he reſpectfully returned again, and then the Protector went back to the place from whence he came, in the State before mentioned.

The Heads of the Inſtrument *of the* Protector's *Government were theſe.*

"I. First, That a Parliament be called every Three "Years.

II. "The firſt to aſſemble on the 3d of *September*, "1654.

III. "No Parliament to be diſſolved till it has ſate "five months.

IV. "Such Bills as are offered to the Protector to "be ſigned by the Parliament, if he ſign them not "in Twenty Days, they are to be Laws without "him.

V. "That his Council ſhall not exceed the Num- "ber of One and Twenty, nor be leſs than Thir- "teen.

VI. "That immediately after the Death of the "preſent Protector and his Succeſſor, the Council "ſhall chuſe another before they riſe.

VII. "No Protector after the preſent ſhall be Ge- "neral of the Army.

VIII. "The

VIII. "The Protector ſhall have Power to make "War and Peace. A. D. 1654.

IX. "That in the Intervals of Parliament, the "Protector and his Council may make ſome Laws "that ſhall be binding to the Subject.

The firſt Council choſen in purſuance of this Inſtrument, were Colonel *Edward Mountague*, Colonel *John Lambert*, *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Colonel *John Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, Sir *Charles Wooliey*, Major-General *Skippon*, *Walter Strickland* Eſq; Colonel *William Sydenham*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Francis Rous* Gent. *John Lawrence*, *Richard Major*, Eſq;. The firſt Act they did was to confirm all publick Magiſtrates and Officers in their places, till Order was given to the contrary.

The States of the United Provinces were brought into ſo low a condition by the two laſt Fights, and their People ſo much diſ-ſpirited, that a general Revolt was feared in all the United Provinces, and one Battle more might have brought us a blank Paper, to write down our own Conditions of Peace; but *Cromwel* was not ſo well ſettl'd on his Throne as to hazard any thing, and therefore the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, *Newport*, *Youngſtal*, *Bevering*, and *Vander Pere*, were well received by him; who were ſo diligent in their Negotiations, that coming but in the beginning of the year, the Articles of Peace were ſigned in *London* on the 5th of *April*, and proclaimed in *London* and *Amſterdam* on the 26th of the ſame month; in which the King of *Denmark* was alſo included. The Articles of Peace are not very eſſential to be inſerted at large in this Hiſtory, however the two chiefeſt were theſe, *viz.*

That the Men of War, and all other Ships of Holland, *meeting the* Engliſh *Ships in the Narrow Seas, ſhall lower their Sails to them.*

That the States ſhall cauſe Reſtitution to be made by the King of Denmark, *of all the Ships and Goods of the* Engliſh *by him ſeized, which are yet undiſpoſed, and to make full compenſation in value for ſuch of them as have been ſold, to be aſcertain'd in a time prefix'd by ſix* Engliſh *Merchants, and as many* Dutch, *who ſhould meet for that purpoſe.*

The

A. D. 1654. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was the firſt that congratulated the Protector's Authority. A Peace was alſo made with the Queen of *Sweden*, and the *Conde de la Sa* the King of *Portugal*'s Lord Chamberlain came in a ſplendid Embaſſy to ſeek Peace for his Maſter. Nor were the *French* backward to own his Power, but tranſlated their Reſident here into an Ambaſſador, and join'd the Baron of *Baas* with him as a Collegue, to negotiate an Amity with the Protector. Now, agreeably to the late Inſtrument of Government, a Parliament ſummoned by *Oliver*'s Writs aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and choſe *William Lenthal* their Speaker, who had been Speaker to the Long Parliament. Their beginning was ſomething bold, conſidering the ſlender Title they had to call themſelves a Parliament; for at their firſt ſitting down they began to queſtion the Lawfulneſs of their Power by which they were called; upon which they were enjoin'd to ſign a *Recognition of the Government, as it was ſettled in a Single Perſon and a Parliament*, before they could be re admitted to their Places in the Houſe. Then all of them that ſign'd (for ſome refus'd) had liberty to ſit; but ſo little did their Proceedings pleaſe his Protectorſhip, that they had ſcarce ſate five months, (and ſo long they were to ſit by one of the Articles in the *Inſtrument*) when he came and diſſolv'd them. A day or two after which, Major *Wildman* was apprehended for publiſhing a Declaration, *proving the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of taking up Arms againſt* Cromwel. And of the Royaliſts, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and others were taken up, about a New Conſpiracy; and in truth, there was a Foundation laid of a General Riſing for the King in every County; which had not been ſo eaſily ſuppreſs'd, if *Cromwel*, who ſpar'd no Coſt to maintain his Inſtruments of Deceit, had not had his Spies about the King's Perſon, who gave him Intelligence of all the King's Affairs, and what was either ſaid or done in order to his Reſtoration, and yet pretended themſelves to be zealous Royaliſts; of which Number Sir *Richard Willis* was at laſt too Juſtly ſuſpected to be one. But more particularly one *Manning*, Son of Colonel *Manning* that was ſlain in his Father's Service, being preferr'd to be one of the King's Secretary's Clerks, kept a conſtant Correſpondence with *Thurlo*,

Oliver's Secretary of State; who being ſuſpected, Colonel *Samuel Tuke* forced open his Chamber-door, juſt as he had received a Packet, and took him in the very act of returning Anſwers to *Thurlo*'s Letters. This he had made his Weekly Practice a long time before this happy Diſcovery, and had large Penſions aſſign'd him by *Oliver* for his pains; but now had the Reward of his Treachery, and was ſhot to Death in one of the Duke of *Newburgh*'s Caſtles. Yet notwithſtanding this Diſcovery, ſome ſmall Armed Parties began to gather into a Body in *Shropſhire* and *Wales*, but were ſoon diſperſed. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded, and the *Weſtern* Priſons were crowded with the meaner ſort of People, till they emptied themſelves into Foreign Plantations. This year died the famous Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whoſe Learned Works will be a more laſting *Monument* of his Worth, than that erected for him in the Temple Church. A. D. 1654.

A Voyage to Hiſpaniola for Gold.

Oliver now wanting Money, and finding he was like to get none from any Parliament, ſets upon a Project of ſupplying himſelf from the *Spaniſh* Mines in the *Indies*; and for this purpoſe gathered Soldiers, and ſet out a Fleet of Ships from *Portſmouth*, *December* the 27th, under the Command of *Pen* and *Venables*, which put in at *Barbadoes* the 28th of *January*, and ſailed from thence the 30th of *March* towards *Hiſpaniola*, one of the richeſt Iſlands in the King of *Spain*'s Dominions in *America*, where they met with a conſiderable Check in their firſt Enterprize; for General *Venables*, who might have landed his Men near *Santo Domingo*, the principal Town and Fortreſs of the Iſland, ſet them a-ſhoar above 10 Leagues to the *Weſtward* of it; whereupon the *Spaniards*, who had in a manner totally deſerted it at the firſt approach of the *Engliſh* Fleet, gather'd freſh Courage, return'd and betook themſelves to the Defence of their Garriſon, which they had abandon'd. The *Engliſh* landing without oppoſition, fancied themſelves abſolute Lords of the *Indies*, and in their conceits were ſharing the Golden Mines to their own proper uſes: when, contrary to their expectations, the General cauſing it to be proclaim'd in the Head of the Army, *That none upon pain of Death ſhould plunder any Gold, Silver, Jewels, or kill any Cattle.* This ſudden annihilating their hopes, with the exceſſive heat of the Climate, put ſuch a damp

A. D. 1655.

damp upon their Spirits, as the other fatigue weakned their Bodies, that by that time they had march'd a tedious and diſconſolate Journey through thick ſweltring Woods, and deep ſcalding Sands, oppreſſed with miſerable Thirſt, having had not one drop of Water for many Leagues, they were brought to ſuch a feeble condition, that they needed no Enemy to kill them, being already almoſt dead with faintneſs; ſo that the *Spaniards*, the *Negroes* and *Molattoes*, falling upon them, ſlew them with little or no reſiſtance, till they were weary of killing, by which means ſome made a hard ſhift to fly to their Ships. In this Fight were loſt above ſix hundred *Engliſh*, near as many more in ſtragling Parties, and all this Execution done by no greater Number than ſixty of the Enemy. The Remains of this Naval Army, that they might be thought to do ſomething, poſſeſſed themſelves of another Iſland called *Jamaica*, which with much Induſtry and Supplies from *England*, they render'd habitable, and have kept it ever ſince. Not long after *Pen* and *Venables* returned into *England*: *Venables* upon his arrival was committed to the *Tower*, for his ill management in *Hiſpaniola*; but his Offence being judged to proceed from Imprudence rather than any ill Deſign, he was at length releaſed.

The ſick and weary Engliſh *beaten.*

General *Blake* was more ſucceſsful in the *Streights*; for coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and ſummoning the *Turks* to give ſatisfaction for the Depredations they had made upon the *Engliſh* Merchants, and receiving an Anſwer full of Contempt from the Governour, *viz. Here are our* Caſtles *of* Guletto *and* Porta Ferina, *well Mann'd, and fortified with great Guns, do what you can, we fear you not*; and at the ſame time Mann'd a Line all along the ſhoar, and planted it with Ordnance. Whereupon *Blake* with his great Ships and their Seconds, fell down into the *Bay* of *Porta Ferina*, within Muſquet-ſhot of the Caſtle and their Line, and fired with ſo much fury upon them, that in two hours time the Caſtle was indefencible, all their Guns were diſmounted, and the ſtones clatter'd ſo thick about their ears, that they were forced to retire into the Town. Nine of their Ships were at Anchor in the Road, which the General ſet on fire with his Long-Boats, and in five hours time they were all conſumed. After this Exploit he ſailed

Blake's ſucceſs againſt Tunis.

to

to *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, and there made very advantageous terms for his own Nation; from thence coming back to *Tunis*, he found them now willing to submit to any terms he propoſed. A. D. 1655.

An Army being ſent by *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* againſt his Proteſtant Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, upon ſome diſpleaſure taken againſt them, and the Soldiers being left to their own Liberty, committing many cruel Outrages and Maſſacres upon the poor miſerable People; *Cromwel*, to ingratiate himſelf with the Foreign Proteſtants, acted vigorouſly for their Relief, appointed a Day of Humiliation, and caus'd a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the whole Nation. Beſides this, he ſent his Agents to mediate for them, Mr. *Pell* to the *Switz* Cantons, and Mr. *Samuel Morland* to the Duke of *Savoy*; but his endeavours being ſlighted, he dealt with the *French* King, now his great Ally, by whoſe Authority with the Duke of *Savoy* a Pacification was concluded between that Sovereign Prince and his Subjects, tho' of the large Collection that was made, ſo ſmall a ſhare came to them (for ſome they had) that it was generally ſaid, his pretence of Charity to the *Piemontois*, was but a blind to get Money for Himſelf. Another Stratagem he alſo ſet on foot to fill his Pockets; for, beſides perſecuting the poor Royaliſt Clergy, by prohibiting them from teaching School, enjoying a Benefice, or officiating as Chaplains, he alſo oppreſs'd the Laity by a Decimation of the ſmall Eſtates the War and their Compoſitions had left them. He alſo ſet up Major-Generals in the nature of Præfects over Provinces, to curb and keep the Lay-Royaliſts in awe. Theſe upſtart Officers, unknown to the Law of *England*, were Eleven in number, *viz. Kelſey*, *Goff*, *Desborow*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Woaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Wooſly*, *Lambert*, and *Barkſtead*, who was alſo Lieutenant of the Tower: Each of them had his ſeveral Counties allotted to his Government, in which they reign'd more inſolently and arbitrarily than ſo many petty Kings, domineering over the Nobility and Gentry at their pleaſure; an inſtance whereof I once ſaw at the *Hind* in *Northampton*, *where Major* Butler *committed the Earl of* Northampton *for keeping his Hat on in his Preſence*; but, thro' great perſuaſions, at length was ſo gracious as to take Bail for the Earl's

A Collection for the Proteſtants in Piedmont.

The Tyranny of his Major-Generals.

A. D. 1655. Earl's good Behaviour. But these Præfects were not long-liv'd; for *Cromwel* suspecting the Limbs might grow too big for the Head, in complaisance to the next Parliament he laid them all aside.

The *Spaniards* thinking it in vain to expect Peace on this side the Line, from those who had broke it on the other, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began to make Preparations for War, laid a general Embargo upon all the *English* Merchants Goods in *Spain*, and secured many of their Persons; the like being done in *England*, War was openly proclaim'd at *Dunkirk*. The denunciation of this War with *Spain* was the production of a Peace with *France*, which was proclaim'd in *London* and *Paris* on the 28th of *November*, and Colonel *Lockart*, who had married *Oliver*'s Niece, was sent thither in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassador. Among other things agreed on in this Treaty, one of the chiefest was, *The Exclusion of the King, and all his Relations and Adherents, out of the* French *King's Dominions:* But his Majesty, upon foresight of what this Treaty would amount to, had long since withdrawn himself into *Germany*, and continu'd for the most part at *Cologn*, till the King of *Spain* invited him into *Flanders*. His Brother, the Duke of *York*, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the *French* Army, was also advis'd *that he must depart that Kingdom*; so little do the Ties of Blood and Relation signifie, when they stand in competition with Self-interest, or Maxims of State and Policy! so the Duke went into *Flanders* also. This year concluded with the Death of that Reverend, Pious, and Learned Prelate, *James Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, and sometime Primate of all *Ireland*. He died on the 21st of *March*, but his Funeral was deferr'd till the 17th of *April* 1656. and then was solemniz'd with all decent Pomp; most of the Nobility in *London* attended his Corps to *Westminster-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by Doctor *Bernard*, who was then Almoner to *Cromwel*; besides, *Cromwel* himself gave 2000 *l.* to defray the Charges of his Funeral.

War with Spain, *and* *Peace with* France.

1656. Notwithstanding the Protector's ill success with his last Parliament, he finds a necessity of calling another, and Writs were issued out accordingly for one

to

to ſit on the 17th of *September*. In the mean while a part of the *Engliſh* Fleet of ſix Sail, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Richard Stayner*, ſet upon a Fleet of 38 Sail of *Spaniards*, about four Leagues from the Bay of *Cadiz*. The Admiral of *Spain*'s Ship, in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with 600000 Pieces of Eight *, run a-ſhoar in the Bay. The Vice-Admiral, a Gallion, commanded by *Don Franciſco de Eſquevel*, and having in her 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another Ship commanded by *Don Rodrigues Calderon*, were taken, and afterwards ſet on fire, (one willingly by the *Spaniards* in it, and the other by accident;) two others were taken and kept by the *Engliſh*. The Rear-Admiral, a Gallion, commanded by *Don Franciſco de la Hayo*, having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden. Another Man of War of ſome value, with a *Portugal* Prize, and a ſmall Veſſel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, eſcaped to *Gibraltar*. This was a gainful Enterprize to thoſe that performed it, as well as to *Cromwel*.

A. D. 1656.

Spaniſh *Prizes taken.*

* *In our Money* 4 s. 6 d.

The 17th of *November* being come, the Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and choſe Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker. None were admitted in this Convention, but ſuch as after their Election were approved of by *Cromwel* and his Council, ſo that till the 26th of *June* things run very ſmoothly, and on that day the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *January* following. The chief Acts they paſſed were:

A Seſſion of Parliament.

For Renouncing and Diſannulling the Title of Charles Stewart *unto the Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

For ſecuring his Highneſs the Lord Protector's Perſon, and continuing the Nation in Peace and Safety.

A Vote, *To aſſiſt his Highneſs in his War againſt the* Spaniard, *which they declare to have been undertaken upon juſt grounds.*

An Act, *For preventing the multiplicity of Buildings within ten miles of* London; the ſubſtance of which was, *That for every Houſe built from ſuch a time, within the compaſs, upon a new Foundation, a Years Rent ſhould be paid to the Protector.*

A. D. 1656.

Oliver is courted to be made a King.

The humble Petition and Advice was a Model of Government which they offer'd ſeveral times to the Protector at *Whitehall*, wherein they deſire him to take upon him the Chief Government of the Nation under the Title of KING, which he had already the *Power* of, but wanted only the *Name*. This Offer was at laſt brought to an open Conference, tho' for a while touch'd but very tenderly, till his Friends, to whom he had given theſe Inſtructions, and *who muſt ſeem to court him to what he had commanded them to propoſe*, underſtood the ſenſe of the Army in it; and therefore, as often as the Members addreſs'd him with this *humble Petition and Advice*, he ſtill deſired farther time to deliberate in a matter of ſuch great Importance: till at length, being preſs'd to give them his final Anſwer, and he had known the Army's averſion to it, he return'd, *That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title.* Thus openly refuſing (when he ſaw it was not ſafe to venture) what was more than generally believ'd he ſtrove for. And indeed it was but high time for *Cromwel*'s Convention to make Acts for the Security of his Life, ſince there was now more noiſe than ever of deſperate Plots againſt it. *Miles Sindercomb*, a caſhier'd and diſcontented Army-man; *Toop*, one of *Cromwel*'s Life-Guard; with *Cecil* and *Bois*; the laſt of which was a Prieſt belonging to *Don Alonzo*, ſometime Leiger-Ambaſſador here from *Spain*, and who hir'd the reſt to kill *Cromwel*, knowing his danger, fled beyond Sea. *Cecil* and *Toop* laid the blame upon *Sindercomb*, and were pardon'd upon confeſſing and being Evidences for the Protector. *Sindercomb* ſtoutly denied the Fact; but his Confederates, who had left him in the lurch, witneſſing againſt him, he was condemn'd to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept cloſe Priſoner in the Tower, the very morning he was to have been Executed he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have ſnuff'd up a poyſonous Powder, to prevent a ſhameful Execution. However, as a *Felo de ſe*, he was dragg'd at a Horſe's Tail with his heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into a hole under the Scaffold, (that then conſtantly ſtood upon the Hill) with a Stake ſpik'd with Iron driven thro' his Body.

A Plot againſt his Life.

Mo-

A. D. 1656.

Memorable was the Trial of *James Naylor*, one of the first and principal Ringleaders of the impertinent Sect called *Quakers*, who having gain'd many Proselytes about *Briſtol*, he was attended by ſeveral deluded Men and Women into that City, ſinging *Hoſannah* before him, ſtrewing his way with Herbs and Flowers, uſing the ſame Expreſſions, and paying him the ſame Honour, as the *Jews* did to our *Bleſſed Saviour* when he rode into *Jeruſalem*. He was convented before the Parliament, which was then ſitting, and by them ſentenc'd, "To be Whipt, to be ſet upon the Pillory "before the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*, to be burnt "through the Tongue, and branded with a hot Iron "in the Forehead with the Letter B for a *Blaſphe-*"*mer*. All which was executed upon him, but he ſhew'd no concern at the Sin or Puniſhment; which being done, one *Rich* a Merchant got upon the Pillory, embrac'd *Naylor*, and lick'd his Forehead with his Tongue. From thence he was ſent down to *Briſtol*, where he was whipt thro' the ſtreets, and committed Priſoner to *Guernſey* during life.

1657.

Blake's *Expedition to* Santa Cruz.

The *Spaniards* were now much diſtreſſed in all parts by the War with the Protector; and to add to their Troubles, ſo gallant an Action was perform'd againſt them by General *Blake*, on the 20th of *April* 1657. as can ſcarce be parallell'd in Hiſtory. The General lying with a Fleet of Ships near *Cadiz*, to wait for the return of the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, had intelligence that they were put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Iſland of *Teneriff*: Hereupon he weighed Anchor on the 13th of *April*, and on the 20th rode in the Offin of *Santa Cruz*, where he diſcern'd the *Spaniſh* Fleet, to the number of 16 Sail, ſemicircularly barricado'd in the Bay. Near the Mouth of the Harbour was a Caſtle well fortified; beſides which, there were 7 Forts round about the Bay, with 6, 4, and 3 great Guns, mounted in every one of them, united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, well lin'd with Muſqueteers; and *Don Diego Deagues*, the *Spaniſh* General of the Fleet, upon ſight of the *Engliſh*, cauſed all the ſmall Ships to be moor'd cloſe to the ſhoar, and plac'd ſix great Gallions well Mann'd farther out at Anchor, with their Broad-ſides towards the Sea. *Blake* having well conſider'd the Poſture of the Enemy,

A. D. 1657. sent Captain *Stayner*, Commander of the *Speaker* Frigat, with a Squadron of Ships into the Bay, who by Eight next morning fell hard and fast upon the *Spanish* Ships; and *Blake*, who would have his share of the Toil and Glory of so brave an Enterprize, immediately seconded *Stayner*, and plac'd some Ships to pour their Broad-sides into the Forts and Castles, whilst he with *Stayner* fought the *Spanish* Fleet, which was not inferiour to the *English*, and much better Mann'd, and by Two in the afternoon gain'd an entire Victory: But the General perceiving he could not bring off their smaller Craft, set them all on fire, except one that was sunk; and what seem'd almost miraculous, the Wind, which during the Engagement blew fresh into the Bay, suddenly veer'd about to the South-west, and brought all our Ships safe out to Sea. The News of this great Success was so grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they order'd *Blake* a Jewel of Five hundred Pounds value, a Hundred Pounds was given to the Messengers that brought his Letters, with proportionable Gratuitities to most of the Officers and Mariners.

After this, *Cromwel* sent over 6000 Men to assist the *French* against the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, commanded in Chief by *Reynolds*, one of *Oliver*'s Knights, a Man of good Courage and Resolution. No sooner were they landed, but the *French* with their help took three very advantageous places, *Mont Medi*, *Saint Venant*, and *Mardike*; the last of which was entred by Colonel *Morgan*, and so strongly fortified, that it was desperately storm'd by 2000 *Scotch* and *Irish* Reformadoes, commanded by the Duke of *York*, yet they could not take it. Now *Cromwel* having refus'd the Title of *King*, he was on the 26th of *June* 1657. again invested with the Title of *Protector*, with much more Ceremony than formerly, wanting but little of Regal Installation. And now he began to govern in a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family like a King's Court: He had his Yeomen of the Guard in Liveries of grey Cloth welted with black Velvet, whereof *Walter Strickland* was Captain; Sir *Gilbert Pickering* was his Lord Chamberlain; *Lambert* Warden of the Cinque-Ports; *Glyn* Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*, and *Steel* Lord-Chief-Baron. Being thus confirm'd Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and

1657. **Cromwel** *reinvested with the Title of Protector.*

and having fortified himſelf by Alliances abroad, his next care was in eſtabliſhing Himſelf, ſtrengthening his Friends and Relations, and matching his Children into the Nobleſt Families that would accept of ſuch an Alliance. His Eldeſt Son *Richard*, whom he deſign'd for his Succeſſor in the Protectorſhip, he call'd out of the Country, to inure him to a Court-life, and give him an inſight into Publick Affairs. His ſecond Son *Henry* he made Lieutenant of *Ireland*. His two youngeſt Daughters he match'd, *Frances* the youngeſt to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grandchild to the then Earl of *Warwick*; and *Mary* to the Lord *Falconbridge*, of both which it was ſaid, that the Ladies were ſo Vertuous, they deſerv'd a better Father. A. D. 1657.

General Blake's Death.

About this time died at Sea, as he was entring into *Plymouth* Sound, that Valiant and Expert Sea-Commander General *Robert Blake*, not long ſurviving his brave Exploit at *Santa Cruz*. The beſt *Eulogium* that can be given of him is the rehearſal of his gallant Enterprizes; which, ſaving that it was his misfortune to ſerve Illegal Powers, never were any perform'd at Sea more conducing to the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, and better deſerving Eternal Memory.

A Mock Houſe of Lords.

On the 20th of *January* following the laſt Conventicle ſate again at *Weſtminſter*, wherein, according to the *humble Petition and Advice*, all the Members were admitted that were kept out of the Houſe at their laſt Seſſion; who being generally of the Commonwealth-Party, grew very troubleſom to *Oliver*; for he having conſtituted a Mock Houſe of Lords, under the Title of the *Other Houſe*, conſiſting partly of his ſpecial Favourites and Officers of the Army, which he had dignified with the Title of *Lords*, and in which about half a ſcore of the antient Nobility were nominated, but refuſed to come: the Houſe of Commons would take no notice of them, except it were in deriſion and contempt. Beſides this, they began to call in queſtion all that was done in the laſt Seſſion, as invalid without their conſent: So that the *humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like to come to nothing in a moment; which ſo nettl'd the Protector, that in a great heat and paſſion he riſes from the Council, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his *Other*, or Lords Houſe, ſent for the Commons to him, and in a long Speech, where-

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1657. *Cromwel reinvested with the Title of Protector.*

and

and having fortified himſelf by Alliances abroad, his next care was in eſtabliſhing Himſelf, ſtrengthening his Friends and Relations, and matching his Children into the Nobleſt Families that would accept of ſuch an Alliance. His Eldeſt Son *Richard*, whom he deſign'd for his Succeſſor in the Protectorſhip, he call'd out of the Country, to inure him to a Court-life, and give him an inſight into Publick Affairs. His ſecond Son *Henry* he made Lieutenant of *Ireland*. His two youngeſt Daughters he match'd, *Frances* the youngeſt to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grandchild to the then Earl of *Warwick*; and *Mary* to the Lord *Falconbridge*, of both which it was ſaid, that the Ladies were ſo Vertuous, they deſerv'd a better Father. A. D. 1657.

General Blake's Death.

About this time died at Sea, as he was entring into *Plymouth* Sound, that Valiant and Expert Sea-Commander General *Robert Blake*, not long ſurviving his brave Exploit at *Santa Cruz*. The beſt *Eulogium* that can be given of him is the rehearſal of his gallant Enterprizes; which, ſaving that it was his misfortune to ſerve Illegal Powers, never were any perform'd at Sea more conducing to the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, and better deſerving Eternal Memory.

A Mock Houſe of Lords.

On the 20th of *January* following the laſt Conventicle ſate again at *Weſtminſter*, wherein, according to the *humble Petition and Advice*, all the Members were admitted that were kept out of the Houſe at their laſt Seſſion; who being generally of the Commonwealth-Party, grew very troubleſom to *Oliver*; for he having conſtituted a Mock Houſe of Lords, under the Title of the *Other Houſe*, conſiſting partly of his ſpecial Favourites and Officers of the Army, which he had dignified with the Title of *Lords*, and in which about half a ſcore of the antient Nobility were nominated, but refuſed to come: the Houſe of Commons would take no notice of them, except it were in deriſion and contempt. Beſides this, they began to call in queſtion all that was done in the laſt Seſſion, as invalid without their conſent: So that the *humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like to come to nothing in a moment; which ſo nettl'd the Protector, that in a great heat and paſſion he riſes from the Council, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his *Other*, or Lords Houſe, ſent for the Commons to him, and in a long Speech, where-

A. D. 1658.

wherein he ſix times calls God to witneſs to apparent Falſities. he tells them, *That he had very comfortable expectations that God would make the Parliament a Bleſſing*; *for*, ſays he, *the Lord be my witneſs, I deſire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to theſe Ends. The Bleſſing which I mean, and which we have always climb'd at, was* Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs, *and* Peace, *which I deſire may be improv'd.* Then blaming them for putting him into that high State, and for not ſupporting him in it, according to their Oaths and Promiſes, and the Inſtrument of Government, and now acting directly againſt it: he told them, *It was high time to put an end to their Sitting*, ſaying, *I do declare to you I do diſſolve this Parliament*; *and let God be Judge between Me and You.* At which many of the Commons cry'd *Amen*; and ſo the Parliament was diſſolv'd.

Cromwel being freed from the danger of this Parliament, he falls again upon the Royaliſts, who muſt ſtill be ſacrific'd to appeaſe his fury. Many were committed and charged with Treaſon; but upon their Trials, had either the luck to be acquitted, or to be pardon'd after Sentence, except Sir *Henry Slingsby*, who was caſt by the Evidences of Major *Waterhouſe*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thompſon*, who were put upon him by *Oliver* to betray him, and the Reverend and Pious Dr. *Hewet*, Miniſter of St. *Gregories*, who was condemn'd as a Mute, becauſe he would not own the Authority of the Court, therefore refus'd to plead; and on the 8th of *June* 1658. were both beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

Sir Henry Slingsby *and Doctor* Hewet *beheaded.*

In *Flanders* they had all the Succeſs they could wiſh for. *Dunkirk* was beſieg'd, and the *Spaniards* reſolving to relieve it, tho' with the hazard of a Field-Battle, they aſſembl'd 7000 Foot and 9000 Horſe, commanded by *Don John* himſelf in Perſon, the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marquis of *Carcene*; who were engag'd near *Furnes* by the Mareſchal *Turene* and Count *Schomberg*, joining with *Lockart* and his *Engliſh* Forces, who making their way up a Sandy Hill, againſt the whole Power of the *Spaniards*, were the ſole Cauſe of their Victory: And no ſooner was this Battle ended, but the *Engliſh* and *French* return'd again to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Governour the Marquis of *Leda* ſeeing now more ſtrongly environ'd by Sea and Land, made a deſperate Sally, in which

which he loſt his Life; which, with the terror of the Granadoes ſhot into the Town, cauſed the *Spaniards* upon the 25th of *June* to ſurrender it upon Articles, and the *French* King, accompanied with Cardinal *Mazarine*, took poſſeſſion of it, and immediately reſign'd it to General *Lockart* in behalf of the Protector and the *Engliſh*, for a Reaſon you will be acquainted with in its proper time and place. A. D. 1658. Dunkirk taken.

On the 6th of *Auguſt Elizabeth Cleypole*, the Protector's ſecond Daughter, died at *Hampton-Court* of an Impoſthume in her inward parts; which ſo much afflicted her Father, who lov'd her better than all the reſt of his Children. that, together with the diſcontents ariſing againſt him among the Officers of the Army on behalf of a Commonwealth, threw him into a *Tertian* Fever; which, tho' it grew upon him by degrees to be more violent, yet his Imagination was ſo far tranſported with Enthuſiaſtick Ravings, that he affirm'd *God had reſerved him to do greater things than he had yet perform'd*: in which Extaſie he was heighten'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, one of his Independent Chaplains, who openly declared, *That God had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given him his Life*; but it ſeems they were miſtaken, for being brought from *Hampton-Court* to *Whitehall*, he found himſelf ſo much in danger, that he named his Son *Richard* to be his Succeſſor upon the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and, *for the Good of his Country*, thought fit to die upon the 3d of *September*, the ſame day that he won the Victories at *Marſton-Moor*, *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*. Thus after ſo many hazards in the Field, and Plots againſt his life, contrary to the belief of many, the ill-bodings of ſome, and the hearty wiſhes of others, he died a natural Death, which was ſucceeded by as tempeſtuous a Night as had been known in any Age, as if the Elements had been in combuſtion at the ſight of a Spirit which had made ſo great a concuſſion in the Affairs of the lower World. *He dies.*

Oliver Cromwel was born in the Town of *Huntingdon*, the Son of a ſecond Brother to Sir *Oliver Cromwel* of *Huntingdonſhire*; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Stewart* of the Iſle of *Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* was the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had three Sons and four Daughters. He was certainly a Great Man, and Poſterity might have paid *His Birth, Riſe, and Character.*

A. D. 1658.

a juſt Honour to his Memory, *if he had not embru'd his hands in the Blood of his Sovereign, or had not uſurp'd upon the Liberties of his Country.* He had an Univerſity Education, tho' nothing of a Scholar. When the Civil War broke out, he ſided with the Parliament; and his firſt Employment in the Army was a Captain of Horſe, whence by degrees he roſe to be Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; in which Poſt he was the chief Inſtrument in gaining the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, which proved the firſt remarkable ſtop to the King's Succeſſes. Some time after the Earl of *Mancheſter* having refuſed to give an Order to *Cromwel* to charge a Party of Horſe, where the King was perſonally preſent, he came up to *London* to complain againſt him, tho' he ow'd his Advancement chiefly to his Favour; which the Earl having notice of, and being by this time weary of a War, *of which he foreſaw the fatal Conſequences*, he took that opportunity to lay down his Command; wherein he was ſucceeded by *Cromwel*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* alſo laying down his Commiſſion ſome time after, he was declared *General of all the Forces rais'd and to be rais'd by the Parliament*; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to his own mind, he diſmiſſed the former when he had no more occaſion for them, and upon their forc'd Reſignation aſſum'd the Supreme Power as you have heard, under the Title of *Protector*. Being thus mounted to ſo high a Pinacle of Fortune, he became more formidable both at home and abroad than moſt Princes that had ever ſate upon the *Engliſh* Throne; and it was ſaid that Cardinal *Mazarine* would change Countenance when ever he heard him nam'd, ſo that it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, *That the Cardinal was not ſo much afraid of the* Devil *as of* Oliver Cromwel. He had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful Conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt Toil and Fatigue. Tho' brave in his Perſon, yet he was wary in his Conduct, and being conſcious of what he had done to diſoblige his Friends and enrage his Enemies, from the time he was firſt declared *Protector* he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Cloaths, and a private Dagger. His Converſation among his Friends was diverting, but in publick was grave and reſerv'd. He was ſparing in his Diet, but ſometimes when he knew his Company would take his Bottle freely, tho', thanks

A French Proverb.

to a ſtrong Conſtitution, never to Exceſs. He writ but an indifferent Hand, but his Stile was Maſculine, except he had a mind to cant and wheedle under the Maſque of Religion, which he could do to the life when his Affairs requir'd it. If he came to hear of a Man fit to ſerve his purpoſes, tho' never ſo obſcure, he would have him at any Price; *and thus modelling his Court till they were all of a piece, was the only Cement that kept it ſo long together, and render'd him ſucceſsful.* In matters of greateſt moment he truſted none but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An inſtance of which *Thurlo* us'd to tell of himſelf, That he was commanded by *Cromwel* to go at a certain hour into *Grays-Inn*-Walks, and at ſuch a place deliver a Bill of 20000 *l.* payable to the Bearer at *Genoa*, to a Man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcrib'd, without ſpeaking one word to him; which accordingly *Thurlo* did, and never knew either the Perſon or the Occaſion.

A. D. 1658.

A Tyrant is never ſafe.

At another time the Protector coming in late at night to *Thurlo*'s Office, and beginning to give him directions about buſineſs of great importance and ſecrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Morland*, one of the Clerks, afterward Sir *Samuel Morland*, was in the Room, which he had not obſerv'd before, and fearing he might have over-heard their Diſcourſes, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his Desk, he drew a Pon-yard which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch *Morland* upon the ſpot, if *Thurlo* had not with great intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that *Morland* had ſate up two Nights together, and was now certainly aſleep. But his greateſt Policy was in the number of his Spies and Intelligencers, by which means there was not the ſmalleſt Accident that befel King *Charles* II. in his Exile, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch that having given leave to an *Engliſh* Nobleman to travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee *Charles Stewart*, he ask'd him at his return, *If he had punctually obey'd his Commands?* Which the other affirming he had, *Cromwel* reply'd, *'Tis true, you did not ſee him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet him in the dark, the Candles being put out for that end*; and withal told him the particulars that paſs'd in Converſation betwixt the King and him at their meeting. That he had Spies about King

The diligence of his Spies.

Charles

A. D. 1658. *Charles* was not ſtrange; but his Intelligence reach'd the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of other Princes, and when the matter was communicated but to very few: of which we have a notable inſtance in the buſineſs of *Dunkirk*. There was an Article in the Treaty betwixt *France* and the Protector, *That if* Dunkirk *came to be taken, it ſhould immediately be deliver'd up to the* Engliſh; and his Ambaſſador *Lockart* had Orders to take it into his poſſeſſion accordingly. When the *French* Army being join'd with the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries was in its march to inveſt the Town, *Cromwel* ſent for the *French* Ambaſſador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſign'd breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the *French* Generals to keep poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk* in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwel* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket: *Here*, ſays he, *is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order: and I deſire you to diſpatch an Expreſs immediately, to let him know that I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockart *within an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him I'll come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There was but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Mareſchal *de Turene*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have tattl'd it to ſome of her Women: whereas it was found after the Secretary's Death, that he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwel* for ſeveral years. Which is no wonder, for in *Thurlo's* Office there was one that held Correſpondence with King *Charles*, and never was known till after the Reſtauration.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all occaſions than *Oliver Cromwel*, eſpecially in his Treaty with Crown'd Heads. And it's a thing without Example, that's mention'd by *Puffendorf* in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*, that in *Cromwel's* League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but of the *French*: whereas he took upon himſelf not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe

of

of *France*. And what is yet more ſurprizing, and which can hardly be believ'd but for the Credit of the Author, in the Inſtrument of the Treaty: *Simul Patefactur* Cromwellum *Inſtrumento ſuo nomen titulumque ante* Gallicum *ponere*; The *Protector*'s Name was put before the *French* King's. A. D. 1658.

In all his Actions he ſeem'd to value himſelf upon his Care of the Publick, which ſhews him a Hypocrite in perfection; for notwithſtanding all his ſpecious pretences to the contrary, Cromwel *invaded and betray'd the Liberties of his Country, and acted a more tyrannical and arbitrary part than all the Kings of* England *together had done ſince the* Norman *Invaſion*. And now thoſe very Men that ſome years before had juſtl'd out Monarchy for a *ſuppoſed* Encroachment upon the Rights of the People, were as zealous to reſtore it again, upon the *viſible* Encroachments that the aſſuming part of the People had actually made upon the Rights of their fellow-Subjects.

Oliver being dead, a Council was forthwith ſummon'd, where *Fienes* and *Thurlo* giving an Account of the Protector's appointment of his Succeſſor, which was confirm'd by the Oaths of *Goodwin*, *Whaley* and *Goffe*, the Preſident and whole Council went to congratulate *Richard Cromwel*, and to condole his Father's Death. The next day he was proclaim'd Protector in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and took an Oath to govern according to Law. Then the People ſeeming to approve what they could not remedy, Congratulatory Addreſſes were framed, and preſented to him from all parts of *England*. The only doubt remained in *Scotland*, and therefore Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, who was ſuppoſed to have the greateſt Intereſt in his Brother-in-Law, General *Monk*, was ſent into *Scotland* to know how he ſtood affected to *Richard*'s Advancement, who returning back with Letters of Approbation from the General, and all the Officers of the Army, *Richard* thought himſelf ſecure in the Throne, and in the next place took care for his Father's Funeral, which at length was performed with all the State and Solemnity accuſtomed at the Interment of Kings: His Body was intombed in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel, and his Effigies was ſet up for ſome time at the Eaſt-end of the Church. Some

Richard Cromwel *proclaim'd Protector.*

were

A. D. 1658. were of Opinion that there were few real Mourners at his Burial; but that defect was ſupplied ſince by great numbers that were ruin'd by truſting their Goods and Labour to furniſh the Funeral, which they were never paid a Penny for.

He calls a Parliament. Now *Addreſſes* ſtill crowding upon *Richard*, with Promiſes of ſpending *Lives* and *Fortunes* in his Service, he begins to fancy himſelf as Great as his Father: But Money being wanting, and no way to get any but by calling a Parliament, he iſſues out Writs for their ſitting at *Weſtminſter* on the 27th of *January*. In theſe Elections it happen'd that many honeſt Gentlemen were choſen; but the Upper Houſe was fill'd with the Chief Officers of the Army, moſt of which were of ſuch contemptible Extraction and Education, that it irk'd the Commons to own them; and *Richard* rather ſiding with Them than the upſtart Lords, the Army began to murmur againſt the Protector, finding Fault with all his Actions, and from thence proceeded to arraign the Proceedings of the Commons, and never gave *Richard* any quiet till he had conſented to diſſolve them; which was accordingly done by Proclamation on the 22d of *April* 1659. *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough* having gained this Point, and ingratiated themſelves with the Army, they kept their Cabal at *Wallingford-Houſe*, in which they reſolv'd *to lay* Richard *aſide*, and re-aſſemble the Members of the Rump-Parliament. Accordingly the Officers of the Army drew up a Declaration, inviting them to ſit upon the 6th of *May* following, which was preſented to the Speaker by *Lambert*, with about Thirteen or Fourteen other Military Officers. The Title was,

The Parliament *diſſolv'd, and* Richard *depos'd.*

A De

A. D. 1659.

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued Sitting till the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſts.

THE Publick Concernments of this Common-'wealth being, thro' a viciſſitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Back-ſlidings of many, brought into that ſtate and poſture wherein now it ſtands; and we obſerving, to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appear'd among us does daily decline, and the *Good Old Cauſe it ſelf* has become a reproach: We have been led to look back, and examine the cauſe of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted Preſence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that thro' mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

'And, amongſt other things, calling to mind that the *Long Parliament*, conſiſting of thoſe Members who continued their ſitting till the 20th of *April*, 1653. were eminent Aſſertors of that Cauſe, and had a ſpecial Preſence of God with them, and were ſignally bleſs'd in that Work, the deſires of many good People concurring with ours therein, we judge it our Duty to invite the foreſaid Members to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt, as before the ſaid 20th of *April*, 1653.

'And therefore we do hereby moſt earneſtly deſire the Parliament, conſiſting of thoſe Members aforeſaid, to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt; and we ſhall be ready in our Places to yield them, as becomes us, our utmoſt Aſſiſtance to ſit in ſafety, for the improving preſent opportunities, for ſetling and ſecuring the Peace and Freedom of the

'Com-

A. D. 1659. 'Commowealth, praying for the Preſence and Bleſ-
'ſings of God upon their Endeavours.

6th of *May*. *Signed by the Direction of the Lord* Fleetwood, *and the Council of Officers of the Army.*

Tho. Sanford, *Secretary.*

The old Parliament ſit again. This Inſtrument being deliver'd, many Members of the *Rump-Parliament*, who contriving the Scene, were ready to act their Parts, made a Viſit to their Speaker, to ſignifie their willingneſs to return to the Diſcharge of their Truſt, as they call'd it, and accordingly met the next morning, being the 8th of *May* in the *Painted-Chamber*, and with their Speaker went into the Parliament-Houſe, and took their places. *Thus ended the Uſurpation of the* Cromwels, *being overthrown by the Malice and Ambition of thoſe that aſſiſted the Aſpirers in obtaining it, which you ſee was eaſily done, the Power being left by the Father to a Son that had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it.*

The firſt thing done by this fag-end of a Parliament, was paſſing a ſhort Declaration to cajole the People, which was order'd to be printed and publiſh'd, in the Cloſe of which they declare, *That they are reſolved to ſettle the Commonwealth upon ſuch a Foundation, as ſhall Aſſert, Eſtabliſh and Secure the Properties and Liberties of the People in reference to all, both as Men and Chriſtians, and that without a* Single Perſon, Kingſhip, *or* Houſe of Peers: *And will vigorouſly endeavour carrying on of the Reformation ſo much deſir'd, and ſo often declar'd for, to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praiſe of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the reviving and making glad the hearts of the Upright in the Land.* Sir *George Booth*, Colonel *Reſſiſter*, Mr. *Pryn*, and ſome other Members of the Commons Houſe of this Parliament, that had been ſecluded by the Army, attempted to go into the Houſe with the reſt, but were all kept back by Adjutant-General *Allen*, except Mr. *Pryn*, who ſlipt in thro' the Croud; but the Houſe would do nothing while he continu'd among them, but adjourn'd to the afternoon, and then he was kept out by ſome Officers of the Army.

Four

A. D. 1659.

Four days after the preſent Parliament aſſembl'd the Officers of the Army preſented them with their *humble Petition and Addreſs*, wherein they deſire,

The Armies Petition and Addreſs.

1. 'That the Liberties and Properties of the free 'People of theſe Nations may be preſerved inviola- 'bly, under the Government of a Free State and 'Commonwealth, without a *Single Perſon*, *Kingſhip*, 'or *Houſe of Peers*.

2. 'That there may be ſuch a juſt and due Regu- 'lation of Law, and Courts of Juſtice and Equity, that 'they might be a *Protection*, and not an *Oppreſſion* to 'the People.

3. 'That by an Act of *Oblivion* all perſons that had 'acted ſince the 9th of *April* 1653. in the ſeveral 'Changes of Government, might be indemnified to 'all intents and purpoſes.

4. 'That ſuch Debts as have been contracted for 'the Publick Service of this Commonwealth ſince the '20th of *April* 1653. may be carefully paid and ſa- 'tisfied.

5. 'That Liberty of Conſcience be granted to Men 'of all Perſuaſions, provided that this Liberty ſhall 'not extend to *Popery* nor *Prelacy*; and that all Laws, 'Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary may be de- 'clared null and void.

6. 'That a godly, faithful and painful Goſpel- 'Preaching Miniſtry may be every where encourag'd, 'countenanc'd, and maintatn'd.

7. 'That ſuch perſons that have aſſiſted or adhe- 'red to the late King, or to *Charles Stewart* his Son, 'againſt the Parliament, may be ſpeedily removed 'out of all Places of Truſt in the Magiſtracy, and 'never be readmitted.

8. 'That to the end the Legiſlative Authority of 'this Commonwealth, by their long ſitting, may not 'become burdenſom or inconvenient, there may be 'effectual Proviſion made for a due Succeſſion of Le- 'giſlators.

9. 'And for the better Satisfaction, and more firm 'Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth, we 'do Unanimouſly Own and Acknowledge the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* to be General, and Comman- 'der in Chief of the Land Forces of this Common- 'wealth.

10. 'That

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10, 'That the Adminiſtration of all Executive 'Power of Government may be in a *Council of State*, 'conſiſting in a convenient number of Perſons, quali- 'fied in all reſpects as aforeſaid.

11. 'That all Debts contracted by his late High- 'neſs or his Father ſince the 15th of *December* 1653. 'may be ſatisfied; and that an honourable Revenue 'of 10000 *l.* a year, with a convenient Houſe, may 'be ſettl'd upon Him and his Heirs for ever, and '10000 *l. per annum* more during Life; and upon his 'honourable Mother 8000 *l.* a year during her Life, 'to the end that a Mark of the high Eſteem this Na- 'tion hath for the good Service done by his Father, 'our ever-renowned General, may remain to Po- 'ſterity.

This Petition was preſented by *Lambert* on the 12th of *May*, accompanied by *Desborough*, *Barkſtead*, 12 Colonels and two Lieutenant-Colonels; at which time *Lambert* ſpoke as followeth:

Lambert's Speech. Mr. Speaker, *We are commanded by the Officers of the Army to preſent before you their humble Petition and Addreſs; there are ſeveral things contained in it which have been a long time upon their hands, and no ways of viſible redreſs: but now finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction that you are return'd, in diſcharge of their Truſt, they thought it unfit to neglect this opportunity, but have commanded us to preſent this Petition.*

Then they withdrew, and the Houſe upon debating the matter, order'd their Speaker to return them this Anſwer:

I am commanded by the Houſe to tell you, they have read the Petition and Addreſs; and that as they found your Affection before they came hither, ſo they find that Affection continuing. The things contain'd in your Petition are of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the Houſe; and it is concerning the Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of God hath brought us hither, who we hope ſhall never depart from us. The Houſe finds in your Advice much of Love and Affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have ſhewn, and to give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks, for your Love, and expreſſions of it, and accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty Thanks.

The Houſe agreed to all the Articles of this Petition at the firſt Debate, except what concern'd the Publick

Publick Revenue, Government, and Protector, and therefore appointed a Committee to receive his Submission to the Government before they would do any thing for him, and to take a ſtate of his Debts. With both theſe Orders *Richard* comply'd, and to his Submiſſion annex'd a Schedule of his Debts; but what was contracted for his Father's Funeral they abſolutely rejected, and delay'd ſetling any Revenue upon him or his Mother, only gave him 2000 *l.* to diſcharge part of his own private Debts, and requir'd him and all his Dependents to remove from *Whitehall* in ſix days time. *Fleetwood* diſcover'd ſome Diſcontent at this ſlight put upon his Brother *Cromwel* and that Family: But as ſoon as he was made Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he was leſs ſollicitous in the Concerns of his Wife's Family. The next thing they did, was to call home *Henry Cromwel* from his Government of *Ireland*. This Gentleman had made himſelf very Popular in *Ireland*; he had the *Iriſh* Army under good Diſcipline, and was ſo well belov'd among the Officers, that it's probable he would not have conſented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare againſt it; and in all probability, if he had drawn his Army together, and confirm'd their Obedience to his Authority, and then declar'd againſt their Proceedings at *London*, he might have ſhaken the Foundation of their New *Commonwealth*; for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modell'd, and many of the Officers were Relations and Dependents on the Family of the *Cromwels*; but he was ſo doubtful of the Succeſs, that he attempted nothing, but peaceably ſubmitted to the Government

A. D. 1659.

Fleetwood *made General.*

The Royaliſts were now ready to riſe in all parts of *England* to throw out theſe Uſurpers, and a *Declaration* was publiſh'd in the Names of the *Lords, Gentlemen, and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen of this once happy Nation:* But in the midſt of theſe expectations Mr. *Baron* brought the News that the Deſign met with a diſappointment in the South and Weſt parts of *England*; ſo that the moſt conſiderable Body that got together was in *Cheſhire* under the Command of Sir *Geo. Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmury*, and Major-General *Egerton*, met at *Warrington*, at firſt with a ſmall Party, but they having the very Flower

Sir George Booth *Riſing Routed.*

A. D. 1659. of the Gentry engag'd among them, their Numbers increas'd every minute. In the mean time, Colonel *Roger Whitley* deliver'd a Meſſage to Sir *George Booth* from his Majeſty, with an Account of his Majeſty's Preparations beyond Sea, and that he was ready to come over at the firſt notice; which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to the whole Party, being now about 500 Men. The firſt thing they reſolv'd was to march to *Cheſter*, and in their way were met at *Fradſham* by Colonel *Worden*, who aſſur'd them that *Cheſter* Gates would be open'd for their entrance. The next day they marched thither, and took poſſeſſion of the Town; but the Caſtle was defended againſt them by Mr. *Croxton*, the Governour of it for the Parliament. Major-General *Egerton* was ſent with a Party to *Chirk* Caſtle, when Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, open'd the Gates, and joyfully receiv'd him. Then Colonel *Whitley* put a Gariſon into *Harding*-Caſtle in *Flintſhire*. Colonel *Ireton* at the ſame time declared for him in *Liverpool*; and Mr. *Brooks* and Mr. *Dunch*, two of the Members of the Houſe, to attone for their former Diſloyalties, join'd alſo with them.

While theſe Affairs were in agitation, Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Miniſter, a Perſon of undoubted Loyalty, and only Brother to General *Monk*, came to *London* from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and other of his Majeſty's Friends in the Weſt of *England*, to engage his Brother in his Majeſty's Cauſe; and to that end took a Journey to *Scotland*, being firſt inſtructed by Mr. *Clarges* how to manage his Negotiations with abundance of caution, and to communicate his deſign to none except Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Phyſician to the Army, and Mr. *John Price* his Chaplain, two Gentlemen of great Integrity, both recommended to the General by Mr. *Clarges*, to be near his Perſon, at his firſt going into *Scotland*.

Sir *George Booth* hearing *Lambert* was drawing near him, thought to have got a days march before him into *Lancaſhire*, to gain time, and increaſe his Numbers: therefore he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* ſent a Trumpeter to him, with two Miniſters, to ſhew the cauſe of their raiſing an Army, and deſir'd a Treaty to ſave the effuſion of Blood. To which *Lambert* agreed, on Condition they would firſt lay down their Arms, and ſur-

surrender their Garisons to him. To this there was no Reply: but some of *Lambert*'s Men pressing hard upon *Booth*, at *Winnington*-Bridge near *Northwich* in *Cheshire*, a sharp Encounter began between both Parties, wherein *Booth* was routed, Captain *Morris*, a gallant Gentleman, was kill'd, with some few others; but Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* made their escapes. The Lord *Kilmury*, *Brooks*, Major-General *Egerton*, *William O Neale*, and others, were taken Prisoners, and all the Garisons submitted immediately to *Lambert*: And tho' Sir *George* had the good fortune to escape at the Battle, yet he was afterwards taken in disguise at *Newport-Pagnel* in *Buckinghamshire*, being betray'd by one *Carter* an Inn-keeper at the *George*, where he lodg'd.

A. D. 1659.

Lambert's harmless Victory.

Sir George Booth betrayed and taken.

General *Monk* was so much prevail'd upon by the Report of Sir *George Booth*'s Successes in the Enterprize, and the importunity of his Brother, that he resolv'd to march into *England*, in pursuance of *Booth*'s Declaration, which was very agreeable to his own Principles. He consulted but very few besides his Brother, Major *Ralph Knight*, Captain *Jeremy Smith*, Dr. *Gumble*, and the two Gentlemen before named, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were so many Spies upon all his Actions, which obliged him to the greater circumspection; insomuch that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royallist of his antient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him on the same errand his Brother did, *Monk* for fear of awakening the Jealousie of the Factious Party about him, durst not shew him any countenance, or pay him any common Respect, but rather on the contrary sent him away discourag'd: But when all was ready for his March, and a *Declaration* prepar'd, he demurr'd two days upon the stop of the *English* Pacquet, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom two days after he receiv'd the fatal News of Sir *George Booth*'s being defeated. General *Monk* being much afflicted at these Disasters, and seeing himself ready to be laid aside, or to be made a Prop to support other Mens Designs, he sent a Letter to *Lenthal* the Speaker, to be communicated to the Parliament, desiring to be dismiss'd from his Command, pretending *he was infirm in his health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and since now all Insurrections*

General Monk's Policy.

A. D. 1659.

ations were appeas'd that threaten'd Diſturbances to the Peace of the Nation, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet. This Letter, tho' it was not ſent to *Clarges* to be deliver'd, as generally all his Pacquets were, becauſe *Monk* ſuſpected he would oppoſe that Reſolution, yet Mr. *Nicholas Monk* giving him ſome intimation of it, it was ſo contriv'd among them, that *Clarges* deliver'd it to the Speaker, and prevail'd ſo far upon him as to delay the reading of it for ten days, till a Pacquet could come from *Scotland* to contradict it; and well it was adviſ'd, for otherwiſe under this deſpondence he might have loſt an opportunity of doing that for which Providence ſeem'd to have deſign'd him.

The Army quarrel with their Maſters.

The Officers of the Army were ſo fleſh'd with the Victory over Sir *George Booth* and his Party, that they began to contrive how to reſtore the Military Power to its former Grandeur, that had lately been much eclips'd by the Parliament. Now *Lambert* conſults at *Derby* with the Officers of the Army, who complain'd of ſeveral Miſcarriages in the Civil Adminiſtration of the Government, and concluded to draw up their deſires in the form of a *Petition to the Parliament* to redreſs their Grievances. Which Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* having notice of, exclaims againſt them in the Houſe, as perſons that were attempting alterations in the Government, and ſetting up a ſingle Perſon over them. This put the Houſe into a jealouſie of *Lambert*, who was ſetting up *Fleetwood* as a Stale to his own Advancement. However their Petition and Propoſals were deliver'd to the Houſe by *Desborough* and many others, and afterwards were ſent into *Scotland* to be ſign'd there by the Officers of that Army: But *Monk*, *who intended to ſerve his own Deſigns by their Janglings and Diviſions*, would not ſuffer it to be handed, but on the contrary ſent Mr. *Nicholas Monk* to tell *Clarges*, *That he was reſolved, if the Parliament would be reſolute in aſſerting their own Authority againſt the Army, he would aſſiſt them in it, and if requir'd, would march into* England *in their Defence.*

Monk's Meſſage to the Parliament.

Mr. *Clarges* early next morning communicated this to *Walton*, *Hazlerig*, and *Scot*, who were ſo much encourag'd by it, that at their firſt ſitting they mov'd that the doors might be ſhut, that none of the Members might go out of the Houſe; and then, after a long

long and brisk Debate, Order'd, That *Lambert*'s, *Desborough*'s, *Kelsey*'s, *Ashfield*'s, *Cobbet*'s, *Packer*'s, and *Barrow*'s Commissions, should be all void, and orderd the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for discharge of these Officers, to the respective persons whom they concern'd; That they should be succeeded by the next Officers in their several degrees, and order'd that Colonel *Morley*'s and Colonel *Mosse*'s Regiments should be Guards to the Parliament, who accordingly possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and the great Hall at *Westminster*. *Lambert* on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him if matters were carry'd on at such a rate against him, thought fit to play his Game while it was in his power to prevent them, and to that end drew some Regiments together, who march'd into *Kingstreet*, and possess'd themselves of all the Avenues to the *Parliament-house*. Next morning the Speaker came in his Coach towards the House, but was stopt at his entry into the *Palace-Yard* by Colonel *Duckenfield*, and after a little expostulation was forc'd to return. The Soldiers on both sides kept their stations till towards the evening in a posture of Hostility, ready to have fir'd one upon the other, only expecting when the Word of Command should be given to begin the Onset, so that 'twas thought the matter would have come to blows; but they were better advised, for the Council of State meeting at *Whitehall*, order'd them all to draw off to their Quarters; which both Parties, to save their Skins, agreed to, and *Lambert* gain'd his point in hindring the Parliament from meeting, which *Fleetwood* took care by planting Guards about the House to prevent for the future.

A. D. 1659.

Lambert turns out the Parliament.

The next day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met, and chose a Council of Ten Persons to carry on the Affairs of the Government till farther Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sidenham*, *Archibald Johnston*, a *Scotch*-man, commonly call'd the Laird *Warrestown*.

Another New Government.

The Lord *Mordant* and some other of the King's Friends being then at *Calais*, upon the News of these Disorders in *England* dispatch'd Mr. *Nicholas Armorer* to his Majesty, who was then at *Fontarabia* soliciting

A. D. 1659. for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large promiſes from the *Spaniards*, and towards the defraying his Expences receiv'd a Preſent from *Don Lewis de Haro* of 20000 Crowns; and in this time Mr. *Eveling* of *Say's-Court* near *Deptford* in *Kent* won over Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the Parliaments five Commiſſioners for the Command of the Army, to the King's Intereſt.

A Committee of Safety.

The General Council being now almoſt at the end of their Wits as well as Honeſty, lay aſide the Council of Ten, and nominated Three and twenty perſons to be entruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Government, under the Title of *A Committee of Safety*, and gave them theſe Powers and Inſtructions.

1. 'To execute all the Powers of the late Coun-'cil of State, together with Authority to call all De-'linquents to account that were concern'd in the late 'Inſurrection, to bring them to Juſtice, and to grant 'Indemnity to all perſons that had acted for the 'Service of the Commonwealth, ſince the Year '1649.

2. 'To oppoſe and ſuppreſs all Rebellions and In-'ſurrections.

3. 'To treat with Foreign States and Princes.

4. 'To raiſe the Militia in the ſeveral Counties.

5. 'To diſpoſe all places of Truſt that are void, and 'to remove ſuch as are ſcandalous.

6. 'To make Sale and Compoſitions for all Delin-'quents Eſtates.

The Names of theſe Governours were, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Keeper of their Broad Seal, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Steel* Chancellor of *Ireland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Walter Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreſton*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichburn*, *Hughſon*, *Clark*, *Bennet*, Colonel *Lilburn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Bandriff*, and *Robert Thompſon*. Who publiſhed a Declaration to acquaint the World. 'That it was upon

Their Declaration.

'their hearts to ſettle a due Liberty upon the free-'born People of theſe Nations, to make a thorough 'Reformation of the Law, and to eſtabliſh a Faith-'ful, Godly, Painful, Goſpel-Preaching Miniſtry, and 'to provide them a Maintenance leſs troubleſome to 'them, and leſs vexatious to the People, than that of 'Tythes, and prepare ſuch a Form of Government

'as may beſt ſuit with a Free State and Common- A. D.
'wealth, without a *Single Perſon, Kingſhip*, or *Houſe* 1659.
'*of Peers.* Then to cajole the Godly Party as they call'd them, they proceeded to declare, 'That they 'doubt not but ſuch, ſeeing the many Temptations 'beſetting them on every hand, the great difficulties 'they labour'd under, and knew not what farther 'ſtreights a day may bring forth, will ſay on their 'behalfs, *Who are ſufficient for theſe things?* And out 'of former experiences being taught, that the Lord is 'a preſent Help in time of Trouble, will cry a- 'loud for them before the Throne of Grace, That the 'Lord himſelf may appear, and carry on his own 'Work in their hands: And if it ſhall pleaſe him by 'his Spirit to ſtir up thoſe that fear his Name to be in- 'ſtant on their behalf, they ſhall not fear what Evil 'Man can do unto them.

But while they were running this Career, and canting the Nation into abſolute Slavery, they met with a ſevere Check in a Letter from General *Monk* in *Scotland* to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to their hands *October* the 20th, wherein *he upbraided them with the Violation of their Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Reſolution to reſtore them to their Power againſt all Oppoſition. Fleetwood, Lambert* and *Desbrough* immediately met at *Whitehall* under a great Conſternation, and about 12 at night ſent Major *Haines* to deſire *Clarges* to come thither to them; and when he came, preſs'd him with great importunity to go into *Scotland* with Colonel *Talbot*, to prevail with *Monk* for a Compoſure of differences, to prevent the effuſion of Blood. *Clarges* was glad of this opportunity to get away, and they were in ſo much haſte, that they would allow him but three hours to prepare for his Journey. *Monk* had early Notice of the Armies Proceedings againſt the Parliament, and therefore diſmiſs'd the *Anabaptiſt* Officers, ſecur'd *Berwick*, and regulated his Army fit for the deſign he had reſolv'd to enterprize: Then he call'd all his Officers together, and told them, *That the Army in* England *had broke up the Parliament, for not humouring them in their Extravagancies, and that he was reſolv'd to make the Military Power ſubordinate to the Civil; and ſince they had Protection and Maintenance from the Parliament, he had no reaſon to queſtion their joining with him in reſtoring them to the Exerciſe of their Truſt:*

Monk's *Letter to* Fleetwood *and* Lambert.

His Speech to his Officers.

A. D. 1659. *but if any were diſſatisfied with theſe his intentions, he deſired they would declare it, and they ſhould have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Paſports to return home:* Upon which, Colonel *Wilks*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, with all that were preſent, unanimouſly declar'd *they would live and die with him.*

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *Edenborough* on the 2d of *September*, and were well receiv'd by *Monk*; but eſpecially *Clarges*, with whom he had a private Conference that night, at which *Clarges* frankly ask'd him, *What was the true end he aim'd at in this Enterprize?* telling him, it was impoſſible for him after this Rupture to be ever truſted again by the *Engliſh* Army. The General, who was then one of the moſt reſerv'd Men living, was in ſome trouble to be preſs'd in that matter, and therefore then diſcover'd himſelf no farther, than that he reſolv'd to free his Native Country from the Slavery it was under, and to that end would reſtore the Parliament; but in their admiſſion to ſit, he would make no difference between them, but would let in the Secluded Members as well as others; and having ſaid this, he conjur'd *Clarges* to ſecrecy, being ſenſible that the Army were jealous of him, *that a King was in the bottom of his deſign*, and therefore all he could contrive would be little enough to beget a Confidence even in his own Party to engage with him.

Lambert was by this time advanc'd with his Army as far as *York*, which conſiſted of near 12000 Men, and *Monk* had not above half that Number; only he had this advantage, that he paid his Soldiers, and the other did not. Major-General *Morgan*, while he had lain ſick of the Gout at *York*, had kept fair with *Lambert*, and offer'd him to uſe the Credit he had with *Monk* to bring him to an Accommodation, and thereupon was ſent on that Errand into *Scotland*, where his Regiment was. Having thus got out of their Power, he came to *Edenborough* on the 8th of *November*, and upon his firſt acceſs to the General, ask'd him aloud, but merrily, *if he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with* Fleetwood *and* Lambert? To which the General anſwer'd, *If they would reſtore the Parliament, he had little more to ſay; and if he pleas'd, he might let them know it.* *Morgan* reply'd, *I promis'd to ask you that Queſtion, but not to return to them that ſent me if you*

Lambert *advanc'd far as* York.

Morgan *with* Monk.

you deny'd it. I am glad I am here to assist you, and now will follow your Fortunes in all your Undertakings. You know I am no States-man, I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will join with you, and submit to your Conduct. This generous Friendship was kindly received by *Monk* and all the Officers and Soldiers, for he was esteem'd, next to the General, to be a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near forty years a Soldier, and present at the greatest Battles and Sieges in *Christendom* for a great part of that time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he commanded a Brigade of Foot, and acquitted himself to the amazement of his Enemies, and the admiration of Mareschal *Turenne* and all the *French* Commanders in the Service with him. In the evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and deliver'd him a Letter from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister in *York*, a considerable Man in those parts, and in great Reputation with the Lord *Fairfax*, and many other Persons of good Quality in that Country. The Letter imported, *That the Lord* Fairfax *and many others of good Interest in* Yorkshire *were willing to join with the General, but disapproved his Declaration, which was restrained to that part of the Parliament only which sate after the rest were secluded, and was filled with Protestations for asserting no other Government but a Commonwealth.* To this the General answer'd, *That* Clarges *could witness with him his intentions in those particulars, that what was printed in his Name as Affairs then stood, was not to be regarded as the results of his own Reason, and till he had got more Power into his hands, it was unreasonable and indiscreet to do otherwise.* With this Apology *Clarges* was sent to the Lord *Fairfax*, but first to discourse Mr. *Bowles*, who desir'd Mr. *Clarges* to continue private in *York*, while he, for fear of discovery, transacted the Affair with the Lord *Fairfax*; which he did so effectually, that at his return he acquainted *Clarges*, that the Lord *Fairfax*, *Bethel* and *Smithson* would rise in *January*, and join with *Monk*.

A. D. 1659.

Good News from Lord Fairfax.

About this time Nine of the old Council of State met privately in *London*, wrote a Complemental Letter to *Monk*, and sent him a Commission to be General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: And the Apprentices of *London*, with several others in favour of *Monk*'s Proceedings, rais'd Disturbances, and

The Apprentices rise.

A. D. 1659. and petition'd the Lord Mayor and Common Council to interpose for restoring the Parliament and Preservation of Magistracy; which so much displeas'd the Committee of Safety, that they published a Proclamation against gathering Hands to Petitions; and this so much incens'd the Young Men, who were acted by Wiser Heads, that they rose up in a tumultuous manner in divers places. Hereupon *Hewson* was sent into *London* to suppress them, which rais'd a rumour that the Soldiers came to plunder them. All Shops were shut up, and many reproachful Words pass'd in the Streets between the Soldiers and Apprentices; which rose to such a heat, that two Apprentices were kill'd, twenty wounded, and the rest dispers'd for that time: But the Soldiers were so vilified, scorn'd, and hiss'd at, they were asham'd to march; and the Officers afterwards durst not wear their Swords, when they went into the City, for fear of being affronted.

Monk was now march'd to *Berwick*, and both sides prepar'd for War: but *Lambert* was so daily alarm'd with the Success of the Commissioners at *Portsmouth*, and the daily Submission of several Troops and Companies of Men, that he thought it more advisable to march Southward to assist his Friends in *London*, than to hazard a Battle with General *Monk*. *Fleetwood* and the rest of the Committee of Safety were in no less disorder than *Lambert*; but that which most amused them, was a Declaration from *Lawson* and his Fleet, for Restoring the Parliament; for by his defection added to the rest, their Authority came to be generally despised, even by their own Soldiers, who abandon'd them; and *Fleetwood* with great Contribution and Submission, in the behalf of himself and Confederates, sent to the Speaker, desiring him to send the rest of the Members of Parliament to reassemble for the Exercise of their Trust, acknowledging, *that the Lord had blasted their Councels, and*, to use their own Words, *spit in their Faces*. Two days after, towards the evening, the Speaker and Members met in the Parliament house, and reassumed the Government, who appointing Commissioners to order the Army, they sent to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces.

The Committee of Safety broken.

Their Recantation.

The General hearing that the Lord *Fairfax* and several of his Friends of the best Quality were rising in

in Arms in *Yorkshire*, and that *Lambert* having kept his Brigade together, intended to oppose them, *Monk* march'd forward with his whole Army, consisting only of 5000 Foot and 2000 Horse: but by that time he came to *Morpeth*, he had Information that *Lambert*'s whole Party were dispers'd into several Quarters, in Obedience to the Parliaments Orders, and at the same time receiv'd a Letter from the Speaker (dated the 27th of *December*) *of Thanks for his Service, wherein the Restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care and Courage.* This over-hasty Resumption of their Power was a great blow to his Designs; for he thought they would not have sate till he was arrived at *London* with his Army, and then he would have restor'd the Secluded Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the differences between them. A. D. 1659.

The new-restored Members began to act very briskly in appointing a Council of State, and giving them Instructions to govern by; among which it was provided, *That none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government, in these words:*

'I Do hereby swear, That I do renounce the pre- *The Oath of Abjuration.*
'tended Title of *Charles Stewart*, and the whole
'Line of the late King *James*, and of every other Per-
'son, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall
'pretend to the Crown or Government of these Na-
'tions of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or any of them,
'and the Dominions and Territories belonging to
'them, or any of them; and that I will by the Grace
'and Assistance of Almighty God be true, faithful,
'and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth,
'and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any
'Single Person, or House of Lords, and every of them,
'in this Commonwealth.

When this Oath came to be debated in the House, at least a third part of their Number refus'd it, and therefore were not permitted to sit and act. The leading Members of Parliament finding this difference growing among themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contriv'd how to draw the General to their Party; and in order to it, *Scot* and *Robinson*, two of their

A. D. 1659.

their Members, were ſent to meet him upon the Road, to congratulate his Return; but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as ſoon as he came to *London*, before he took his place in the Council of State.

Monk at Nottingham.

When the General came to *Nottingham*, his Brother *Clarges* met him, and in a private Conference acquainted him with the ſtate of Affairs, and the trueſt way to do his Country Service; and that he might be able to accompliſh his Deſigns, the General writes a Letter to the Parliament *to remove all the Regiments out of* London, *except Colonel* Fag's, *that were Quarter'd there; for he thought it not for their Service that thoſe Soldiers now in* London, *and lately in Rebellion againſt them, ſhould mingle with thoſe that had approved themſelves faithful unto them.* It was agreed this Letter ſhould not be ſent till he came to St. *Albans*, that thoſe in the Houſe of the Faction for the Oath of Abjuration might ſuppoſe it came with the privity of *Scot* and *Robinſon*; and ſeeing him ſo near, might be leſs apt to oppoſe his deſires. At *Leiceſter* the General expected to be attack'd about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubl'd to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him he had a plain and full Anſwer to make them, which was, *That he heard many Men of undoubted Integrity had refus'd it, and till he came to* London *to hear the Reaſons on both ſides, he could not in prudence reſolve upon it.* This Advice he follow'd, and ſucceeded in it. *Scot* and *Robinſon* told him at their firſt Interview, *That the Parliament had order'd* 1000l. *a year to be ſettled on him for ever; that they were ſenſible of his Services, were providing Money for his Soldiers, and were glad to hear of his marching toward* London.

He puts off the Oath.

The General was never more put to it to diſſemble his Inclination than at this time, *Scot* and *Robinſon* did ſo watch him. At *Harborough* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent* and Mr. *Bromfield met him*, as Commiſſioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and at the ſame time Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northamptonſhire*, welcom'd him into their Country. The Citizens, after the firſt Civilities, fell upon particulars, and Mr. *Bromfield* in a generous Speech, after ennumerating the Calamities the Nation laid under,

pro-

propos'd the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, that the Parliament might be Full and Free. To the ſame purpoſe was the Addreſs from the Gentlemen of *Northamptonſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Norfolk*, and almoſt all the Counties of *England*; all which were anſwer'd by him with Reſpect, tho' he durſt not diſcover his approbation of their deſires. At St. *Albans* the General ſent his Letter to the Houſe by Colonel *Lidcot*; and the Parliament complying with his deſires, the other Army march'd out of *London*, and he entred the City in the afternoon at the head of three Regiments of Horſe, attended by his principal Officers, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality, to *Whitehall*, where an Appartment was provided for his Reception. On *Monday* he was invited to the Parliament-houſe, where he receiv'd their Thanks by the Speaker, to which he return'd an Anſwer in the ſame ſtrain, tho' it had not the luck to pleaſe them: but that which moſt troubl'd them was the diſcontented Carriage of the City, who in Common-Council reſolv'd to pay no publick Taxes till the Houſe was fill'd up with equal Repreſentatives; for they thought it unreaſonable to be govern'd by a Parliament wherein they had no Members ſitting. Now to give a timely check to the City's obſtinacy, the Council of State gave an Order to the General to enter the City next morning with a good part of the Army, to ſeize eleven of the moſt active Common-Council, to commit them to the *Tower*, to pull down the City-Poſts and Chains, take down the Gates and Portcullices, and quarter his Soldiers in the City, till they were reduc'd to Obedience.

A. D. 1659.

He addreſs'd for a Free Parliament.

The General was ſurpriz'd and aſtoniſh'd at this Command, and debated many things with them for the mitigation or ſuſpenſion of it; but ſeeing he could not prevail, he march'd into the City, pull'd down the Poſts and Chains, took into Cuſtody nine of the Citizens which he had order to ſecure, the other two having abſented themſelves. The City was much alarm'd at theſe Proceedings, and their Chiefs apply'd themſelves to him to moderate his Actions, for the whole City ſeem'd to be confounded with Wonder and Anxiety. His General Officers were alſo ſo much troubl'd, that they offer'd up their Commiſſions rather than be employ'd in ſuch horrid Actions: But he

He pulls down the Gates.

That Action generally diſapproved.

A. D. 1659. he having conjur'd them to comply, and given them private intimation that it would produce better Effects than was convenient at that time to be explain'd, they went away better contented, tho' not fully satisfied. To pleaſe the Citizens, he alſo wrote to the Parliament to permit the City-Gates to ſtand; which ſo much diſpleaſed them, that they reprimanded him for it, and therefore, leſt they ſhould vacate his Commiſſion, he commanded his Soldiers to break the Gates and Portcullices to pieces, and on *Friday* in the evening went back to *Whitehall*. While theſe Indignities were offer'd to the City, 'tis very obſervable that the Phanatick Party in the City preſented a Petition to the Houſe by *Praiſe-God Barebone*, countenancing this Action, and preſſing that the Oath of Abjuration might be taken by all employ'd in Civil and Military Affairs.

He propoſes Filling up the Houſe.

The General apprehending the ill Conſequence of this Action in diſobliging the City, to recover that ſlip, by the Advice of his Friends, writes a Letter to the Parliament, *complaining of ſeveral Irregularities committed by them, and deſires them by* Friday *next to iſſue out Writs to fill up their Houſe, and to riſe at the appointed time, to give place to a full and free Parliament*: and then returns again with his Army into the City. This Letter more diſpleas'd them than all the reſt of his Actions, and therefore paſs'd an Act, *That the Army ſhould be divided among five Commiſſioners; namely, General* Monk, *Sir* Arthur Haſlerig, *the Colonels* Morley, Walton *and* Allured: *and made the* Quorum *of them to be Three Perſons.* This was oppos'd by the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder it, and therefore moved that *Monk* might be always One of the Three, but 'twas carried in the Negative, which put him into a great Indignation at this Example of their Ingratitude, and therefore met the Lord Mayor and Common-Council at *Guildhall*, telling them, *That the Employment wherein he was ſent at his laſt being in the City was ſo ungrateful to him, that to redeem his Credit with them, he had that morning ſent to the Parliament to iſſue out Writs within ſeven days to fill up their Houſe; and when fill'd, to ſit no longer than the 6th of* May, *and then give place to a full and free Parliament.* The News whereof was quickly diſpers'd through the City, and was entertain'd with all the uſual Demonſtrations of Joy, expreſs'd in Ringing of Bells and Bonfires. On

A. D. 1659.

On the 18th of *February* the General appointed a Conference to be held before him of the Sitting and Secluded Members; which came to no concluſion, becauſe the Sitting Members durſt not undertake for the reſt of the Houſe without their Conſent, which could not be known but by a Vote, tho' ſeveral of them were ſatisfied with that Moderation and Temper which they found in the other Gentlemen with whom they conferr'd: but ſeeing they could not accord, the General reſolv'd to admit them without it. Accordingly on *Tueſday* morning following he gave the Secluded Members a meeting at *Whitehall*: where, after a ſhort Speech, recommending to them *the Settlement of the Nation, and promiſing to impoſe nothing on them*, they took their Places in Parliament, being conducted thither by Captain *Miller*, who commanded the Guards. Theſe Tranſactions were manag'd with ſo much ſecrecy, that the Sitting Members knew nothing of it till they ſaw the Secluded Members come and ſit among them: Upon which, being much ſurpriz'd, they demurr'd among themſelves whether they ſhould keep their Seats, or quit the Houſe, till at length the grand Sticklers for a Commonwealth knowing it would not be in their Power by ſtaying to make good their Intereſt againſt thoſe that were now the Major-part of the Houſe, they immediately departed; but the more moderate kept their Seats among the new-admitted Members; where the firſt thing they did was to vindicate the Honour of the Houſe, by expunging all the Votes out of the Journals that diſabl'd them from ſitting as Members, releas'd Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bromfield*, and the reſt of the Citizens that were impriſon'd by the Council of State, with Sir *George Booth*, and others. By Act of Parliament made General *Monk* General of all the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and repeal'd the Act for the former Council of State, and the Oath of Abjuration, and paſs'd an Act for another Council to conſiſt of One and Thirty Perſons, *viz.* General *George Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Colonel *Roſſiter*, *Richard Knightly*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord-Chief-Juſtice Sir ..... *Johnſon*, Sir *John Temple*, Lord Commiſſioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*, Sir *William Waller*, *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *William*

Reſtores the Secluded Members.

A new Council of State.

A. D. 1659. *liam Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Mountague*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Colonel *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Anneſly*, *Denzil Hollis*, Colonel *George Thompſon*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Colonel *John Birch*, Sir *Herbottle Grimſton*, *John Swinfin*, *John Weaver*, Serjeant *Maynard*.

The Life-Guard and the reſt of the Troops under *Lambert* having no Commanders in Chief, the General gave the Command of it to Captain *Philip Howard*, and *Desborough*'s Regiment to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he alſo made Governour of *Carlile*, and Colonel *Jones* Governour of *Beaumorris* Caſtle. But notwithſtanding all the Parliament's and the General's care, Colonel *Overton* was deſigning to make Diſturbances in *Yorkſhire*, by diſperſing Seditious Writings among the Army; and if Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithſon* and *Bethel* had not been very active in ſuppreſſing it, his Practice had perverted many Soldiers: To prevent which, the General made Colonel *Fairfax* Governour of *Hull*, with Orders to draw ſome Companies to *Beverly*, which *Overton* ſubmitted to, and the ſame night began his Journey towards *London*, to attend the General's farther pleaſure. Beſides theſe Regulations, the General about the ſame time made Mr. *Clarges* Commiſſary-General of the Muſters of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, conſtituted Mr. *Morris* Governour of *Plymouth*, and made Major-General *Morgan* Commander in chief of the Army in *Scotland*. The Parliament well reſenting the General's Care and Conduct, gave him by Act of Parliament a Preſent of 20000 *l.* in Money, conferr'd upon Commiſſary-General *Clarges* the Han'per-Offices, and on the 13th of *March* order'd, That the Engagement *To be True to the Commonwealth of* England, *without a King, or Houſe of Lords*, ſhould be taken off the File, and made Void to all intents and purpoſes.

The Army reformed.

Scot, *Haſterig*, and others, look'd upon theſe Proceedings as inevitable Prognoſticks of introducing the King; and to prevent it, courted the General to take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon Himſelf; telling him, that the Parliaments Actions tended to ruine Him and all the good People of *England*. His Overthrow, they ſaid, muſt needs ſucceed the King's Admiſſion; *for a Merit too great to be rewarded could have*

The General tempted by the Rumperr.

have no Recompence but Death. They bid him remember that *Stanley*, who ſet the Crown upon *Henry* the Seventh's Head, had his own ſtruck off upon frivolous pretences, when the true Reaſon was *Exceſs of Merit.* To theſe Allegations the General anſwer'd, *That the Parliament were beſt Judges of their own Proceedings*; and as to taking the Government upon himſelf, he ſaid, *The Experience of* Cromwel's *Fate gave him ſufficient Reaſons to ſhun the Rock on which that Family was Shipwreck'd.* They reply'd, *That* Oliver *uſurp'd the Government againſt the Suffrage of the Army, and the Conſent of the good People: whereas he ſhould have it by their unanimous Conſent, and under what Name or Title he pleas'd to accept it.* But the General would hear no more of theſe Temptations, nor ſtain an antient Family of Gentry by ſuch a treacherous Proſtitution of it.

A. D. 1660.

He refuſes to take the Government.

Now Affairs looking favourably upon the King's Intereſt, he ſent Sir *John Granville* to the General, who knowing his wary Temper, made uſe of his Neighbour Mr. *Morris* to introduce him; for tho' he was the General's near Relation, yet by reaſon of his Youth, and the General's long abſence, they were almoſt ſtrangers to one another. Mr. *Morris* acquainted the General with it, who made anſwer, *That unleſs he would ſend him Information of his buſineſs by him, he could not admit of Intercourſe with him.* Mr. *Morris* told him he had already propos'd that to him, *but he refus'd it.* The General approving this reſerv'dneſs in Sir *John*, order'd him to come to him to St. *James*'s at Nine in the Evening. Accordingly *Granville* came, and begging Pardon for his importunity, deſiring his leave to deliver a Meſſage to him from the King: The General ſeem'd ſurpriz'd at this; but being alone, bid him ſay what he pleas'd. Then Sir *John* preſented a Letter to him from the King, and told him, *That His Majeſty had great Confidence in him, and ſince he had ſo far complied with the deſires of the Kingdom, for the admiſſion of the Secluded Members in order to a free Parliament, the conſequences of it could not be leſs than the Reſtauration of His Majeſty, if he concurr'd with their Councils.*

A Meſſage from the King.

The General reply'd, *That he had long lamented the Miſeries of his Country, and waited an opportunity to redeem them from Vaſſalage; and as to the King's Majeſty,*

A. D. 1660.

none wiſh'd him greater Felicity than he, or with greater paſſion deſir'd his Reſtauration: but if it were not cautiouſly attempted, it would be out of his power to ſerve him in it. Then conjur'd him to acquaint no perſon with it but the King, and deſire Him alſo to conceal it; but above all things he intreated him to deſire the King to remove out of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions to *Breda*, for he had certain Intelligence he would otherwiſe be detain'd by the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters. When Sir *John* had deliver'd his Meſſage to the King, he conſulted his Council about his removal, and in two or three days took his Journey to *Breda*, where we ſhall leave His Majeſty, and return to the Tranſactions in *England*.

A new Engagement.

The Council of State took care for the ſpeedy Execution of the Act *for electing Members to ſerve in Parliament, and putting the Militia into ſober hands*; and Commiſſary *Clarges* drew up an Engagement to be ſubſcrib'd by the Officers and Soldiers, *To acquieſce with whatſoever the next Parliament ſhould do, and to diſplace all that he ſhould refuſe*; which being approv'd by his Lordſhip, Colonel *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, Mr. *Anneſly* and Col. *Knight*, the Officers of three Regiments ſign'd it immediately, and ſo did all the Officers about *London* that came out of *Scotland* with the General, and all that refus'd it were caſhier'd. This mightily enrag'd the Factious Party, and *Lambert* having eſcap'd out of the Tower, went into the North, where he hover'd about, and entertain'd all the diſcontented Officers and Soldiers, till he had got together about ſeven Troops of Horſe and a Company of Foot; which the Council of State being acquainted with, they proclaim'd him and all his Adherents Traytors, commanding all Officers Civil and Military to apprehend him. *Ingoldsby* and *Streater* were ſent to *Northampton* to watch his Motions, and fight him; who hearing that *Lambert* was at *Daventry*, they march'd thither, and there being inform'd that he was march'd two miles from thence, they haſten'd to meet him, which they did in a plain Field where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him, beſides the Troops of Horſe before-mention'd, Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axtel*, Colonel *Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clark*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, and ſeveral pri-

Lambert makes an Inſurrection.

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vate Soldiers who were Anabaptiſts. The two Parties fac'd one another near four hours, and *Streater* ſeeing *Lambert* make delays, they reſolved to advance. When the two Bodies came near, juſt as Colonel *Ingoldsby* was going to charge, Colonel *Streater* commanded ſix Files of Muſqueteers to advance; One File gave Fire, and hurt one or two of *Lambert*'s Horſe. His Drums beat, and he advanc'd in good Order; but *Lambert*'s Men held the Muzzles of their Piſtols toward the ground, and *Nelthrop*'s Troop came over to *Ingoldsby*, *Hazlerig*'s Troop having deſerted him before. *Ingoldsby* rides up to *Lambert*, and tells him he was his Priſoner; whereupon *Creed* and the reſt intreaded him to do what he pleas'd with them, but to let *Lambert* eſcape; which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſing, *Lambert* turn'd his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape; but *Ingoldsby* purſu'd him ſo cloſe, that he quickly came up with him, vowing to Piſtol him if he did not yield immediately: *Lambert* in great dejection of mind twice begg'd him to let him eſcape; but when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſubmitted, as all the reſt did, except *Okey*, *Axtel* and *Clare*, who made their eſcapes. A. D. 1660. *Lambert taken Priſoner.*

General *Mountague*, who by *Monk*'s Advice, had been made one of the Generals of the Fleet, and ſent to take Charge of it, wrote an Account to the Council of State, *That Vice-Admiral* Lawſon *and the whole Navy receiv'd him with great ſatisfaction, were all fix'd to their Authority, and reſolv'd to ſubmit to the determinations of the next Parliament.* After this, was publiſh'd *A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that had adhered to the late King*; which was ſo mildly and affectionately worded, towards the compoſing all Differences, and burying all former Animoſities, that it proved a wholſome Preparative to uſher in the Seſſion of Parliament, who aſſembled on the 25th day of *April* 1660. and after appointing Committees, gave all due acknowledgment to General *Monk* for his eminent Service and great Wiſdom, in ſubduing his Enemies without Blood, and in being inſtrumental to preſerve the Nation from Ruine, when no way appear'd from whence Deliverance ſhould ariſe. On the 27th Sir *John Granville* attended the General again, and preſented him with a Letter from His Majeſty to be communicated to the Council of State and the Officers *A Parliament aſſembled.*

A. D. 1660. of the Army, with a Commiſſion from His Majeſty, conſtituting him *Captain-General of all the Armies in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland; acquainting him alſo, that he had Letters from His Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament, the City, and the Navy. Sir *John Granville* went next to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent in word that he had a Letter for their Lordſhips from the King; which the Earl of *Mancheſter*, their Speaker, went down to the Clerk and received. The Letter had a Declaration incloſed in it, which were both read in the Houſe. The Letter firſt, in theſe Words:

CHARLES R.

The King's Letter to the Lords.

'RIght Truſty and Well-beloved Couſins, We greet 'you well. We cannot have a better Reaſon to 'promiſe Our Self an end of Our common Sufferings 'and Calamities, and that Our own Juſt Power and 'Authority will, with God's Bleſſing, be reſtored to 'Us, than that We hear You are again acknowledged 'to have that Authority and Juriſdiction which hath 'always belonged to you by your Births, and the 'Fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have 'thought it very fit and ſafe for Us, to call to you for 'your help in compoſing the Diſtempers and Diſtra'ctions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are 'next to thoſe We have undergone Our Selves; and 'therefore you cannot but be the moſt proper Coun'cellors for removing theſe Miſchiefs, and for pre'venting the like for the future. How great a Truſt 'We repoſe in you, for the Reſtoring and Eſtabliſhing 'a bleſſed Peace and Security in the Kingdom, will 'appear to you by Our incloſed Declaration; which 'Truſt We are moſt confident you will diſcharge with 'Juſtice and Wiſdom that becomes you, and muſt al'ways be expected from you; and that upon experi'ence how one Violation ſucceeds another, when the 'known Relations and Rules of Juſtice are once tranſ'greſſed, you will be as zealous for the Rights of the 'Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for 'your ſelves: And then you cannot but diſcharge 'with good Succeſs, and provide for, and eſtabliſh 'the Peace, Happineſs and Honour of King, Lords, 'and

'and Commons, upon that Foundation which only 'can ſupport it, and We ſhall all be happy in each 'other: And as the whole Nation will bleſs God for 'you all, ſo We ſhall hold Our Selves oblig'd in an 'eſpecial manner to thank you in particular, accor-'ding to the Affection you ſhall expreſs towards Us. 'We need the leſs to enlarge upon this Subject, be-'cauſe We have likewiſe writ to the *Houſe of Com-'mons*, which We ſuppoſe they will communicate to 'You: And We pray God to bleſs pour joint endea-'vours, for the Good of Us all, and ſo We bid you 'very heartily Farewell. A. D. 1660.

Given at Our Court at Breda *this* 14*th of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

The Declaration was next read; which was entituled,

His Majeſty's Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

CHARLES R.

'CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *Eng-* *The King's*
'*land*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of *Declara-*
'the Faith, *&c.* To all Our loving Subjects, of what *tion.*
'Degree or Quality ſoever, Greeting. If the general 'Diſtraction and Confuſion which is ſpread over the 'whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a de-'ſire and longing that thoſe Wounds which have ſo ma-'ny years together been kept bleeding, may be bound 'up, all We can ſay will be to no purpoſe. How-'ever, after this long ſilence, We thought it Our Du-'ty to Declare how much We deſire to contribnte 'thereto; and that as We can never give over the 'hope in good time to obtain the Poſſeſſion of that

A. D. 1660.

'Right which God and Nature had made Our due; 'ſo We do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine Pro-* 'vidence, that He will, in Compaſſion to Us and Our 'Subjects, after ſo long Miſery and Sufferings, remit, 'and put Us into quiet Poſſeſſion of that Our Right, 'with as little Blood and Damage to Our People as is 'poſſible. Nor do We deſire more to enjoy what 'is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may enjoy what 'by Law is Theirs, by a full and entire Admini- 'ſtration of Juſtice throughout the Land, and by 'extending Our Mercy where it is wanted or de- 'ſerv'd.

'And to the end that the fear of Puniſhment may 'not engage any, conſcious to themſelves of what is 'paſt, to a perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by 'oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country, 'in the Reſtoration both of King, Peers, and People, 'to their Juſt, Antient, and Fundamental Rights: We 'do by theſe Preſents Declare, That We do grant a 'Free and General Pardon, which are ready upon 'demand to paſs under Our Great Seal of *England*, 'to all Our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality ſo- 'ever, who within forty days after the publiſhing 'hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Fa- 'vour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their do- 'ing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obe- 'dience of good Subjects, excepting only ſuch per- 'ſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. 'Thoſe only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faul- 'ty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly 'given by this preſent Declaration, That no Crime 'whatſoever committed againſt Us or Our Royal Fa- 'ther, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe 'up in Judgment, or be brought in queſtion againſt 'any of them, their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or '(as far forth as lies in Our Power) ſo much as to the 'prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach or 'term of Diſtinction from the reſt of Our Subjects: 'We deſiring and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes 'of Diſcord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, 'be utterly aboliſh'd among all Our Subjects, whom 'We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among 'themſelves, under our Subjection, for the Re-ſettle- 'ment of Our Juſt Rights and Theirs, in a Free Par- 'liament,

'liament, by which, upon the Word of a King, We 'will be adviſed. A. D. 1660.

'And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of 'the Times have produc'd ſeveral Opinions in Reli-'gion, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and 'Animoſities againſt each other; which, when they 'ſhall be hereafter united in a Freedom of Converſa-'tion, will be compoſed, or better underſtood: We 'do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that 'no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or call'd in queſtion for 'Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, 'which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; 'and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act 'of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhall 'be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indul-'gence.

'And becauſe in the continued Diſtractions of ſo 'many Years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, 'many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been 'made to and by many Officers and Soldiers, and 'others who are now poſſeſs'd of the ſame, and who 'may be liable to Actions at Law, upon ſeveral 'Titles: We are likewiſe willing, that all ſuch dif-'ferences, and all things relating to ſuch Grants, 'Sales, and Purchaſes, ſhall be determined in Par-'liament, which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfa-'ction of all Men who are concern'd.

'And we do farther declare, That We will be 'ready to conſent to any Act, or Acts of Parlia-'ment for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full 'ſatisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and 'Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of Ge-'neral *Monk*; and that they ſhall be received into our 'Service, upon as good Pay and Condition as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign-Manual, and Privy-Signet, at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14*th of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

A. D. 1660. Both theſe being read, the Lords order'd Thanks to be given to Sir *John Granville*, for bringing that gracious Declaration and Letter; and Reſolv'd by Vote, *That they do own and declare, that according to the Antient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Com-Commons.* Then Sir *John Granville* went to the Houſe of Commons, who before his coming were acquainted with the Letter he deliver'd to the Council of State; and upon notice of his attending at the door, he was call'd in, who preſented the Houſe with a Letter from His Majeſty. The Letter contain'd in it a Duplicate of the ſame Declaration which was inclos'd in a Letter to the Lords, and ſuperſcribed,

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

CHARLES R.

The King's Letter to the Houſe of Commons.

'TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. 'In theſe great and inſupportable Afflictions and 'Calamities, under which the poor Nation hath been 'ſo long exerciſed, and by which it is ſo near ex-'hauſted, We cannot think of a more natural and pro-'per Remedy, than to reſort to Them for Councel 'and Advice, who have ſeen and obſerv'd the firſt be-'ginning of Our Miſeries, and the Progreſs from Bad 'to Worſe; which Miſtakes and Miſunderſtandings 'produced, which at firſt were never intended; and 'to repair the Breaches, and provide Remedies for 'their Evils, and for ſetling the laſting Peace, Happi-'neſs, and Security of the Kingdom,

'We do aſſure you, upon Our Royal Word, that 'none of Our Predeceſſors have had a greater Eſteem 'for Parliaments, than We have in Our Judgments, 'as well as from Our Obligations, and do believe 'them to be ſo Vital a Part of the Conſtitution of the 'Kingdom, and ſo neceſſary for the Government of 'it,

'it, that neither Prince nor People can be in any tole- A. D.
'rable degree happy without them: And therefore 1660.
'you may be confident, that We ſhall always look
'upon their Councels as the beſt We can receive, and
'ſhall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful
'to preſerve and protect them, as of that which is
'moſt near to Our Self, and moſt neceſſary for Our
'Own Preſervation. And as this is Our Opinion of
'Parliaments, ſo We believe you will find, that the
'Preſervation of the King's Authority is neceſſary for
'the Preſervation of Parliaments, and that it is not the
'Name, but the right Conſtitution of them, which
'can prepare and apply proper Remedies for thoſe
'Evils which are grievous to the People, and which
'can thereby eſtabliſh their Peace and Security: And
'therefore We have not the leaſt doubt but that you
'will be as tender in, and jealous of, any thing that
'may infringe our Honour, or impair our Authority,
'as of your own Liberty and Property, which is beſt
'preſerved by preſerving the other.

'How far We have truſted you in this great Affair,
'and how much it is in your Power to reſtore to the
'Nation what it hath loſt, and to redeem it from any
'Injury it hath undergone, and to make King and
'People as happy as they ought to be, you will find
'by Our incloſed Declaration, a Copy of which We
'have likewiſe ſent to the *Houſe of Peers*; and you will
'eaſily believe that We would not voluntarily, and
'of Our Selves, have repoſed ſo great a Truſt in you,
'but upon an entire Confidence that you will not a-
'buſe it; and that you will proceed in ſuch a man-
'ner, and with ſuch due Conſideration of Us, who
'have truſted you, that We ſhall not be aſhamed of
'declining other Aſſiſtance (which We have aſſu-
'rance of) and repairing to You for more natural
'and proper Remedies for the Evils We would be
'freed from, nor ſorry that We have bound up Our
'Own Intereſt ſo entirely with that of Our Subjects,
'as that We refer it to the ſame Perſons to take care
'of Us, who are truſted to provide for Them.

'We look upon you as wiſe diſpaſſionate Men, and
'good Patriots, who will raiſe up thoſe Banks and
'Fences which have been caſt down, and who will
'moſt reaſonably hope that the ſame Proſperity will
'again ſpring from thoſe Roots from which it hath

'here-

A. D. 1660.

'heretofore, and always grown; nor can We appre-
'hend that you will propoſe any thing to Us, or ex-
'pect any thing from Us, but that We are as ready to
'Give as You to receive.

'If you deſire the Advancement and Propagation
'of the Proteſtant Religion, We have by our conſtant
'Profeſſion and Practice of it, given ſufficient Teſti-
'mony to the World, that neither the unkindneſs of
'thoſe of the ſame Faith with Us, nor the Civilities
'and Obligations from thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion,
'could in the leaſt degree ſtartle Us, or make Us ſwerve
'from Our Zeal and Affection for it: And We hope
'in due time to propoſe ſomething to you Our Selves
'for the propagation of it, that will ſatisfie the World
'that We have always made it both Our Care and
'Study, and have enough obſerved what is moſt like
'to bring diſadvantage to it.

'If you deſire Security for thoſe who in theſe Cala-
'mitous Times, either weakly or wilfully have tranſ-
'greſſed thoſe Bounds which were preſcribed, and
'have invaded each others Rights, We have left it to
'you to provide for their Security and Indemnity in
'ſuch a way as you ſhall think juſt and reaſonable. In
'a word, there is nothing that you can propoſe, that
'may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not
'contend with you to compaſs; And upon this Con-
'fidence and Aſſurance, We thought fit to ſend you
'this Declaration, that you may, as much as is poſſi-
'ble at this diſtance, ſee Our heart, which when God
'ſhall bring Us nearer together, will appear agreeable
'to what We have profeſſed, and that Our Subjects
'ſhall be the better for what We have ſeen and ſuf-
'fered. We ſhall add no more, but Our Prayers to
'Almighty God, That He will bleſs your Councils,
'and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and
'Worſhip may be provided for, and the Peace, Ho-
'nour and Happineſs of the Nation may be eſtabliſh'd
'upon thoſe Foundations which can beſt ſupport it.
'And ſo We bid you Farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14th *of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

After

After reading these, the Lord General desir'd the Letter that was sent to him might be read also; which being to the same purpose with the former, is here omitted. Then the House took into consideration, that the King being long depriv'd of his Revenue, he might be in want of Money, they order'd that 500000 *l.* should be speedily rais'd, and presented to his Majesty, with 100000 *l.* to the Duke of *York*, and 50000 *l.* to the Duke of *Gloucester*; and now the Lords and Commons appointed Committees to draw up their several Answers to His Majesty's Letters, and resolv'd that the Superscription should be, A. D. 1660.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

and order'd that all the Acts and Orders should be rased out of the Journals, that were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords, and Commons. Both Houses having drawn up their Answers, Six Lords and Twelve Commoners were appointed to attend His Majesty with them, and to desire His Majesty to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the exercise of his Kingly Office. Three days after, the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that purpose, His Majesty was proclaim'd with great Solemnity in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, being present. *Wednesday* the 23d of *May* the King and his two Brothers took Shipping in *Holland*, and upon *Friday* about One in the afternoon landed at the Beach near *Dover-Pier*, with the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen. *Dover* being incapable of entertaining so great Numbers as came to attend His Majesty, he took Coach immediately; the Duke of *York* sate next the King, at the other end sate the Duke of *Gloucester* and the General, and the Duke of *Buckingham* sate in the Boot. About two miles from *Dover* the King took Horse, his Brothers riding on his right hand, and the General on his left, after whom rode the Duke of *Buckingham*, with several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, follow'd by a gallant Equipage into *Canterbury*, where

The King proclaim'd.

A. D. 1660. where the next day the General was made *Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, and Maſter of His Majeſty's Horſe.*

On *Monday* following His Majeſty came into *Rocheſter*, from thence to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, a ſight that extremely pleas'd His Majeſty, being for their number as gallant Troops as were to be ſeen in the World. At St. *George's Fields* the Lord Mayor with a profound Reverence deliver'd the Sword to His Majeſty, and receiv'd it again with great Reſpect. From thence the King was conducted through *London* to his Royal Palace of *Whitehall*, with all the Joy and Magnificence imaginable, and paid his Devotions and Thanks to God in the Preſence Chamber, becauſe his Chappel was not prepar'd for his Reception. The firſt thing attempted after His Majeſty's arrival with reſpect to the Publick, was conſtituting the Great Officers at Court, and appointing the Members of his Privy-Council, whilſt the Houſe of Commons applied themſelves to perfect *an Act of General Pardon*, which conſiſting of ſeveral Particulars, took up long Debates. The Lords would have excepted all that ſate and acted in any High Court of Juſtice; but the King's Clemency extended to all who were not Guilty of his Father's Murther; therefore on the 13th of *July* he went to the Houſe, and in a pathetick Speech haſten'd the perfecting of it. The next thing was, appointing a Committee of Eſtates for the Regulation of the *Scotch* Affairs; who were no ſooner aſſembled, but a Spirit of Diſcontent was diſcover'd among ſome Sticklers for the Kirk-Party there, who had drawn up a Remonſtrance of Things, wherein they thought themſelves agrieved: for which they were impriſoned, and the Marquis of *Argyle*, being thought the Head of them, was committed to the *Tower*, together with the Marquis of *Antrim*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, beſides ſeveral others that follow'd after.

The King came to London.

Auguſt the 29th the King paſs'd the *Act for General Pardon*, with four other Bills, without excepting any Perſon from the Benefit of it but thoſe that acted or ſate as the King's Judges, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Lambert*, *Hugh Peters*, and thoſe two perſons that were diſguiſed upon the Scaffold on the 30th of *January* 1648. And thoſe that were of the number of the King's

Judges,

Judges, but did not ſign the Warrant for ſummoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the King's Execution, their Lives were ſpar'd. And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, where he paſs'd eight publick Acts, and then the Houſe adjourn'd themſelves till the 6th of *November* following. A. D. 1660. *The Parliament adjourned.*

Beſides the many *Addreſſes* that were made to the King by his own Subjects, there came over ſeveral Agents and Ambaſſadors from the greateſt Princes and States in *Europe*, to complement his Majeſty upon his happy Reſtauration to his Royal Dignity and Government. Between the Ambaſſadors of the Crowns of *Spain* and *France* there has been long and often Conteſts in point of Precedence in the Courts of Foreign Princes; but none more remarkable than that which happen'd near the *Tower*; for they both ſtriving whoſe Coach ſhould go next the King's, His Majeſty's Coach moving forwards, the *Spaniards* ſtepping nimbly on either ſide the hinder Wheels of their Maſter's Coach, drew their Weapons and gave a Shout, which caus'd the *French* to make a pauſe: But when they ſaw the advantage the *Spaniards* had got, they came up to them, and at once pouring in their Shot upon them, their Foot fell to it with their Swords, which the *Spaniards* receiv'd without removing one jot from their Stations. During the Encounter, in which the *French* ſuffer'd ſome Repulſe a bold and dexterous fellow, and, as ſome affirm, with a particular Inſtrument as well as Addreſs, ſtooping under the Bellies of the *French* Ambaſſador's Coach horſes, cut the Hamſtrings of two of them, and wounded others; and the Horſes falling, hinder'd the Coach from advancing farther, the Coach man fell out of his Box, and the Poſtillion was mortally wounded. This Diſorder, wherein ſeveral were wounded, and ſome kill'd, caus'd thoſe in the *French* Coach to alight, and ſo encourag'd their Party, that it occaſion'd a ſecond briſk Aſſault both of Horſe and Foot; which being receiv'd with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horſe retreated and wheel'd off to St. *Catherines*. In this interim the *Spaniſh* Coach went forward after His Majeſty's, with about twenty of its Retinue following, ſtill looking after the *French* as long as they ſtaid upon the Wharf, and the narrow paſſage of the Bul-

A Rencounter between the Spaniards and French on Tower-Wharf.

wark,

A. D. 1660. wark, where the Conteſt was very fierce without diſorder. The firſt that appear'd on *Tower-Hill* was His Majeſty's Coach, follow'd by the *Swedes* Ambaſſador, next by that of *Spain* with about thirty of his Liveries, ſtill diſputing it with a leſs number of *French* that followed them in the Rear, till they paſs'd the Chain that leads into *Crouched-Friers*, and then they gave it over.

The Princeſs *of* Orange *comes into* England.

A little after this time, the Princeſs-Royal of *Great-Britain*, having recommended the Intereſt of her Son the Prince of *Orange* to the Care of the States General, who had now at length agreed to inveſt the young Prince with the Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtors formerly held in that Commonwealth, which they had ſo highly merited, was pleas'd to come into *England* to viſit her Brother, and once again to ſee her Native Country: but the Joy of ſeeing the King her Brother peaceably enthron'd, was much allay'd by her Sorrow for the loſs of her third Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who died the 13th of *September* in the 20th year of his Age; *much lamented by the King, and all that knew him, as a Prince excellently qualified, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wiſe above his Years, an affectionate Brother, a wiſe Councellor, a good Maſter, and a true Friend.*

The Duke of Gloceſter's *Death.*

Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament having made a great progreſs in paying off and disbanding the Army and the Navy, the Militia or Train'd-Bands were ſettl'd under good Officers, that the Nation might be in a poſture of Defence, and freed from the Charge and Danger of a Standing Army. Civil and Military Affairs being in part provided for, *Eccleſiaſtical Matters* were taken into conſideration; and His Majeſty judging *that Form of Government* which had been eſtabliſh'd in *England* from the *Reformation* till the late *unhappy Troubles*, to be the moſt antient, decent, and true Worſhip, and tending moſt to *Peace* and *Uniformity in Religion*, he reſtor'd *Epiſcopacy* to its former *Dignity* and *Authority* in the Church of *England*.

The Regicides Executed.

In the month of *October*, *Owen Rowe*, *Auſtin Garland*, and Twenty ſeven more of the Regicides, Murderers of the King, excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity*, were arraign'd and try'd by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* at the *Seſſions-houſe* in the *Old-Bailey*, where

where the Priſoners all pleaded *Not Guilty*, except Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Mr. *George Fleetwood*, who pleaded *Guilty*: but the Crimes were ſo odious, and the Proofs ſo clear, that the Jurors ſcarce went from the Bar to deliberate, but found them all Guilty, and Ten of them were Executed, *viz. Harriſon, Carew, Scot, Clement, Jones, Scroop, Cook* and *Peters*, at *Charing-Croſs*, and *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn*. All the reſt were reſpited till the King and Parliament ſhould order their Execution, according to the direction in the *Act of Indemnity* for that purpoſe. A. D. 1660.

At the ſame time the King call'd a Parliament in *Scotland*, aſſuring them, *That he would receive Addreſſes and Informations only from his Parliament, and Committee of State; and as they ſhould adviſe, his own Honour being firſt vindicated, and the antient Prerogatives of his Crown aſſerted, he would grant ſuch a Free Pardon and Indemnity as ſhould make all his People eaſie.* He alſo ſettled the Government of *Ireland*, and appointed a Magiſtracy there that exercis'd their Authority with great Candour and Moderation.

Both Houſes of Parliament met again on the 6th of *November*, and applied themſelves to make ſeveral Laws for the Augmentation of the King's Revenue, and other Matters of importance; in which they made more than ordinary ſpeed, becauſe they had intimation from the King, that he intended to diſſolve them on the 19th of *December* following. In the mean time both the Houſes order'd that the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, ſhould be taken out of their Graves, be drawn on a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, and to be bury'd under the Gallows. Soon after this the King paſs'd *An Act for Setling the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale and other Liquors*; and another *for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries*, which had been long complain'd againſt as an Oppreſſion to the Subject, and accepted the Exciſe in lieu of it, as an Hereditary Duty to the Crown of *England* for ever. And whilſt the King was paſſing theſe Acts, the Vertuous Princeſs the Lady *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange*, his dear Siſter, and Mother to *William* III. King of *England*, died at *Whitehall*, and five days after was buried in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*. The ſame day the Parliament was diſſolv'd.

The Court of Wards and Liveries taken away.

Whilſt

A. D. 1660.

Venner's *Rebellion.*

Whilſt things now ſeem'd to be in a proſperous condition, under the ſmiles of Peace and Plenty, and being reſtor'd to our Primitive Conſtitution, the Government was alarm'd by a ſort of Madmen call'd *Fifth Monarchiſts*, who broke out into open Rebellion under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner* a Cooper, who was Preacher to a Conventicle of thoſe of that Opinion, who uſually met in *Coleman-ſtreet*, *London*. Their firſt pretence was againſt the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and that they had no Protection in the Exerciſe of their Religion, but were expoſed to all manner of Contempt in practiſing it. Whereupon about Fifty or Sixty of them in number on a *Sunday*-night ſallied out of their Meeting houſe well Arm'd, march'd to St. *Thomas Apoſtles* to call ſome of their Party, and from thence into *White-Croſs-ſtreet*. Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together ſome Files of the Train'd Bands; of which they having notice, and alſo that the Life-Guard was coming againſt them, fled into *Cane-Wood* betwixt *Highgate* and *Hampſtead*, and on *Wedneſday*-morning very early return'd again to *London*, dividing themſelves into two Parties, one whereof appear'd about *Leaden-Hall*, from thence march'd into *Little-Eaſtcheap*, where they fought obſtinately enough, but were diſpers'd by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to the Lord Mayor's Houſe, thinking to have taken him Priſoner; but miſſing him, they march'd into *Woodſtreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet* and about Twenty Horſe. *Corbet* and Nine of his Party charg'd through the Rebels and broke them, and the Train'd-Band Foot had little elſe to do but purſue them. They fought with Courage to admiration; and if they had not been hinder'd by the Lord Mayor from increaſing their Numbers, a Thouſand Men ſo reſolv'd might have given ſuch a Diſturbance to the City, as in a ſhort time might have had an Influence farther. *Venner* himſelf was much wounded before he could be taken, and five or ſix kill'd that refus'd Quarter, ſome of which were ſuch obſcure Perſons, that their Names were never known. Eight or ten days after, *Venner*, with about ſixteen or ſeventeen of the moſt notorious, were arraign'd at the *Old-Bailey*, found Guilty, and Executed in ſeveral places in *London*. With this and the

the Death of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* in the *Tower*, who was thought to die for meer anguiſh and trouble of Mind, to ſee his great Deſigns in an inſtant come to nothing, and himſelf at the Mercy of a Power over which he had ſo long and ſucceſsfully triumph'd, and with the ſolemn Coronation of the King, we ſhall conclude this Wonderful Year. Which Formalities being too long to be inſerted in an Abridgement, is omitted here, and the Reader referred to the Copy written by *Elias Aſhmole* Eſquire, *Windſor*-Herald, to whom it more properly belongs than to an Hiſtorian; and I ſhall only take notice, that the King took the accuſtomed Oaths to adminiſter Juſtice, and protect his People. A. D. 1660.

The King's Coronation.

Soon after the Coronation, began the firſt Parliament that was called by the King's Writ, an Eſſential wanting to the laſt Parliament, and therefore the Acts made by that were confirm'd by this. The Commons choſe Sir *Edward Turner* their Speaker, and on *Monday* the 13th of *May* both Houſes attended His Majeſty at *Whitehall*, expreſſing their humble Acknowledgments and Thanks for communicating to them his intentions to marry with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which they received with great joy and ſatisfaction, and with all earneſtneſs begg'd a Bleſſing upon it, and a ſpeedy Accompliſhment of it. By Order of this Parliament the *Solemn League and Covenant* was publickly burnt at *London* and *Weſtminſter* by the common Hangman on the 22d of *May*, and afterwards all over *England*; and the pretended Act for the Trial of King *Charles* I. was burnt in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Order of the ſame Parliament, on the 28th of the ſame month. While theſe things were tranſacting in *England*, ſome Reparation was made to the Memory of the moſt Noble Marquis of *Montroſs*; for on the 11th of *May* this year his Body was taken up from the place it was laid in, and buried in a Decent and Magnificent Manner. The like Solemnities on the 7th of *June* were given to the Bodies of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, formerly ſhot to Death, or rather murder'd in cold Blood, for ſerving their King at *Colcheſter*.

The Scotch *Covenant burnt by the Hangman.*

November the 20th the Parliament met again, in which Seſſion the Biſhops were reſtored to their Rights, and reinſtated in the Houſe of Lords. *Epiſcopacy*

The Biſhops reſtored to their Rights.

A. D. 1662.

pacy was also restored in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which great Office of Trust he enjoy'd a great part of this Reign. Among other welcome Guests that came into *England* at and after the Restauration, was *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, the King's Aunt, and only surviving Daughter of *James* I. A Princess that had endured all the Storms that Fortune could raise against her, and now being so happy to see her Nephew in his Throne, that satisfaction also lasted but a small time; for she arrived here on *May* the 17th, and dy'd at *Leicester-House* the 13th of *February* following, in the 66th year of her Age, and was privately buried in the same Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldest Brother, under King *Henry* VII's Chappel.

The King Married.

Now comes on the Consummation of the Royal Nuptial formerly intimated to the Parliament, between King *Charles* and the Princess Donna *Catherina* Infanta of *Portugal*, born the 14th of *November* 1638. Daughter of *Juan*, the fourth of that Name of *Portugal*, only Sister of Don *Alphonso* the Sixth and Don *Pedro*, successively Kings of *Portugal*. The Marriage was solemniz'd at *Lisbon* by his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*. She embarqu'd for *England*, *April* the 23d 1662. attended by a Squadron of the Royal Navy, was met at the *Isle of Wight* by the Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral. At *Portsmouth* she was received by the King, and marry'd there by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Bishop of *London*. From thence the Royal Pair removed to *Hampton-Court*, and from thence to *Whitehall* with great Pomp and Magnificence, being received at *Chelsey* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. The Portion (as 'twas said) the Queen brought with her, was Two Millions of Croisadoes, which is about 300 *l.* Sterling, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* and the Isle of *Bombay* in the *East-Indies*; in consideration whereof, a Jointure of 30000 *l.* a year was settl'd upon her. On the 19th of *May* the King prorogu'd the Parliament to the 18th of *February*, and passed several Bills, among which one was *for setling an Annual Revenue of Two Shillings upon every Fire-hearth in the Nation upon the Crown for ever*; and another enjoining all *Ecclesiasticks*, by a certain day prefix'd, *to renounce the Covenant, and sign a Declaration, that it was not lawful to take up Arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever*,

The Queen's Portion.

ſoever, nor to endeavour any Alteration in Church or State. Which the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Clergy refuſing to comply with, they loſt their Preferments, were after called *Non-Conformiſts*, and ſet up for Preachers in Conventicles. Afterwards the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the King to bring Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert* Eſq; to their Trials, who accordingly were arraign'd upon ſeveral Indictments *for compaſſing the Death of the King and Subverſion of the Government*; and being both found Guilty of High-Treaſon, Sir *Henry Vane* urg'd in his own behalf, *That the King being at that time but King* de Jure, *and not* de Facto, *he could not be indicted for Treaſon committed before his Reſtauration*: But the Court of *Kings-Bench* over-rul'd his Exception, and they both received Sentence of Death. Sir *Henry Vane* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 14th of *June*, but *Lambert*'s Execution was deferred, and he was ſent to *Guernſey* to continue there a Priſoner during Life, and lived about Thirty years after under Confinement. This year the King concluded a Peace with *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to their eternal Praiſe, collected a great Sum of Money among themſelves, and ſent it by two of their own Body, *viz.* a Prebendary and the Archdeacon of *Bath*, to *Argiers*, with which they redeem'd 152 Chriſtian Slaves, *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, from the Miſery of a *Turkiſh* Captivity.

A. D. 1662.

Sir Henry Vane *and* Lambert *try'd and caſt.*

Slaves Redeemed from Algiers.

May the 26th, 1663. the Parliament was prorogued till *Auguſt* the 20th, from thence to the 24th of *November*; and then made ſeveral Acts, among the reſt, *An Act for aſſembling and holding a Parliament once in three years at leaſt*, &c. *An Act to prevent and ſuppreſs Seditious Conventicles. An Act againſt diſorderly and exceſſive Gaming, that if any perſon, by Fraud, Cozenage, Deceit, or unlawful Devices, ſhould win or obtain any Money at any Game, he ſhould forfeit three times as much, to be recovered in any of the King's Courts at* Weſtminſter; *and that no perſon ſhould play upon Tick for more than One Hundred Pound at one time.*

The Merchants in Parliament complaining to the King of the great Loſſes they ſuſtain'd by the *Hollanders*, the King during the receſs order'd his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* to deliver the States a Memorial of the Damages; but receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer,

A. D. 1663. the King repreſented the State of that Affair to the Parliament at their next Meeting, who granted him a Supply of Two Millions Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds to be raiſed in three years, to enable him to War againſt the *Dutch*, and on the 14th of *March* War was proclaim'd againſt them. To omit leſſer Actions at the beginning of the War, as taking Prizes, and loſs of Ships on both ſides, *June* the Third 1665. the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, engaged with that of *Holland* under the Command of *Opdam*. Both ſides fought with Reſolution, till *Opdam* happen'd to be blown up, and his Ship ſunk, for then followed a glorious Victory to the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* loſing near Thirty of their beſt Ships, which were either burnt, ſunk, or taken, and about 8000 of their Men either killed or taken Priſoners. The Principal that were killed of the *Engliſh* were, the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyl*, all three kill'd with one Cannon-ſhot; the Earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, Captain *Sampſon*, Rear-Admiral to Prince *Rupert*, ſlain in the Fight, and Sir *John Lawſon* who died of his Wounds not long after.

War againſt the Dutch.

The great Plague.

In *May* this year there began a terrible Plague in *London*, the greateſt that ever that City felt; for in one years time it ſwept away 97306 perſons. In *June* the Queen-Mother return'd into *France*, and the King and Court firſt remov'd to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Oxford*; but the Duke of *Albemarl* and the Earl of *Craven* continued in *London*, and did great Service there, eſpecially the laſt, by his extraordinary Acts of Charity in relieving the Poor and Diſeaſed.

A Sea-Fight.

The *Hollanders* finding themſelves too weak to cope with the *Engliſh*, drew in the *French* to their Aſſiſtance, in hopes by that Acceſſion to prevail againſt ſo formidable an Enemy as they were at War with. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarl* being appointed Admirals for this Summer's Expedition, it happen'd that part of the Fleet under the Command of the Prince were divided from the reſt, ſome ſay by Treachery from the Court, others that it was by Accident; but however it was occaſioned, it might have prov'd fatal to the reſt of the Fleet; for that part of it under the Command of the Duke fell in with the

the whole *Dutch* Fleet, when for two or three days together the Duke maintain'd a ſharp Fight againſt double his Number, and muſt at laſt of neceſſity have been worſted, if the Prince had not happily come in to his Aſſiſtance; after which, they ſo warmly ply'd the *Dutch*, that they fled before them with great loſs of Ships and Men. Our greateſt loſs was the Ship called the *Royal Prince*, which was unfortunately ſtranded on the *Galloper-Sand*, then burnt by the *Dutch*, and her Commander Sir *George Aſcough* taken Priſoner. A. D. 1665.

After our Fleet had refitted at the *Buoy in the Nore*, and the *Hollanders* had repaired their loſſes at home, both Fleets put to Sea again, and came to a ſecond Engagement on the 25th of *July* off of *Orfordneſs*, where the Red and White Squadrons put two of the *Dutch* Squadrons to flight; but the Blue had a more obſtinate Engagement with that of *Zealand*, in which the *Reſolution* was burnt, being the only Ship we loſt; but at length the Blue prevail'd againſt their Enemy, and the whole *Dutch* Fleet were put to flight, our Ships purſuing, burning and taking their Ships to their very Shoars, and afterwards rid in Triumph before the *Maeſe* and the *Texel*, alarming the Country with continual apprehenſions of their landing; and that they might not expect it in vain, on the 7th of *Auguſt* Sir *Robert Holmes* landed on the Iſland of *Schelling* in the *Vlie*, burnt the chief Town in it, call'd *Bandaris*, conſiſting of about 1000 Houſes, and at the ſame time burnt and deſtroy'd above 150 Ships that lay at Anchor in *Vlie*-Road, among which were two of their Men of War that endeavoured to defend the reſt. *Another Sea-Fight.*

On the 2d of *September* this year 1666. began that ſad and dreadful Fire in *London*, of which I will give you an Account from the Words of the *Latin* Inſcription on the Monument erected near the place where the Fire began, with an Addition of a few Words. *The Fire of* London.

It began in a Baker's Houſe in Pudding-lane *behind* Fiſhſtreet-hill *about midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, conſum'd not only the adjacent parts, but places far remote, and with incredible noiſe and fury deſtroy'd Eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St.* Paul's, *City-Gates*, Guild-Hall, *many publick*

A. D. 1666. *Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast number of stately Edifices, 13200 Dwelling-houses, 400 Streets, of six and twenty Wards it utterly ruin'd fifteen, and left eight others shatter'd and half burnt. The Ruins of the City were 436 Acres, extending from the* Tower *along the* Thames *side to the* Temple Church, *and from the North-East-gate along the City-wall to* Holbourn-Bridge *or* Fleet-Ditch. *It was as mercileſs to the Eſtates and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things reſemble the laſt and great Conflagration, the Deſtruction was ſudden, for in a ſhort time the ſame City which was ſeen in a flouriſhing Condition was reduc'd to nothing; and after three days, when the fatal Fire had in appearance overcome all means of Reſiſtance, and human Councils, by the Will of Heaven it ſtopt and was extinguiſh'd.*

Various were the Opinions how this Fire began; ſome ſaid, *it was contriv'd and carry'd on by a Conſpiracy of Papiſts*; others are of Opinion, *that it was only the Hand of God in a terrible Judgment.* One Man, and but one, was tried at the *Old Bailey* for ſetting fire to it, who was convicted by his own Confeſſion, and hang'd (for doing it) at *Tyburn*. His Name was *Robert Hubert*, a *French Hugonot* of *Rohan* in *Normandy*: But in allay to this, he is ſaid to be *Non compos mentis*, and that he had the Dead-Palſie on one ſide. Others as confidently affirm, *that* Hubert *was on board a Ship in the* Hope *before, at, and after the Fire began.* However, this is certain, that in *April*, about ſix months before, *John Rathbone*, *William Saunders*, and ſix others, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were executed for conſpiring the Death of His Majeſty, and the Subverſion of the Government, in order whereunto the City was to be burnt by them on the Third of *September* then next following. This being notorious, and printed in the *Gazette*, *April* the 30th 1666. Number 48. was called to remembrance by many People, becauſe the Fire happen'd on the ſame day. But that which is yet more wonderful, and pleaſanter to diſcourſe, is, that from the Ruine made by this Fire the glorious and magnificent Structures which we now behold, like another *Phœnix*, ſhould riſe out of his own Aſhes, and be completed in three years, which was ſuppoſed would be the buſineſs of an Age.

Hubert *hang'd.*

Both

Both sides now growing weary of the War, upon application made by the States General for a Peace, His Majesty consented to it without a Cessation of Arms. *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, and the honourable *Henry Coventry* Esq; were appointed Extraordinary Ambassadors for that Treaty, and accordingly had begun their Conference at the Castle in *Breda*; when the *Dutch* taking advantage of our too great Security, and laying up our great Ships, sent a Fleet to Sea, which arriving in the mouth of the River *Medway*, and having made themselves Masters of the Platform at *Sheerness*, on the 10th of *June* sailed up the River, broke the Chain, and with their Fire-ships burnt the *Matthias*, *Unity*, and *Charles* the Fifth, three *Dutch* Ships that had been formerly taken from them, greatly damnified three others, and carried off with them the *Jonathan* a small *Dutch* Prize, and the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fir'd by the *English*, and as often quench'd by the Enemy: And on *Sunday* the 9th of *July* the Peace was concluded at *Breda*, and proclaimed at *London* the 24th of *August*. About this time, upon the Resignation of the Lord *Gerrard*, the Duke of *Monmouth* was made Captain of His Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse.

A. D. 1667.

A Peace concluded with Holland.

August the 31st, His Majesty thought fit to take the Great Seal from the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Chancellor, and gave it to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*; and the late Chancellor being impeach'd in Parliament, withdrew into *France*, and died at *Rohan* the 19th of *December* 1674.

Now the Cause of Chancellor *Clarendon*'s Disgrace on the King's part being little known in *England*, I thought fit here to give this Relation of it. Among other Designs form'd at Court to please His Majesty, one was to settle a Revenue upon him by Parliament during Life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the Case of a War, or some such extraordinary occasion. The Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer came heartily into it, out of a meer Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* privately oppos'd it. It happen'd that both these Great Men had a private Conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his Opinion, took the freedom to tell him, *That he was better acquainted with*

A. D. 1667. *the King's Temper and Inclinations than* Southampton *could reaſonably expect to be, having had a long and intimate Acquaintance with His Majeſty abroad*; and *that he knew him ſo well, that if ſuch a Revenue was once ſettled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther uſe*; and *that they were not in probability to ſee any more Seſſions of Parliament during that Reign. Southampton* was brought over; but this Paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret, but it came to King *Charles*'s ears; which, together with other things, wherein *Clarendon* was repreſented to him, prov'd the true reaſon why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

In the Spring 1669. the Prince of *Tuſcany* having undertaken a Viſit to all the Courts of *Europe*, arriv'd in *England*, and was receiv'd by the King with extraordinary Kindneſs and Magnificence; as alſo by both the Univerſities. The ſame Summer arrived here Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who has ſince been happily graffed into the Royal Stock of this Kingdom. But this year was ſtill more memorable for the loſs of the Queen-Mother *Henrietta Maria*, who, after nine years Baniſhment, came to *London*; and having ſettled her Revenue here, returned into *France* with her youngeſt Daughter the Lady *Henrietta*, and beſtowed her in Marriage to the then Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King's only Brother. In *July* 1662. ſhe came again into *England*, and ſettled her Court at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where ſhe reſided till *June* 1665. and then croſs'd the Seas again into her Native Country, which in four years after became the place of her Burial. She departed this Life in her Houſe at *Colombe*, four Leagues from *Paris*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, N. S. Her Heart was incloſed in a Caſe of Silver, and ſent to the Monaſtery of *Chailot*, and her Body was buried at St. *Denis*. The Duke of *Albemarl* died at the *Cock-Pit* by *Whitehall* on the 3d of *January* 1669. in the 62d year of his Age. After his Body had lain in State ſome time in *Somerſet-Houſe*, his Funeral was magnificently celebrated in a ſolemn Proceſſion from thence to *Weſtminſter-Abby* on the 30th of *April* 1670. accompanied by many Barons, Biſhops, Earls, and Perſons of all Degrees and Qualities, with all the Trophies of Honour becoming ſo great a General, and was buried on the North ſide of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel: the whole Ceremony being perform'd

The Queen-Mother's Death.

The Duke of Albemarle's Death.

form'd at the King's Expence, as the laſt Mark of His Majeſty's Love and Favour to a Perſon of ſo great Merit. A. 167

However ſome, with the greateſt Injuſtice imaginable, would deny him the greateſt ſhare in the King's Reſtauration; tho' it cannot be imagin'd he had a mind to ſet up for himſelf, as his Enemies have given out: for he could not but ſee the whole Nation was returning apace to their antient Monarchical Principles, and therefore he politickly complied a while with the Times, till by declaring for a Free Parliament he pav'd a way for the King's Return. It's certain the People that then aſſum'd the Supreme Power were jealous of his Intentions, and it was within an Ace he eſcap'd a Trap laid for him juſt at the time when he was ready to march from *Scoland*, which would have inevitably ruin'd his Deſign, if a meer Accident had not interven'd. For *Monk* keeping his ordinary Reſidence at *Dalkieth*, the *London* Packet touch'd generally there, that the General might have his Letters before it reach'd *Edenborough*. The Committee of Safety being reſolv'd to ſecure *Monk*, diſpatch'd ſecret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Packet, leſt an Expreſs might give ſuſpicion; and inſtead of directing the Label to *Dalkieth* as was uſual, it was order'd ſtrait for *Edenborough*. It happen'd that one of *Monk*'s Life-Guard accidentally met the Poſt turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkieth*, and finding he had not touch'd there, he brought him back, notwithſtanding the Label was directed otherwiſe. *Monk* ſuſpecting ſomething, open'd all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Colonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him to uſe the moſt effectual, ſpeedy, and ſecret way to ſecure the Perſon of General *Monk*, and to ſend him up to *London* under a ſtrong Guard in a Frigat that lay in *Leith*-Road, and then to take upon him the Command of the Army till farther Order. Having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the Committee full of high Complements, and Expreſſions of Truſt, he ſent away the Packet as directed. But having communicated the matter to ſome of his Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review of the Army to be made next morning

A Trap laid for General Monk.

The Plot diſcover'd.

A. D. 1670. ning at *Edenborough*, where he arreſted Colonel *Wilks* and ſome other Officers he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle, filling up their Commiſſions with others of his own Creatures.

In his March through *England*, and after he came to *London*, as you have already ſeen, he exerciſed his Politicks with great dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the Mask, and calling home the King: And as he was ſingularly happy in being the chief Inſtrument of that happy Revolution, he was no leſs happy in the Senſe the King continued to expreſs of ſo great an Obligation; And it ſhew'd him to be a Man of great Sincerity and true Judgment, that the Duke of *Albemarl* behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to ſeem to over-value the Services of General *Monk*.

The Prince *of* Orange *came into* England.

October the 29th his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* arriv'd at *Margate*, having two days before embark'd at the *Brill* upon one of His Majeſty's Yachts, which attended there for his Tranſportation. At *Graveſend* he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, with the King's Barges, and ſo conducted him to *Whitehall*; where being landed, he was received at the Stairs by the Lord Chamberlain, and conducted to the Preſence of both their Majeſties who received him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection; as did likewiſe their Royal Highneſſes, to whom he was in like manner conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, and from thence to his Apartment in the *Cock Pit*. On the 10th of *November* the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complemented his Highneſs upon his Arrival in *England*. On the 26th of *November* being at *Newmarket*, he viſited *Cambridge*, where he was honourably receiv'd by the whole Body of the Univerſity, entertain'd in Congregation, and treated at Dinner by the Provoſt of *King*'s College. *December* the 6th his Highneſs was treated with extraordinary Magnificence by the Lord Mayor and City at *Drapers Hall*. *December* the 18th his Highneſs went to *Windſor*, and from thence next day to *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd at the Eaſt-Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St. *Maries* was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the Univerſity, and at the great Gate

Gate of *Chriſt-Church* was receiv'd and complemented by the Dean, Canons, and the whole Society of that College, and by them conducted to his Appartment. In this Univerſity he was Nobly treated, and in a Convocation held in the New Theatre was pleas'd to accept of a Degree, as did ſeveral other honourable Perſons of his Retinue. On the 13th of *February* his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* parted from *Whitehall*, in order to his return into *Holland*, being infinitely ſenſible of the Tenderneſs and Affection that their Majeſties expreſs'd to him during his ſtay in *England*; and no leſs ſatisfied with the univerſal Eſteem and Reſpect ſhew'd him by the Court, and all the People here where-e'er he came. He was attended into *Holland* by the Noble Earl of *Offory* by his Majeſty's particular appointment. A. D. 1670.

To conclude this Year, his Majeſty, at the Parliament's requeſt, iſſued out his Proclamation for the Baniſhing all *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, except thoſe who were under any Reſtraint by Impriſonment, or ſuch as by Contract of Marriage were to attend the Queen, or by the Law of Nations were to ſerve Foreign Ambaſſadors; and alſo for putting the Laws in Execution againſt all Popiſh Recuſants, and ſuch as were ſuſpected to be ſo, in order to their Conviction.

On *Friday* the 31ſt of *March*, 1671. her Royal Highneſs *Anne* Dutcheſs of *York* died at St. *James*'s after a long Indiſpoſition. She was the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*. She died in the Thirty fourth year of her Age, and was interr'd with ſeveral of her Children, in the Vault of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel. Her Body was accompanied from the *Painted-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert* as Chief Mourner, and by moſt of the Nobility, the Heralds and Officers at Arms attending, with the Solemnities uſually practiſed on the like occaſions. 1671. *A* Proclamation.

May the 9th one *Blood*, that had been Outlaw'd for the Rebellion in *Ireland* eight years before, with his eldeſt Son and two other Perſons, made a bold and unpreſidented Attempt to ſteal the Crown out of the *Tower* where it was kept: Being admitted to ſee it, they *The Crown ſtolen by* Blood.

A. D. 1670. ning at *Edenborough*, where he arreſted Colonel *Wilks* and ſome other Officers he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle, filling up their Commiſſions with others of his own Creatures.

In his March through *England*, and after he came to *London*, as you have already ſeen, he exerciſed his Politicks with great dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the Maſk, and calling home the King: And as he was ſingularly happy in being the chief Inſtrument of that happy Revolution, he was no leſs happy in the Senſe the King continued to expreſs of ſo great an Obligation; And it ſhew'd him to be a Man of great Sincerity and true Judgment, that the Duke of *Albemarl* behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to ſeem to over-value the Services of General *Monk*.

The Prince *of* Orange *came into* England.

October the 29th his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* arriv'd at *Margate*, having two days before embark'd at the *Brill* upon one of His Majeſty's Yachts, which attended there for his Tranſportation. At *Graveſend* he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, with the King's Barges, and ſo conducted him to *Whitehall*; where being landed, he was received at the Stairs by the Lord Chamberlain, and conducted to the Preſence of both their Majeſties who received him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection; as did likewiſe their Royal Highneſſes, to whom he was in like manner conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, and from thence to his Appartment in the *Cock Pit*. On the 10th of *November* the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complemented his Highneſs upon his Arrival in *England*. On the 26th of *November* being at *Newmarket*, he viſited *Cambridge*, where he was honourably receiv'd by the whole Body of the Univerſity, entertain'd in Congregation, and treated at Dinner by the Provoſt of *King*'s College. *December* the 6th his Highneſs was treated with extraordinary Magnificence by the Lord Mayor and City at *Drapers Hall*. *December* the 18th his Highneſs went to *Windſor*, and from thence next day to *Oxford*, where he was receiv'd at the Eaſt-Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St. *Maries* was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the Univerſity, and at the great Gate

Gate of *Chriſt-Church* was receiv'd and complemented by the Dean, Canons, and the whole Society of that College, and by them conducted to his Appartment. In this Univerſity he was Nobly treated, and in a Convocation held in the New Theatre was pleas'd to accept of a Degree, as did ſeveral other honourable Perſons of his Retinue. On the 13th of *February* his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* parted from *Whitehall*, in order to his return into *Holland*, being infinitely ſenſible of the Tenderneſs and Affection that their Majeſties expreſs'd to him during his ſtay in *England*; and no leſs ſatisfied with the univerſal Eſteem and Reſpect ſhew'd him by the Court, and all the People here where e'er he came. He was attended into *Holland* by the Noble Earl of *Offory* by his Majeſty's particular appointment. A. D. 1670.

To conclude this Year, his Majeſty, at the Parliament's requeſt, iſſued out his Proclamation for the Baniſhing all *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, except thoſe who were under any Reſtraint by Impriſonment, or ſuch as by Contract of Marriage were to attend the Queen, or by the Law of Nations were to ſerve Foreign Ambaſſadors; and alſo for putting the Laws in Execution againſt all Popiſh Recuſants, and ſuch as were ſuſpected to be ſo, in order to their Conviction.

On *Friday* the 31ſt of *March*, 1671. her Royal Highneſs *Anne* Dutcheſs of *York* died at St. *James*'s after a long Indiſpoſition. She was the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*. She died in the Thirty fourth year of her Age, and was interr'd with ſeveral of her Children, in the Vault of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel. Her Body was accompanied from the *Painted-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert* as Chief Mourner, and by moſt of the Nobility, the Heralds and Officers at Arms attending, with the Solemnities uſually practiſed on the like occaſions. 1671. *A* Proclamation.

May the 9th one *Blood*, that had been Outlaw'd for the Rebellion in *Ireland* eight years before, with his eldeſt Son and two other Perſons, made a bold and unpreſidented Attempt to ſteal the Crown out of the *Tower* where it was kept: Being admitted to ſee it, they *The Crown ſtolen by* Blood.

A. D. 1671.

they knock'd him down that ſhew'd it, wounded and gagg'd him, and went away with it as far as to the laſt Centinel, unſuſpected of having done any Injury; for *Blood* himſelf was apparelled in the Habit of a Clergy-man, and had certainly carried it off, if by accident the Son of the perſon that ſhew'd the Crown had not come to ſee his Father, and finding him lying on the ground ungag'd him; and being told what had hap'ned, rais'd a Noiſe that the Crown was ſtol'n; and purſuing *Blood*, took Him and another of his Confederates at the entrance upon *Tower-Hill*, and ſo the Crown was recover'd. Some of theſe, with *Blood* at the Head of them, had ſome months before made an inſolent Attempt upon the Perſon of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, forc'd him out of his Coach, and with the help of *Ralph Alexander* mounted him behind his eldeſt Son, *Blood* himſelf following with a Blunderbuſs to keep off the people; but his Grace's Porter ſeeing what had happen'd, run after his Maſter, pull'd him off the Horſe, and carried him ſafe to his own Houſe in *Pickadilly*, at the very Gate of which this bold Attempt was made. *Blood*'s pretence was, that he intended no injury to his Grace's Perſon, but only to keep him in private on the other ſide of the Water, till his Grace had ſigned ſome Writings to ſurrender an Eſtate to *Blood*, that he had forfeited by Rebellion.

The Exchequer *ſhut up, and Conventicles open'd.*

About this time were put in practice two great Stretches of Authority, which were, ſhutting up the *Exchequer* from paying the Crown Debts, and iſſuing out a Declaration of *Indulgence*, which granted *Liberty of Conſcience* to all Diſſenters; which being done meerly upon the Authority of the King's Prerogative, that it diſpens'd with ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and was ſuppoſed to have a farther reach in it than *Indulgence to tender Conſciences*, gave great diſtaſts to the people, that conſider'd the tendency of it; and to complete their Diſcontents, a Declaration of War againſt the *Dutch* followed it; the occaſion whereof was, that ſome of His Majeſty's Frigats, under the Command of Sir *Robert Holmes* and the Earl of *Oſſory*, cruiſing near the *Iſle of Wight*, fell in with the *Dutch Smirna* Fleet of about Fifty Sail, Convoy'd by Six Men of War, who refuſing to ſtrike their Topſails, a Fight began, which laſted till night and all the next day,

War Proclaim'd againſt the Dutch.

day, in which we took Five of their rich Merchant-men, and ſunk their Rear-Admiral. This Declaration of War was proclaimed at *London* and *Weſtminſter* on the 28th of *March*; and on the 7th of *April*, S. N. which was the ſame day, War was proclaim'd at *Paris* againſt the States General of the United Provinces; ſo that after a ſhort breathing time we ſee theſe Three Nations in Arms again, as in the year 1667. only with this difference, that the *French*, who then took part with the *Hollanders*, now ſides with the *Engliſh*. A. D. 1672.

Nothing could more aſtoniſh the World, than this unexpected Declaration of War againſt *Holland*, ſince by the late Articles of Peace ſix months Notice was to be given in caſe of a future War, and the *Dutch* would never believe we were in earneſt till the Blow was given. Nor could the Neighbouring Princes imagine, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the hands of *France*, we ſhould ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger. *The War diſliked by every one.*

In the beginning of *May*, 1672. the *Engliſh* Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of *York* in Perſon, join'd the *French*, commanded by Count *d'Eſtre*, and in *Southwold-Bay* had a ſharp Diſpute with the *Dutch* for eight hours, who then ſtood off for their own Coaſts, with great loſs both of Ships and Men. Our great loſs was that of the Noble Earl of *Sandwich*, a Renowned Commander, whoſe Ship the *Royal Catherine* being fired, and he unwilling to leave her while there was any hopes of ſaving her, was left almoſt alone in her, and then leaping through the Flames into the Sea, was drown'd. His Body was afterwards found, and honourably interr'd in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel. *Earl of Sandwich drown'd.*

On the Continent the *French* were ſo ſucceſsful, that they carried their Arms into the very Bowels of their Enemies Country, and made themſelves Maſters of *Arnheim*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Utrecht*, and ſeveral other places of importance, being on the 28th of *June* advanced within four Leagues of *Rotterdam*, and about the ſame diſtance from *Amſterdam*, with a Royal Army of at leaſt 118000 Foot and 26000 Horſe; which Army was compos'd of the beſt Troops that had been ſeen together for ſeveral Ages before, and was made up of ſeveral Nations. Over and above the

French

A D. 1672. *French* themſelves, there were 3000 *Engliſh*, 3000 *Catalans*, 3000 *Genoeſe* and other *Italians*, 6000 *Savoyards*, 1200 *German* Horſe, 10000 *Switzers*, without reckoning thoſe into the number that ſerved the *French* before; and, which was altogether new and extraordinary, there was a Regiment of *Swiſs* Horſe. Under the King in Perſon, this Army was commanded by two of the greateſt Generals of the Age, the late Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*, who, like an impetuous Torrent, carry'd all before them.

The miſerable condition of Holland. Never was any State nearer its Ruin than that of *Holland* was upon this Eruption, and in the Opinion of all the World the end of that flouriſhing Republick was then at hand. It were in vain to attempt to expreſs the deplorable Condition of the *Hollanders* at that time; it's enough to ſay, The approach of a Triumphant King, fleſh'd with Victories, put them into ſo deep a Conſternation, that a great many of their richeſt Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other places of Security. This horrid fright, which ſpread it ſelf every where, and grew every day greater, was ſufficient of it ſelf to occaſion the entire Ruin of their State, tho' it had not been accompanied, as it was, with Seditions, Diviſions, and Tumults in every Town and Province, tho' no Enemy within their Bowels. Thoſe alone naturally tended to the Diſſolution of the *Belgick* Union, without any other concurring Circumſtances to hurry it on.

Matters ſtanding thus with the United Provinces, they came to ſee, when it was almoſt too late, their former Errors, and more particularly that *of aboliſhing the Office of Stadtholder*; and now, as the laſt Caſt for their Liberty, they applied to the Prince of *Orange*, young tho' he was, as the only Perſon capable to ſupport their tottering State, and to put a ſtop to the Miſeries that overwhelm'd their Country, and with the Univerſal Conſent and Approbation of the People, and the publick Sanction of the States, he was declared *Stadtholder*, *Captain and Admiral-General*, and reſtor'd to all the Dignities of his Family. It's hard to determine whether the Misfortunes of his Country, or the Univerſal Love the People bore him, contributed moſt to his Reſtauration; however, he was reſtor'd in ſpight of the *Barnevelt* Faction, and the pleaſure to ſee

The Prince *of* Orange *Reſtor'd.*

De Wit, the greateſt Oppoſer of his Houſe, among the other Deputies that waited upon him with the Reſolutions of the States General, and deliver'd him his firſt Commiſſion. But the Popular Commotions ended not thus in *Holland*; for, beſides the plundering and wounding of ſeveral of their Magiſtrates, the Burgers and common people at the *Hague* ſeiz'd on the Heer *John De Wit*, late Penſionary of *Holland*, his Brother *Cornelius de Wit*, and *Ruward Van Putten*, who had been concern'd in the perpetual Edict, and not only murder'd them with the greateſt Fury and Indignation, but drew their dead Bodies up and down the Streets, hung up their naked and mangl'd Carcaſes by the heels on the Gallows, and after ſold their Fingers, Toes, and pieces of their Fleſh at ten or twelve Stivers, or more.

A. D. 1672.

A Holland's Mab.

Now, to return into *England*, the firſt thing that occurs is, That Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* having reſign'd the Broad Seal, the King conferr'd the Keeping of it on *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, under the Title of *Lord Chancellor of* England, which was followed by the King's Proclamation ſhewing a neceſſity of raiſing more Forces. On the 4th of *February* the Parliament, which had been long continued under ſeveral Prorogations, met at *Weſtminſter*, and having choſen Sir *Job Charleton* their Speaker, in the room of Sir *Edward Turner*, who was made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, the King next day came to the Houſe of Lords, and in his Speech acquainted both Houſes, *That he had entred into an expenſive War, and wanted Money to ſupport it, and pay his Debts, which he left to their ſpecial Care.* He acquainted them alſo, *That he had granted an Indulgence, and was reſolv'd to ſtand to it.* The Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* was much larger in his Speech, and very bitter againſt the *Dutch*, applying to them *Carthago eſt Delenda*; farther adding, *That the States of* Holland *were* England's *Enemies both by Intereſt and Inclination*; and magnified our happineſs in a League with *France*, as *the greateſt Advantage that could happen to* England.

The Lord Shaftsbury's *memorable Speech.*

The Houſe of Commons having firſt Voted the King a Supply, made an humble Addreſs to him, wherein they ſay, *That conſidering his Declaration of Indulgence, they found themſelves bound in duty to inform him, that Penal Statutes in matters Eccleſiaſtical cannot*

be

A. D. 1673. *be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament.* To which the King made an Anſwer; but it not being ſatisfactory, the Houſe made a Reply that had its effect; for the King revok'd and cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, and upon the Petition of the Lords and Commons iſſued out his Proclamation commanding all *Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts* to depart the Kingdom, and that the Laws be put in Execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants.* During theſe Debates, Sir *Job Charleton* thinking fit to be indiſpos'd in his health, *Edward Seymour* Eſq; was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in his place, and approved of by the King.

The Declaration of Indulgence cancell'd.

On the 28th of *May* 1673. the *Engliſh* and *French* Fleet under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, had a ſmart Engagement with the *Dutch* on the Coaſt of *Holland*, to their great Loſs, and two of our Ships only diſabl'd. On the 4th of *June* they had another Engagement, and on the 11th a third, which was very ſharp on both ſides, each claiming the Victory, and giving publick Thanks to God for it. The *French* were ſucceſsful on Land; for after a ſhort Siege *Maſtricht* was taken, in which the Duke of *Monmouth* aſſiſted in the honourable Poſt of one of the Lieutenant-Generals of *France*, and ſhew'd his Perſonal Valour in a high degree. On the 19th His Majeſty took the Great-Seal from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and gave it to Sir *Heneage Finch*, then Attorney-General, with the Title of *Lord Keeper.* A Match having been this Summer treated and concluded by His Majeſty's Conſent, tho' it was ſtrongly oppos'd by two Addreſſes from the Houſe of Commons, between the Duke of *York* and the Princeſs of *Modena*. She arriv'd at *Dover* on the 21ſt of *November*, was there received by his Royal Highneſs, and from thence well attended to *Whitehall.*

The Duke of York's *Marriage.*

1674. *Auguſt* the firſt, 1674. was fought the bloody Battle at *Seneff*, between the Confederate Army, commanded by his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Command of the Prince of *Conde.* Both Armies engaged in the morning, and continued a deſperate Fight till the ſetting of the Moon parted them. The Allies kept the Field, and the *French* retir'd. Both ſides claim'd the Victory, but certainly there is no greater mark of it, than to remain in the Field

The Battle of Seneff.

Field of Battle. The Loſs the *French* ſuſtain'd is almoſt Incredible, and this melancholly conſideration made the *French* King ſay, 'That he ſhould be Sorry to buy another Victory at ſuch a Rate. This was the Firſt Battel the Prince of *Orange* Fought, in which he ſhew'd ſuch Prudence, Conduct and Bravery, that the great Prince of *Conde*, who was a good Judge in theſe matters, ſaid, *That he Fought Twenty Princes of* Orange *that Day*; *for*, ſays he, *He was every where*; *He ſhew'd the Experience of an Old General, and the Bravery of a Soldier*: *The only fault I think he was Guilty of, was in expoſing his Perſon too much. In ſhort, I have reaſon to believe, That this Young Prince will equal, if not exceed, the* Williams, *the* Maurices, *and* Henries, *his Glorious and Renowned Anceſtors.* Count *de Souches*, General of the *German* Army, who Behaved himſelf with extraordinary Bravery in that Action, does alſo thus expreſs himſelf in a Letter to the States General: *The Event of this Battle is turn'd to the Glory of his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, *who, on this Occaſion has ſhewn the Prudence of an Old Captain, the Valour of* Cæſar, *and the Intrepidity of* Marius. *This I ſay without flattery*; *and if I have any way contributed towards gaining this Victory, I have but followed the Example of his Highneſs.*

A. D. 1675.

January the Seventh, the Parliament met again, where the King, and the Lord Keeper *Finch*, having ſet forth the great things he had done in their Abſence, giving them large Aſſurance of Cruſhing Popery, and maintaining the Proteſtant Religion in its Purity and Glory; The Houſe of Commons Voted Him Thanks for thoſe Aſſurances, and on the 27th of *January*, upon peruſing the Propoſals made by the States General of the United Provinces, which the King had laid before them, agreed, That His Majeſty be humbly Deſir'd to Proceed in a Treaty with the ſaid States, in order to a ſpeedy Peace, which was ſoon after Concluded, to the great Satisfaction of both Nations. It conſiſted of Five Articles: By the Firſt, the States agreed to the Rights of the Flag to be paid to all the King's Ships. The Second was, for Setling Trade in the *Indies*. The Third related to the Colony of *Surinam*. By the Fourth, both Sides were obliged to Reſtore all Places Taken from each other, during this War: And

Peace Concluded with Holland.

A. D. 1675. by the Fifth, the States bound themſelves to pay our King Eight Hundred Thouſand Patacoons. But that which haſten'd the Concluſion of this Peace, was, That the Prince of *Orange*, with an Army of Forty Thouſand Men, had put a ſudden ſtop to the *French* Career and Conqueſts in thoſe Parts, having taken *Norden* Three Leagues from *Amſterdam*, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, either from the *French*, or the Seaſon of the Year; and leaving his Poſts there well Guarded, he march'd to the reſt of his Army, took *Bon*, and open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces to come over the *Rhine* into *Flanders*; upon which the *French* Abandoned all their Conqueſts upon *Holland*, in leſs time than they made them, and began to wiſh the War at an end, tho' they made ſhew to the contrary.

An Addreſs againſt Lauderdale.

On the Thirteenth of *April* 1675, the Parliament met, according to the Prorogation, and made an Addreſs to the King, againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, as having Declared, *His Inclination to Arbitrary Councils, to the Terrour of his Majeſty's good Subjects*; and therefore Deſir'd his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to Remove the ſaid Duke from all his Employments, and from his Majeſty's Preſence and Councils for ever; *as a Perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the Government*: But the King Excuſed it, by ſending them Notice, That the Words of which the Duke was Accuſed in the Addreſs, if Spoken at all, were Spoken before the laſt Act of General Pardon. And now an Unhappy Difference aroſe between the Two Houſes, in a Caſe of Judicature and Privileges, occaſion'd by Dr. *Shirley*'s bringing an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery* againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons: The Diſpute was carried to ſuch a height, that Serj. *Pemberton*, Serj. *Peck*, Sir *J. Churchill*, and Mr. *Char. Porter*, being concern'd as Council in this Cauſe, were Taken up in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Speaker's Warrant, and Committed to the *Tower* for Breach of Privilege. The Tranſactions in this Affair growing ſtill more Vehement, his Majeſty to allay the dangerous Heats between them, Prorogu'd the Parliament to the 13th of *October*, and afterwards, upon the ſame Occaſion, to the 15th. of *February* come Twelve Month, only Paſſing one Publick Act, For the better, and more

eaſy

easy Rebuilding the Town of *Northampton*, which had been almoſt wholly Reduced to Aſhes, by a lamentable Fire that Happen'd there on the Twentieth of *September* before. A. D. 1676. Northampton burnt.

On the Nineteenth of *December*, His Majeſty having Created Sir *Heneage Finch*, Baron of this Kingdom, by the Title of Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Daventry*, was pleas'd alſo to change his Title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. On the 26th of *May*, 1676, about Four in the Morning, broke out a Lamentable Fire in the Borough of *Southwark*, which Conſumed Six Hundred Houſes before it could be Extinguiſhed. On the Fifth of *February*, the Parliament Addreſs'd the King, ſetting forth that his People were much Diſquieted with the Manifeſt danger ariſing to theſe Kingdoms, by the Growth and Power of the *French* King, by his Acquiſitions in the *Spaniſh Neatherlands*; in the Preſervation whereof, they Humbly Conceive, the Intereſt of His Majeſty, and the Safety of his People, are highly concern'd; and therefore beſeech the King to take it into his Care, and ſtrengthen himſelf with ſtricter Alliances; to which the King Anſwered, *That he was of the ſame Opinion with both Houſes; and that he will uſe all means for the Preſervation of* Flanders, *that can conſiſt with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.* *An Addreſs againſt* France.

This was followed by another Addreſs on the 23th of *May*, 'That he would be pleas'd to enter into an Offenſive and Defenſive League with the States General of the United Provinces, and make ſuch other Alliances with other Confederates as his Majeſty ſhould think fit, againſt the Growth and Power of the *French* King, for the preſervation of the *Neatherlands*.' Upon Delivery of this Addreſs, the King grew very Angry, and ſent them an Anſwer. *Another to the ſame purpoſe.*

'That in ſome parts of their Addreſs, they intrench'd ſo far upon the Undoubted Right of the Crown, that he is confident it will appear in no Age, that the Prerogative of making Peace and War, has been ſo dangerouſly Invaded. That they do not content themſelves with deſiring him to enter into ſuch Leagues, as may be for the Safe-

A. D. 1676.

'ty of the Kingdom; but they ſay what ſorts of 'Leagues they muſt be, and with whom; that 'ſhould he ſuffer this Fundamental Power of Peace 'and War to be ſo far Invaded, as to have the man-'ner and Circumſtances of Leagues to be preſcribed 'him by Parliament, no Prince of State would any 'longer believe that the Sovereignty of *England* reſts 'in the Crown; whereof they may reſt Aſſured, *Diſlik'd by the King.* 'that no Condition ſhall make him depart from, or 'leſſen ſo eſſential a part of this Monarchy, and 'he is willing to believe ſo well of the Houſe of 'Commons, that he is confident the ill conſequences 'are not intended by them. Theſe are the reaſons 'why he can by no means approve of their Ad-'dreſs; however he will apply himſelf, tho' they 'have denied him a ſupply, to let the World ſee his 'Care, both for the Security and Satisfaction of 'his People; and then Prorogu'd the Parliament.

Prince of Orange *Married.* This Summer a Match being Concluded between the Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *York*, his Highneſs came over on the Ninth of *October*, Accompanied with many perſons of the beſt Quality in *Holland*, and the Nuptials were Celebrated on *Sunday* the Fourth of *November*, being his own, and his Mother's Birth Day, at St. *James*'s by the Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of His Majeſty, (who gave the Bride,) their Royal Highneſſes, and ſome of the chief Nobility, and was followed by the mighty Rejoicings all over the Three Kingdoms, who look'd upon it as a ſtrengthening of the Proteſtant Intereſt.

Another Addreſs. *January* 31th, the Parliament being Aſſembled, the Houſe of Commons Addreſs'd the King with Thanks, for Marrying his Niece to the Prince of *Orange*, and beſought him to make no Treaty of Peace with *France*, whereby the *French* King ſhould be left in Poſſeſſion of any greater Power or Dominion, than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty. This again mightily offended the King, who look'd upon it too bold an Invaſion of his Prerogative. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* being now Releaſed from his Confinement in the *Tower*, where he had been cloſe Priſoner ever ſince the laſt Spring, firſt making a Submiſſion to the Lords, took his Place in the Houſe. On the 27th the whole Kingdom being Allarm'd at the

the *French* King's taking of *Ghent*, the Houſe of Commons Addreſs'd the King, '*That he would forthwith enter into an actual War with* France, *&c.* To which this Anſwer was Read in the Houſe, by one of the Secretaries of State. A. D. 1676.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of the Fourteenth Inſtant is very much ſurpriſed both with the Matter, and Manner of them: But if his Majeſty had Exception to Neither, yet his Majeſty having Ask'd the Advice of both the Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, till he hath the Concurrent Advice of both Houſes. *The King's Anſwer.*

Monday, May the Twenty Seventh, it was Reſolved in the Houſe of Commons; *That the Army lately rais'd and now in being, was a Great Charge and Burden to the Nation; that if his Majeſty thought fit to Enter into a War againſt the* French *King, this Houſe is always ready to aſſiſt him in it; but if otherwiſe they will proceed to the Conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy diſbanding of the Army.*

And here it will not be amiſs to take a view of Affairs Abroad; There was a Treaty of Peace began at *Nimiguen* in *February*, 1676 between the *French* and the *Dutch* with their Confederates, wherein our King was *Mediator*, who Committed the Management of his part of the Treaty to his *Plenipotentiaries* Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*. The *French* Managed their part with great Prudence and Temper, and the *Dutch* finding the Councils of *England* at ſuch great uncertainties, that they were not to be truſted to in any thing, and being Weary of a War that loſt their Trade and Drain'd their Treaſure, they took Reſolutions of making a Separate Peace; which the *French* fearing the King of *England* might obſtruct, by their Ambaſſador Offer'd his Majeſty a great Sum of Money for his Conſent, tho' the *French* Terms were already accepted by the *Dutch*, and conſequently his Majeſty unconcerned. The Offer tho' Reliſhing well at any Time *The Treaty at* Nimiguen.

D. A. 1677.

with our Court, yet now ſeeing the Violent Diſpoſitions of the *Dutch* to run into the Peace, whatever ſhould be the Conſequence of it. The King lookt upon this Propoſal as a very profitable Offer, ſaying, if the *Dutch* will have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* would give him Mony for his Approbation of what he could not hinder, he knew no Reaſon why he ſhould not take the Money; and therefore required Sir *William Temple* who was then in *England*, to Treat with the *French* Ambaſſador about it; but Sir *William* refuſed ſuch a Diſhonourable Employment, and retired to his own Houſe at *Sheen*.

The Battel of St. Dennis.

While the Separate Peace was juſt upon concluding, there came News of the Battle of *Mons* between the Prince of *Orange* and the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who had poſted himſelf with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, ſo as to Prevent the Prince's Deſign of Relieving *Mons*. I need not be particular in an Action ſo well known in the World, and therefore ſhall only ſay, that in Spight of many diſadvantages from an Army ſo ſuddeny Drawn together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much skill, and fortified with ſo much Induſtry by the *French*, as it was believed would Fruſtrate any attempt that could be made againſt them; yet the Prince upon the Fourteenth of *Auguſt* attacked them with ſo much Reſolution and Vigour, that Firſt ſurpriſed them, and after an Obſtinate and Bloody Fight ſo diſorder'd them, that tho' the Night prevented the end of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, that if the Prince had been at Liberty next Day, to purſue it with Seven or Eight Thouſand *Engliſh* that were ready to join his Army, he muſt in all appearance, not only have relieved *Mons*, but made ſuch an Impreſſion into *France* as had been often deſign'd but never attempted ſince the War began. But in the Morning after the Battel, the Prince received Advice from the States that the Peace was concluded,

A Separate Peace concluded.

and Sign'd at *Nimiguen* the Day before. After Compliments paſs'd on both ſides, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* deſired to ſee the Prince, which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of

their

their Chief Officers, where all paſs'd with Civilities that became the Occaſion, and with great Curioſity of the *French* to ſee and Croud about a Young Prince, who had made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and had the Day before given Life and Vigour to ſuch a Deſperate Action. as all Men Eſteem'd the Battle of St. *Dennis*. The Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spight, to ſee ſuch a mighty occaſion Wreſted out of his Hand, by the ſudden and unexpected ſigning of the Peace, which he had aſſured himſelf the States would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to purſue their own Paces, in Order of Finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, wherein the *Dutch* at *Nimiguen* employed themſelves with great Zeal and Diligence: and no longer as Parties or Confederates but as Mediators. whilſt Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who continued ſtill there in that Figure, declined the Function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any ſhare, nor allow themſelves to have any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*, where the Confederate Princes were exempted. A. D. 1678.

Oate's *Plot.*

And now let us return to *England*, where a Cloud was gathering that Threatned us with ſuch a Storm, as might Endanger the Ship whatſoever Hand was at the Helm. On *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday* and *Tueſday*, the 28th, 29th, and 30th of *September*, and Firſt of *October* 1678, the Privy Council ſat twice a Day, the buſineſs was a *Popiſh* Plot diſcover'd by one *Titus Oates*, who had been educated a while in *Cambridge*, and admitted into Orders in the Church of *England*, but afterwards (ſeemingly at laſt) was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, who going to St. *Omers* was entred into the *Engliſh* College there, and being ſent into *Spain* ingratiated himſelf with the *Jeſuits* and Prieſts in thoſe parts, with a Deſign (as he pretended) to diſcover what they were Plotting againſt *England*, and returning about this time, informed, the King of a *Plot carrying on by the* Jeſuits, *and other* Roman Catholicks *againſt his Life, the* Proteſtant

A. D. 1678. *Religion, and the Government of the Kingdom.* And to gain better Credit, he named divers Perſons of Quality engaged in this Deſign. Hereupon ſeveral Perſons were Examined and Committed, *viz.* Sir *George Wakeman*, Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Langhorn*, *Tho. Whitebread*, *John Gavan*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Ireland*, *William Marſhal*, *William Rumley*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*, which laſt Eight were *Jeſuits*, *Popiſh* Prieſts, and *Monks*, with divers others.

Several Perſons Confined.

On the 21ſt of *October* the Houſes met, and the King's Speech with Relation to the Plot contained only theſe Words. *I have been informed of a Deſign againſt my Life by* Jeſuits, *of which I ſhall forbear my Opinion, leſt I may ſeem to ſay too much or too little, but leave the matter to the Law.* To ſtrengthen the Credit of this Plot other Witneſſes came in, ſuch as *William Bedlow*, *Stephen Dugdale*, one *Smith* who had been a *Romiſh* Prieſt, *Thomas Dangerfield*, *Miles Prance*, and ſeveral others. The Examination of this Plot and the Concurrent Murder of Sir *Edmond Berry Godfrey* employed the Commons ſo Aſſiduouſly, they ſat whole Days from Morning till late at Night, the Product of which was a Faſt Voted, and the Minutes and Votes of the Houſe of Commons forbid to be divulged, Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord *Arundel*, of *Warder*, Lord *Powis*, Lord *Petre*, Lord *Caſtelmain*, &c. were committed and on the Thirty firſt of *October* the Houſe of Commons Reſolved, upon the Evidence that hath already appeared to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, *That there hath been and is, an Execrable and Helliſh Deſign, contrived and carryed on by* Popiſh *Recuſants for Aſſaſſinating and Murdering the King, for ſubverting the Government, and for Deſtroying the* Proteſtant *Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed.*

A Vote upon the diſcovery of the Plot.

Monday the Fourth of *November*, it was moved in the Houſe of Commons, that an Addreſs be made to the King to remove the Duke of *York* from his Preſence and Council, but tho' it was often moved that Week, and the Debate Adjourned from Day to Day, it was at laſt dropt. On *Saturday* the Ninth of *November* the King came to the Lords Houſe in his Robes, and made a Speech to both Houſes wherein he aſſured them, *That he was ready to Sign any Reaſonable Bills to make them ſafe in their Religion in the*

Reign

Reign of his Succeſſor, ſo they did not Impeach the Right of Succeſſion, nor Intrench upon the Prerogatives, of the Crown. *Monday* the Eighteenth of *November*, the Houſe of Commons being informed that Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State, had lately Counterſign'd ſeveral Commiſſions for *Popiſh* Recuſants, with a *Non Obſtante* to the Oaths and Teſt, they committed him to the *Tower*; but the next Day the King ſent for the Houſe of Commons to attend him in the Banquetting Houſe, and told them, *Tho' they Committed his Servant without acquainting him, yet he intends to Deal more Freely with them, and acquaint them with his Intenions to Releaſe his Secretary:* And did it accordingly. In the mean Time *Oats*, the Great Diſcoverer of the plot, *Accuſes the Queen*; which made a Stricter Guard be put upon him; but the Houſe of Commons Addreſs'd his Majeſty, that *Oats* might be Freed from Reſtraint, be attended by his own Servants, and have a Competency allowed for his Maintenance, and that the Queen with all her Servants, and all *Popiſh* Recuſants, or ſuch as are ſuſpected to to be, may be removed from *White-Hall*. Both Houſes ſat inceſſantly without Adjourning or allowing themſelves any other Holy Day than *Chriſtmaſs Day*; requiring a full Appearance of all their Members not diſabled, as well Lords as Commons, Enjoining all in Town not to depart under Great Penalties, and ſending their Meſſengers for all that are Abſent in the Country. Mr. *Coleman* having been Tryed and Executed, the King gave all his Eſtate to his Wife and Children, and Order'd his Quarters to be Buried; and ſeeing things Running into Heats and Parties, firſt Prorogued both Houſes till the Fourteenth of *February*, then till the Twenty Fifth, and at laſt Diſſolved them; promiſing however to Iſſue out Writs for a New one on the Sixth of *March* following. Thus ended the Parliament, that continued under ſeveral Prorogations and Adjournments Seventeen Years, Eight Months and Seventeen Days.

A. D. 1677.

Oats *Accuſes the Queen.*

In further Proſecution of theſe Matters *Green* the Cuſheon Man at *Sommerſet Houſe*, *Berry* the Queens Porter there, and *Hill* Dr. *Godden*'s Man, were Tried at the King's Bench Bar for the Murder of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, who all being Convicted, chiefly

Green, Bery *and* Hill *Executed.*

A. D. 1678. ly on the Evidence of *Miles France*, were Condemn'd and Executed. *Green* and *Hill* at *Tyburn February* Twenty First; but *Berry* was Repreived a Week Longer, all Three *Denying the Fact in as Positive Terms as Words could Express*: The last Dying a *Protestant*, of which perswasion he had always been, before and whilst he was in the Queens Service. About this Time Sir *Joseph Williamson* surrendred his Office of Secretary of State to the Earl of *Sunderland*. On the Twenty Eighth of *February* 1678, the King by Letter advised the Duke of *York to absent himself for some Time Beyond Sea*, and accordingly in pursuance of his Majesty's Pleasure, the Duke, Dutchess and Family left the Kingdom, Retired for a While at the *Hague*, and from thence to *Brussels*. On the Sixth Day of *March* the New Parliament met, at which Time the King acquainted them what had been done in Prosecution of the Plot, and what ought to be done for the Security and Common Good of the Nation; concluding with the earnest Desires *to have this a Healing Parliament, assuring them he would Defend the* Protestant *Religion with his Life, and Expects to be defended by them from the Calumny as well as Danger of these Worst of Men, who endeavour to render both him and his Government Odious to the People.* The Chancellor enlarged on all the Heads, and in Reference to the Plot, reminded the Two Houses not to Overdoe their Business, and by being too far Transported with the Fears of *Popery*, Neglect the Opportunities of making Sober and Lasting Provisions against it; which, says he, are only Hopes of *Papists*, thus to see *our Zeal out run our Discretion*, and that we our selves should become the unhappy Occasion, of making our own Councils Abortive.

April the 20th the King declared his Pleasure to Dissolve his Council, and that for the future it shou'd consist of the Constant Number of Thirty Persons, of which Fifteen to be certain, and the rest elective at the King's Pleasure. *May* the Fifteenth a Bill was brought in *To disable the Duke of* York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of* England, which being Read the same Day, it was Read again the 21st, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, yet the House divided upon the Question. *Yea's* 207 *No's* 128. but the Parliament being soon after Prorogued, it

A New Privy Council formed.

proceeded no farther at that time. The Trouble which about this time broke out in *Scotland* occa- sion'd much Diſcourſe and gave a great Alarm to *Eng- land.* They Began with the *Barbarous Murder of Doctor* Sharp *Arch Biſhop of St.* Andrews, on the Third *of May* as he was Travelling from *Edenburgh* to his own Reſidency. But the Aſſaſſins ſtopt not at Mur- der; but gathering into a Body in the Weſt Parts of *Scotland*, fell into open Rebellion and Acts of Trea- ſon. On the 29th a Party of Rebels well Mounted and Arm'd came to *Rugland*, Proclaim'd the Cove- nant, Burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and Pub- liſht an Inſolent and Treaſonable Declaration; Inſo- much that their Army daily encreaſing, the King ſent his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* as Generalliſ- imo to ſuppreſs them, which he did in one Battle, Killing ſome, and taking ſeveral Hundred Priſoners, of which ſome few being Hang'd, eſpecially thoſe concern'd in the *Arch Biſhop's Murder*, the reſt were Tranſported.

A. D. 1678.

A Scotch *Rebellion.*

On the Thirteenth of *June Thomas White* alias *White-Bread* Provincial of the *Jeſuits* in *England*, *Wil- liam Harcourt*, *John Fenwick*, *John Gavan* and *Anthony Turner*, all *Jeſuits*, were Tryed and Condemn'd at the *Old Baily* of High Treaſon, as Conſpirators in the late Plot. The next Day *Richard Langhorn* Eſquire, a Barriſter in the *Inner Temple*, was Tried for the ſame Crime, and being found Guilty and Sentenced they were all Executed, the Five *Jeſuits* on *Friday* the Twentieth of *June*, and Mr. *Langhorn* on the Four- teenth of *July* following, *all proteſting upon their Sal- vation at the very Moment of Death, that they were wholly Innocent of the Crimes Objected againſt them, and for which they were about to Suffer.* But now Arrives the Tenth of *July*, on which Day the King Diſſolv- ed the preſent Parliament by Proclamation, Promi- ſing to call another in *October* following. *January*, the Eighteenth Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queens Phyſiti- an, *William Marſhal*, *William Rumly* and *James Cor- ker*, Benedictine *Monks*, were Tryed for High Trea- ſon relating to the Plot, the Evidences were *Oats*, *Bed- low* and others, but the Priſoners were acquitted by the Jury. In *Auguſt* the King fell Sick at *Windſor* and upon Notice given to the Duke of *York*, he Poſt- ed over into *England*, but his Majeſty recovering, they

Five Jeſu- its *Execu- ted.*

A. D. 1678. they both with the whole Court return'd in great State to *White-Hall*. Much about the ſame time the Duke of *Monmouth*, partly by the Inſinuations of the Duke of *York*, and partly by his Aſſociating with thoſe that were Thought the King's Enemies, fell into the King's Diſpleaſure, inſomuch that he took from him his Commiſſion of Captain General, and for a Time expell'd him the Kingdom; ſoon after which the ſaid Duke went over to *Utretch* and the Duke of *York* returned to *Bruſſels*, but not with the Deſign to continue long there, for on the Twelfth of *October* he, his Dutcheſs and Family, Arrived at St. *James*'s to the great ſurpriſe of ſome, and Joy of others.

The Duke of Monmouth diſplac'd.

The Parliament aſſembled on the Seventeenth of *October* 1679, and were adjourned till the Twenty Sixth of *January* following. About which Time there were great Diſcourſes, and many *Narratives* Printed and Publiſhed concerning a New Plot, which the *Papiſts* had contrived to lay upon the *Diſſenters*. The principal Diſcoverer was one *Dangerfield* alias *Willoughby*, upon which ſeveral were Accuſed and Impriſon'd, among others the Counteſs of *Powis*, Mrs. *Celier*, Sir *Robert Payton* and *John Gadbury* the *Aſtrologer*. On the ſeventh of *November* in the Night Time, thr Duke of *Monmouth*, Arrived at *London*, and was welcomed by Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and Fire-Works: And the Duke of *York* was ſent Lord High Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, where he laid a Foundation for what he attempted to Finiſh when he came to be King. Now all Affairs ſeem to be Disjointed and out of Order. The People Loudly complain of Grievances and that the Court was deſigning to Inveſt the King with an Arbitrary Power, to prevent which, they gather Hands to Petitions in *London* and *Weſtminſter* (and at length all over the Kingdom) to preſent to the King for the *ſitting of the Parliament according to the laſt Prorogation*. Which manner of Petitioning, being in thoſe Times call'd Tumultuous and Unlawful, the King in Council, *December* the Tenth, Order'd the Lord Mayor of *London* to ſuppreſs them, and puniſh thoſe that went about Collecting Hands to ſuch Petitions. The King alſo publiſhed a *Proclamation*, wherein he call'd this way of Petitioning a Method ſet on

A New Plot.

Foot by ill Men, to promote Diſcontents among the People, and to raiſe Sedition and Rebellion: Strictly Commanded all his Loving Subjects, of what Rank or Degree ſoever, that they Preſume not *To promote any ſuch Subſcriptions, nor in any Ways join in any Petition of that manner, to be preferred to his Majeſty, upon Peril of the utmoſt Rigour of the Law that may be inflicted for it*, Afterwards the King Iſſued out another *Proclamation*, declaring a Reſolution to Prorogue the Parliament till *November*, yet ſtill the Buſineſs of Petitioning went forward; ſeveral were perfected and delivered, but *the King received them very Coldly, and often reprimanded thoſe that brought them.* A. D. 1679. *Petitioning forbidden.*

In the Beginning of Hilary Term, Sir *Thomas Gaſcoign*, a Knight of *Yorkſhire of Eighty Five Years of Age*, was Tryed at the King's Bench Bar for conſpiring the King's Death, and the Subverſion of the Government. The Jury were all *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen. The Witneſſes againſt him were one *Balron*, who had formerly been Baily of his Cole-pits, one *Mowbray* who had alſo belong'd to his Family, but their Teſtimony it ſeems were not of Weight or Credibility to Convict him, and therefore the Jury brought him in Not Guilty, and the Priſoner was immediately Diſcharg'd. *Sir* Thomas Gaſcoign *Tryed and acquitted.* *February* the Twenty Fourth the Duke of *York* with the Dutcheſs and his Family return'd out of *Scotland* to St. *James*, and Two Days after was attended by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder, and Common Council of *London*, where the Recorder made a Speech and in all their Names congratulated his ſafe Arrival, and having Kiſs'd their Highneſſes Hands departed. *February* the 11th Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, having obtain'd the King's Conſent, reſign'd his Office, and Sir *Leonel Jenkins* ſucceeded in the Employment, and took his Place at the Council Board accordingly. *March* the 9th his Majeſty Iſſued out his Proclamation againſt Duelling, and to Deter Men from ſuch unlawful ſingle Combats, ſays he will not Grant a Pardon to any Man that ſhall Kill another in that manner. *A Proclamation againſt Duelling.* The Parliament met again on the 25th of *April* and were Prorogued from thence to *May*, *June* and *July*. Now the Tables ſeem to be turn'd and many in thoſe Counties which had been Active in promoting

Petitions

A. D. 1679. Petitions for the ſitting of the Parliament began to change their Notes. The City of *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, whoſe Grand Jury by their publick and formal Act at their Seſſions, diſown'd the promoting Petitions, and charged it upon certain Factious Perſons unknown to them. The ſame Addreſſes were ſent from the Counties of *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Norfolk*, that Country particularly giving the King their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke of *York* from *Flanders*.

About this time a Report flew abroad concerning a *Black-Box* reported to be found, wherein was a Writing that imported a Marriage or Contract between his Majeſty and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother; which coming to the King's Ear he declared the Report was utterly falſe, and Commanded the matter to be farther enquired into. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, was reported to have ſeen ſome ſuch Writing, who was Examined in Council, and anſwer'd upon Oath that he never had any ſuch Writing committed to his Keeping, or did know of any ſuch thing, or had ever ſeen any ſuch Writing, to all which he Subſcribed his Name. On the firſt Day of Trinity Term Mrs. *Cellier* was Tryed for High Treaſon at the King's Bench Bar, But the chief and indeed the only Evidence againſt her, *Dangerfield*, being proved by Records then produced ſuch an Infamous Criminal that the Court would give no Credit to this Teſtimony ſo ſhe was acquitted by the Jury, and *Dangerfield* committed to Cuſtody, Now it was that his Majeſty, in Purſuance to what he had done in *April*, and to remove all Pretences of the Diſaffected in the point of Succeſſion, publiſhed his Declaration, wherein he proteſted, on the Word of a King, and the Faith of a Chriſtian, that he was never Married to Mrs. *Barlow* alias *Walters*, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, nor to any other Woman whatſoever beſides the now Queen. Which Declaration was Recorded in the High Court of Chancery.

Mrs. Cellier *Tryed and acquitted.*

On the 30th of *October* the Parliament Sat, and choſe Mr. *Williams* of *Grays-Inn* for their Speaker. And the Commons not being ſatisfied in Puniſhing their own Members, who had appear'd againſt *Petitioning for the Parliaments Sitting*, they fell upon Sir *George Jefferies* Recorder of *London*, for the Crime above

bove mention'd, and on the 13th of *November* 1680, Voted him *A Betrayer of the Rights of the Subjects and order'd an Addreſs to* the King to remove him om all Publick Offices, appointing a Committee to nquire *after all ſuch Perſons as were Adviſers to Publiſh the late Proclamation, Stiled a Proclamation againſt tumultuous Petitioning.* After this Matter of great Conſequence was thus managed. On the 11 of *November* a Bill Entituled an Act for ſecuring the *Proſtant* Religion by Diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to nherit the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, nd the Territories thereunto belonging, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and on the 15th was carryed p to the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by almoſt the whole Houſe of Commons; t the firſt reading in the Houſe of Lords and being ut to the Vote, whether it ſhould be Read a ſecond me it was carry'd in the affirmative by two Votes. n the Second reading it was debated till Eleven a lock at Night, the King being preſent all the while, nd then was thrown out of the Houſe, by a Majority f 30 Voices, of which 14 were Biſhops. Soon after, *William* Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, one of the Five *Poiſh* Lords in the Tower, was brought to his Tryal efore his Peers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, The Tryal laſtd a whole week: The Witneſſes againſt him were *ates*, *Turberville* and *Dugdale*. Of the Lords, 31 ronounced him not Guilty, and 55 Guilty, and dgment was pronounced againſt him on the 7th f *December*, but his Execution was deferr'd till *Wedeſday* the 29th of *December*, and then was Beheaded n *Tower-hill*, Proteſting with his laſt Breath, that e was utterly Innocent of the Crimes for which he ood Condemn'd.

A. D. 1680.

The Bill of Excluſion.

Viſcount Stafford *beheaded.*

During theſe Tranſactions, a *Comet* or *Colum.* with prodigious ſtream of Light, appear'd in the Weſt; he *Star* from which the Blaze proceeded was but mall, and when firſt diſcover'd appear'd not much bove the *Horizon*; but every night afterwards it apear'd higher and higher in the beginning of the ight, and conſequently ſet later, and decaying alſo its luſtre and magnitude. An Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons was preſented to his Majeſty n the 21ſt of *December*, in Anſwer to his Speech the 15th, wherein he once more demanded a ſup-

ply

A. D. 1680.

ply of Money for the Defence of *Tangier*. The effect of their Addreſſes was in as modeſt terms as could be, to deny all Supplies of Money, unleſs his Majeſty would be pleaſed to Paſs *a Bill to Seclude the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Crown*, and to enable the Proteſtants of this Nation to aſſociate themſelves for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Defence of the King and Kingdoms. His Majeſty replyed, *That he thought he need ſay no more than that the Houſe of Lords had rejected the Bill, and that he was ready to comply in any other way they ſhould propoſe to him*; but the Houſe in conſidering his Majeſty's Reply, Reſolved, *that there is no ſecurity for the Proteſtant Religion, the Kings life, or the well conſtituted and eſtabliſh'd Government of this Kingdom, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling* James *Duke of* York *from inheriting the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland; *and that to rely upon any other means, without ſuch a Bill, is not only inſufficient but dangerous; and that all that adviſe his Majeſty to inſiſt upon an opinion againſt the Bill, are Enemies to the King and Kingdom: And as ſuch they named* George *Earl of* Halifax, Henry *Marqueſs of* Worceſter, Henry *Earl of* Clarendon; againſt which as alſo Lewis *Earl of* Feverſham *and* Lawrence Hyde *Eſquire*, they vote an Addreſs to be *preſented to his Majeſty, to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profit, and from his Majeſty's Councils and preſence for ever*. And as if this was not ſufficient, they further Reſolve and Vote the ſame day, *That Whoever ſhall hereafter Lend, or cauſe to be lent by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the Kings Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe or Hearth money, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of Parliament, and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.* Things growing to this height, the King determin'd to put an end to this Seſſion by a Prorogation, till the 20th of *January*. Which the Commons have private notice of, aſſembled early in the Morning, and before the Uſher of the *Black Rod* came in, they Reſolved, *that Whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to Prorogue the Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to paſſing a Bill for the Excluſion of* James *Duke of* York, *is a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England, *a Promoter of the* French *Intereſt, and a Penſioner of* France. But this produced only a Prorogation till the

No money without paſſing the Bill.

No Money to be lent the King.

the 21st of *January*, and then a Diſſolution, with intimation that a Parliament ſhould be held at *Oxford* on the 21st of *March* following. A. D. 1681.

On the 14th of *March* the King and Queen entred *Oxford*, and took their Lodgings in *Chriſt-Church*. Many Members of the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Tho. Pilkington* and *Will. Love*, Eſqs; went to *Oxford* accompanied or attended with the Ceremonious Cavalcade of a numerous Train of Friends. The Lords ſat in the Gallery in the *Schools*, and the Commons in the Convocation houſe. His Majeſty's Speech was chiefly levell'd againſt *the unwarrantable proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons, with aſſurance that he would preſerve the Subjects in all their Juſt Rights and Liberties, Govern according to Law, and was ready to condeſcend to any Expedient for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and deſir'd they would make the known Laws of the Land the Rules and Meaſures of their Votes, becauſe he reſolv'd they ſhould be his.* *The* Oxford *Parliament.*

Nothing of extraordinary moment Paſs'd till *Saturday* the 26th of *March*, and then the *Commons* finding the Houſe of *Lords* refuſed to proceed upon the Impeachment of *Fitz Harris* for High Treaſon, but had directed he ſhou'd be proſecuted at *Common Law*, they voted the refuſal of the Lords, *A Denyal of Juſtice, a Violation of the Conſtitutions of Parliaments, and an obſtruction to the further diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.* Further they Reſolved, *That for any Inferiour Court to proceed againſt* Edward Fitz Harris, *or any other perſon impeach'd in Parliament, for the ſame Crimes for which he or they ſtood impeach'd, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.* On *Monday* following the Bill againſt the Duke of *York* was read the firſt time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, when on a ſudden the King ſends for the Houſe of *Commons* to the Houſe of *Lords*, and tells them, *He perceived there were Heats betwixt the Lords and them, and therefore he thought fit to Diſſolve them.* Which was done by the Chancellor Immediately. The ſame day the King left *Oxford*, came to *Windſor* that Night, and the next Morning by eight a Clock to *White-hall*; where immediately a Declaration was framed, containing the King's reaſons for diſſolving the late Parliaments; which *That* Parliament *diſſolved.*

A. D. 1681. by an Order of the King and Council, were afterwards read in all Churches and Chappels through the Kingdom. *April* the third, 1681. *Fitz-Harris* was Arraign'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, where he three times refuſed to hold up his hand, inſiſting upon his *being impeach'd in Parliament, and therefore ought not to be tryed by an Inferiour Court*; but at laſt conſented to Plead. The Crimes objected againſt him were contain'd in a certain Writing call'd *The True Engliſh-man*, full of horrid Expreſſions againſt the King, as a Conſpirator in the Plot, and exciting the Nation to riſe as one Man againſt him; it being as lawful to Diſpoſſeſs a Popiſh *Poſſeſſor* as a Popiſh *Succeſſor*. The Court aſſign'd him for Council Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr *Williams*, Mr. *Pollexfen* and Mr. *Wallop*, to argue his Plea againſt the Judicature of the Court; and on *Wedneſday* the fourth of *May* the Priſoner was again brought to the Bar, and his Council attended, where the King's Attorney General Sir *Robert Sawyer* entred a *Demurrer* to the Priſoner's *Plea*, and inſiſted chiefly upon the manifeſt Defect of *Forms*, becauſe the Plea run, *that the ſaid* Fitz-Harris *was impeach'd at the late Parliament in* Oxford, de Alta Proditione, *but does not ſay of what ſort or manner of Treaſon; nor did not ſet forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought to do, when it is againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court.* The Priſoner's Council mov'd for further time, which was given them till *Saturday* Morning, when the matter was largely and Learnedly debated on both ſides. The Kings Council and alſo the Court declaring that they meddled not at all with the Privilege of the Houſe of *Commons*, or the Juriſdiction of the *Lords* in Parliament, which was not the Queſtion; but only as to the *Form* of the Plea. After the Debates were ended the Court took time to conſider, before they would proceed to Judgment. The eleventh of *May* the Court ſat again, the Plea was over-ruled, the Priſoner pleaded Not Guilty, and alledging that a material Witneſs for him was abſent in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till the 9th of *June*. *June* the 8th, Dr. *Oliver Plunket* Titular A. Bp. of *Dublin*, was Tryed at the *Kings Bench* Bar for High Treaſon; the Evidences againſt him were all *profeſſed Papiſts*, and came out of *Ireland*: The chief matters ſworn againſt him were

Fitz-Harris *arraign'd.*

were, *That he was made Primate of* Ireland *by the Pope, at the* French *King's recommendation, had actually levy'd great Summs of Money among his Clergy to introduce the* French *Dominion into that Kingdom, and to extirminate the Protestants*; and upon Evidence of this was found Guilty. The next day *Fitz-Harris* was Tryed at the same Bar. The chief Evidences against him were Sir *William Waller* and *Everard*, upon whose Testimonies he was found Guilty of High Treason, and on the first of *July* they were both Executed at *Tyburn*. Presently after his Tryal, Mrs. *Fitz-Harris*, the Prisoner's Wife, accused the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* for contriving that Treasonable Libel for which her Husband was condemned, upon which that Lord was Committed to the *Tower*, and so was *Rous*, *Hains*, *White*, and *Colledg*, commonly called the Protestant Joyner.

A. D. 1681.

Dr Plunket *and* Fitz-Harris *executed.*

July the second the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being accused of High Treason was committed to the *Tower* by the King and Council. On the 28th of *July* the Parliament sat in *Scotland*, where the Duke of *York*, being gone thither, Presided as his Majesty's High Commissioner, who, in a Florid Speech, and at a Royal Feast he made for both Houses, so wrought upon the Parliament that they pass'd a Bill, entituled, *An Act acknowledging and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland: And at the same time past another Act, Ratifying all former Laws for the security of the Protestant Religion.

On the 13th of *August*, by an Order of Council, *Titus Oats* was expell'd from *White-Hall*, his Sallary of Ten pounds a Week taken off, and he accused of great Misdemeanours. Considerable numbers of *French* Protestants now flying into *England*, to avoid a barbarous Persecution in their own Country, they were kindly received by the Inhabitants, and the King granted them ample *Letters Patents* to collect Money all over *England* for their Relief and Subsistence. *Colledg* being still in custody, a Bill of Indictment was preferr'd against him for *High Treason* at the *Old Baily*, but was found by the Grand Jury *Ignoramus*. At another Sessions *Rous* was indicted for High Treason; but that Bill was also return'd with an *Ignoramus*. *November* the 24th, all the Judges of

Oates turn'd out of White-Hall.

A. D. 1681. *England* ſate with the Mayor and Aldermen at the *Old Baily*, and the Grand Jury being call'd and ſworn, of which Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton* was Foreman, a Bill of Indictment of *High-Treaſon* was deliver'd to them, againſt *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The Evidences were all examined in open Court, but this Bill alſo was returned *Ignoramus*: Upon which the People gave a *Shout*, and the Witneſſes who gave Evidence againſt the Earl were aſſaulted by the Multitude, and in ſuch danger of their Lives, that the *Sheriffs* were neceſſitated to guard them at Night as far as the *Savoy* homewards, and the Citizens to ſhew their ſatisfaction at the Earl's being acquitted made ſeveral Bonfires in the City, which much offended the Court.

Earl of Shafts-bury *acquitted.*

The Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex* about this time began a vigorous Proſecution againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, which afterward was too hotly followed throughout *England*: And ordered that the Statutes of *Elizabeth* and the 3 *Jac.* ſhould be put in execution, for the levying of twelve-pence a *Sunday*, upon all ſuch perſons as came not to their own Pariſh Churches every *Sunday*, to hear Divine Service; which, with the *rigid* Proſecutions againſt them in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, gave great offence to all the ſober People of *England*, but this was thought a piece of Court Artifice, to play the Church of *England* againſt the *Diſſenters*, and Enrage the Diſſenters againſt the *Church of England*, that they might not unite, and ſee their danger, or elſe by deſtroying one another, might take room for a third Party, that skulk'd behind the Curtain, till the King's death ſhould give them an opportunity to appear Bare-fac'd upon the Theatre. In *March* the Duke of *York* came out of *Scotland*, landed at *Yarmouth*, and the next day went to the King at *Newmarket*.

Diſſenters proſecuted.

Now happen'd a great Controverſie in *London* between the Lord *Mayor* and the two *Sheriffs*, about Electing *Sheriffs* for the year enſuing. Each of them had ſtrong parties. The one ſet up Mr. *Dudley North* and Mr. *Box*, the other were for Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*; but in their Polling ſome difference ariſing, the Lord Mayor adjourned the Court by Proclamation, and went out of the Hall; but the

Troubles in the City about the Election of Sheriffs.

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two *Sheriffs* continued Polling all night, for which being ſent for before the King and Council, the two *Sheriffs* were ſent to the *Tower*, by a Warrant ſigned by 24 Privy Councellors. *Friday*, *June* the 30th, the two *Sheriffs* brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and were admitted to Bail at the *Kings-Bench* Bar, at the ſame time pleading *Not Guilty* to an Information for a Tumultuous and Riotous aſſembly, in holding a Common Hall after it was adjourn'd. The *Sheriffs* being thus at liberty, met at a Common Hall on the firſt of *July*, and tho' the Lord Mayor being ſick, ſent order by the *Recorder* to adjourn the Hall to the eleventh following, yet the *Sheriffs* proceeded in the Election, and declared their choice of *Papillion* and *Dubois*. On the 17th the Mayor and his Party met again, and heard Lawyers argue the validity of the late adjournment, but coming to no Concluſion, the Court was adjourned to the 14th of *July*. On the 13th of *July* his Majeſty ſent an order from the Council, to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, that for the Preſervation of the Peace of the City at the Common Hall to morrow, *all Proceedings ſhould begin anew*, and be carried on in the uſual manner. At length, not without abundance of diſturbance, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* were declared *Sheriffs* by the Lord Mayor; but Mr. *Box* paying his Fine rather than he would ſerve in a time that appeared ſo troubleſom, *Peter Rich* Eſquire, was choſen in his place, and he and *Dudley North* Eſquire, were ſworn before the Lord Mayor in the *Huſtings*.

A. D. 1682.

On the 24th of *November* the great cauſe was tried at the *Kings-Bench* Bar between the Duke of *York* and Mr. *Pilkington* the late Sheriff of *London*, for ſpeaking theſe words, *viz.* *He* (meaning the Duke of *York*) *fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats.* Which words being proved by two Aldermen of *London*, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave him a Hundred Thouſand pounds damages, which Mr. *Pilkington* reſolving never to pay, rendered himſelf in diſcharge of his Bail, a Priſoner to the *Kings Bench*. *November* the 29th, *Rupert* Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Cumberland* dyed at his Houſe in St. *James's* Park, in the 63d year of his Age, and much lamented by all that knew him. On the 18th of *December* the *Earl of Nottingham*, Lord High Chan-

Pilkington *caſt in* 100000*l.*

A. D. 1683. cellor of *England* dyed, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Francis North*, as Lord Keeper, who was then Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*. On *Tueſday* the 8th of *May* ſeveral Perſons were Tried at *Guild Hall* before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Saunders*, for the Riot commited laſt *June* at the Election of Sheriffs, and being convicted, were fined as followeth. *Pilkington* 500 l. *Shute* 1000 Marks, *Corniſh* and Lord *Gray* the ſame ſumms, Sir *Thomas Player* 500 Marks, *Bethel* 1000 Marks, *Jenks* 300 Marks, *Deagle* 400 Marks, *Freeman* 300 Marks, *Goodenough* 500 Marks, *Keys* 100 Marks, *Wickham* 100 Marks, *Swinnock* 500 Marks, and *Jekel* 200 Marks.

A Quo Warranto againſt the Charter.

Theſe diſorders in the City laid the Foundation, or at leaſt gave pretence for bringing a *Quo Warranto* againſt the Charter of the City of *London*, againſt which Judgment was given in the Court of *Kings Bench*, by Judge *Jones*, Chief Juſtice *Saunders* being ſick and abſent, declaring it to be the unanimous opinion of that Court, *That the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of* London *are ſeized into the Kings hands.* After which it was ordered (he ſaid) by the King's Special Command, that Judgment ſhould not be entred till his Majeſty's pleaſure were further known. Upon this the City, in an humble Petition, made their Submiſſion to the King, begg'd his pardon for their offences in the miſgovernment of the City, gave him thanks for cauſing Judgment not to be entred againſt their Charter, and humbly begg'd his Majeſty's Commands and Directions. This was done by the Lord Mayor, and ſeveral Aldermen and Citizens, on *Monday* the 18th of *June*. After which the Lord Keeper by the King's Command, declared, that for the ſakes of ſo many of the preſent Magiſtrates, and other Loyal Citizens, he will ſhew them all the favour they reaſonably can deſire, if they would ſubmit to theſe Regulations, *viz. That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town Clerk, Coroner of* London, *or Steward of* Southwark, *ſhall be capable of, or be admitted to the exerciſe of their reſpective Offices, before his Majeſty has approved them under his Sign Manual: That his Majeſty having twice diſapproved the Mayor, he may if he pleaſe nominate a Lord Mayor himſelf*; ſo alſo for Sheriffs: Nevertheleſs the Election of theſe Officers may be according

The Kings Regulation

to

to the ancient usage of the City, with some small restrictions at that time mentioned. A Common Council was held at their return, to consider of these Proposals; and the Question being put, whether they should Assent and Submit to his Majesty's order of Regulations, it was carried in the *Affirmative* by a Majority of eighteen voices. A. D. 1683.

A new Plot.

Towards the end of *Trinity* Term, one *Keeling* discovered a Plot against the Government, and gave a long and confused Narrative concerning it; only naming some mean persons, but none of Quality that were engaged in it; but those coming in that were deepest involv'd in the Plot, to save their own lives threw the whole weight of the Conspiracy upon the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel*, Collonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden*, &c. As for the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was under the same Accusation, he withdrew himself, till he was followed by a Proclamation, and then he surrendred himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, where it was said, he made a Confession of the whole Conspiracy, but without the least design upon his Majesty's Life, which he said, was never thought of; tho' he gave his Majesty much greater light into many particulars of it, than he could ever have obtained otherwise. Upon which, the King gave him his pardon; which he no sooner was Master of, but he began to excuse the Offenders, and to palliate what he had said to his Majesty in private; wherefore the King requir'd it under his hand; the Duke comply'd with it, and subscrib'd a Writing of the same importance with the Confession he had made to the King, and for that time he was reconcil'd to him, but afterwards relapsing into his former Errors, and requesting the Writing might be restor'd to him, the King told him, he would no longer keep it, but withal, *banish'd him his Presence.*

Monmouth banished.

Immediately a Proclamation was Issued out, for apprehending Mr. *West* of the *Temple*, Colonel *John Rumsey*, *Richard Rumbal* Malster, *Richard Nelthorp* Esquire, *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough* Gent. Captain *Walcot*, *William Thompson*, *James Burton* and *William Hone*. Not long after came out another Proclamation, for the apprehending of *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, *Ford* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*

A. D. 1683. *ſtrong* and *Robert Ferguſon*, who were all fled or abſconded. The Crimes alleged againſt them in the Proclamation were, *for traiterouſly conſpiring the Death and Deſtruction of the King, and his deareſt Brother the Duke of* York; to effect which, they had held ſeveral Treaſonable Conſultations to Levy Men, and to make an Inſurrection in this Kingdom. And here I cannot omit acquainting the Reader, that *Ferguſon* was always look'd upon as the moſt dangerous Plotter, one that gave the *bloodieſt Councils* of all that were in the Confederacy; and yet when this Warrant was deliver'd to Mr. *Legat* the Meſſenger, to ſeize the reſt of the Offenders, Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* gave *Legat* a ſtrict command not to take *Ferguſon*, but to ſhun him where e'er he met him, and if he ſhould happen to find him in company among the reſt, he ſhould ſuffer him to eſcape; which is ſuch a *Myſtery*, that can never be unriddl'd, without believing him to be a State Intelligencer, to betray the reſt of the Confederates. This Relation I had from ſeveral Gentlemen of known Credit; but being unwilling to publiſh it upon Hearſay, I ask'd Mr. *Legat* himſelf about it, who is yet living, and a Meſſenger in this Reign, and he aſſur'd me of the truth of it, as it is above related from his own Mouth, and who will ſtill juſtifie it to any Man, whoſe curioſity leads him to make further enquiry about it.

Ferguſon's ſhare of the Conſpiracy.

The Lord Ruſſel *condemned.*

On the twelfth of *July*, Captain *Walcot* and others were try'd at the *Old-Baily* for this Conſpiracy, and were found guilty of High Treaſon. The next day the *Lord* Ruſſel, *Eldeſt Son and Heir apparent to the late Duke of* Bedford, was Try'd for the ſame Fact, and upon Evidence given by the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* and others was found Guilty. All which the next day receiv'd the Sentence of Death from the Recorder. The Lord *Ruſſel* alone, and *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rous* together; While this was doing, a Party of the Life Guard waited at the Gates of the Seſſions Houſe, attending upon the Lord *Howard*. *Friday* the 13th of *July* 1683, about nine of the Clock in the Morning, while the Lord *Ruſſel* was upon his Tryal, News was brought into the Court at the *Old Baily*, that the Earl of *Eſſex* being at this time a Priſoner in the *Tower*, on the account of this new Plot, *had murther'd himſelf, by cutting his Throat with a Razor* (as they

they ſaid) to prevent the hand of publick Juſtice: Which was moſt ungenteelly urged by ſome of the Council againſt the Lord *Ruſſel*, as a Confirmation of the Plot, and his being concern'd in it. Barbarous uſage! But what will not thoſe Tongue-Pads ſay, that have Tongues to ſell to every one, that has Gold enough to purchaſe them. It was a very unlikely Story, that a Perſon of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Prudence, and Integrity and Piety, ſhould offer violence to himſelf; but the contrivance againſt him is yet in the dark, and the more, for ſome Mens attempting to enlighten it; and therefore muſt be left as a Secret, till the *Revelation of all things*. Three of the Condemn'd Perſons, *Walcot*, *Hone* and *Rous*, were executed at *Tyburn*. A. D. 1683. *The Earl of Eſſex's Throat cut.*

But the Noble, Pious, Juſt, Charitable, and Good Lord *Ruſſel*, who was made a Sacrifice to the Bill of *Excluſion* and *Arbitrary* Councils, with Reſpect to his *Noble Birth* was Beheaded, or rather *Butcher'd* by three ſtrokes of the Ax in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, upon *Saturday* the twenty firſt of *July*, about ten a Clock in the Morning. *Of whom the World was not worthy.* *The Lord Ruſſel Beheaded.*

On *Saturday* the twenty eighth of *July* about Ten in the Evening, the Lady *Ann*, Second Daughter to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, was married to Prince *George*, Brother to the then King of *Denmark*, by *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of the King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, with moſt of the Great Perſons of the Court. All that Night and the next day the Bells proclaim'd the Publick Joy.

November the 22d in *Michaelmas* Term, the Honourable *Algernoon Sidney* Eſquire, being accuſed as one of the Council of Six in the aforeſaid Plot, was Arraign'd at the *King's-Bench-Bar* for High Treaſon. The particulars of his Indictment were, for *ſending a Meſſenger into* Scotland *to invite them into a Rebellion, and for writing (as they call'd it) a Treaſonable Libel found in his Cloſet.* The Lord *Howard* depoſed he was one of the Council of Six, and that he ſent a Meſſenger into *Scotland*. To which he anſwer'd, that if the Papers were his, they might be written long ſince, in anſwer to *Filmer*'s Book for his own diverſion, and not for Publication, and denied *Mr. Sidney Condemned and beheaded.*

A. D. 1683. nied he ſent Meſſengers into *Scotland*. He was a Perſon of admirable Parts and known Integrity, yet ſaid not much at his Tryal, as believing whatſoever he ſhould ſay, would ſignifie nothing with that *Judicature*, whom he thought had already pre-judg'd him; and ſo it was in effect, for as Mr. *Hawles* obſerves, *he was meerly talk'd to death, under the notion of a Commonwealths-man*, and being found Guilty, was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the ſeventh of *December* following. On the laſt day of *Michaelmas* Term, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, Mr. *Henry Booth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Hambden Junior*, Mr. *Charlton* and Major *Wildman*, all which were accuſed as Conſpirators in the late Plot, and there being but one Witneſs againſt them, they were admitted to Bail.

The Lords in the Tower *Bailed.*

The Bailing the Lords in the *Tower* having been often moved for, was never obtain'd till now. The Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe was argued in *Hillary* Term, in the Court of *King's-Bench*, where the Judges unanimouſly agreeing, that his Lordſhip ought to be admitted to Bail, he was Bailed. And this was made a Preſident for Bailing the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, (the Lord *Petre* died in the *Tower* under Confinement) and the Earl of *Tyrone* out of the *Gate-Houſe*. Mr. *John Hambden* being Try'd for High Midemeanors, was Fined to pay 40000 pound to the King, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, and committed till all this be perform'd. *Saturday* the tenth of *May*, *Titus Oats* was Arreſted at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* at the Suit of the Duke of *York*, for calling the ſaid Duke a Traytor. He was carried from thence to *Wood-ſtreet-Counter*, where he lay two days, and then was removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King*'s-*Bench* Priſon. The next Term he let Judgment go by *Default*, and on the laſt day of the Term, a Writ of *Enquiry of Damages* was Executed at the *King*'s-*Bench*-Bar, where the Jury, upon hearing the Evidence, gave a hundred thouſand pounds Damages.

Oates caſt in 100000 *pounds.*

About the beginning of *May*, the King Revok'd the Commiſſion formerly granted to ſeveral Commiſſioners, for Executing the Office of *Lord High Admiral of England*, and Conferr'd that Office again upon the Duke of *York*, and in a Council at *Hampton-Court*,

Court, order'd him to take his Place at the Council Table, which the Duke did, and continued ſo to do till his Brother's Death. A. D 1684.

On the 11th of *June* 1684. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was brought to *London*, and committed to *Newgate* in order to his Execution, he having been Out-law'd for High Treaſon, and was accordingly Executed at *Tyburn* on the 20th of *June*. Sir *William Prichard* late Lord Mayor of *London*, having this Summer brought his Action againſt Mr. *Papillion*, for cauſing him to be Arreſted in the time of his Mayoraly; the Cauſe was Tryed before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies* by *Niſi Prius* at *Guild Hall*, on the Sixth of *November*, where the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave him Ten Thouſand Pounds Damages. *Sir Thomas Armſtrong Executed.*

This *Michaelmas* Term, on the 13th of *November*, *Titus Oats* was Indicted in the *King*'s *Bench* for Perjury, in relation to *Ireland*'s being in *London*, at that time that *Oats* ſwore at his Tryal; to which Indictment he pleaded Not Guilty: The Tryal was deferr'd till the next Term. After this, he was again Indicted at the *Old-Baily* for Perjury, in relation to his being preſent at the Conſult of the Jeſuits at the *White-Horſe* Tavern, to which he alſo pleaded Not Guilty, and the Tryal was appointed to be the next Term in the Court of *King*'s *Bench*.

The Roads being this Winter extreamly infeſted with *Robbers*, the King was pleas'd to order in Council, that all his Officers of Juſtice, and other his loving Subjects, ſhould uſe their utmoſt Diligence in apprehending all *Robbers* and *Highway-men*, and for their encouragement order'd, that all ſuch Perſons as ſhall Apprehend any Robber or Highway-man, and cauſe him to be taken into Cuſtody, ſhall within fifteen days after his Conviction, receive a Reward of Ten Pounds for every ſuch Offender, from the Sheriff of the County where the Offender was Convicted, which ſhall be allow'd to the Sheriff upon paſſing his Account in the *Exchequer*. And now all Affairs ſeeming to be in a quiet Poſture, it pleas'd God Almighty to put an end to His Majeſty's Life and Reign, on the Sixth of *February*, 1684. *A Reward for taking Robbers.* *The King's Death.*

King

A. D. 1684.

His Perſonage and Character.

King *Charles* the Second was Tall and Well Proportion'd, his Conſtitution Vigorous and Healthy, and it's hard to determine, whether he took more Pains to Preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, or to impair it by Exceſs in his Pleaſures. His Complexion was Black, his Face was compos'd of Harſh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil, and yet had a *Noble and Majeſtick Mien*, and ſomething in his Perſon and Aſpect, that at once commanded both *Love* and *Veneration*; and in contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of *Phyſiognomy*, was Merciful, Good Natur'd, and in the laſt twenty Years of his Life, Fortunate. His underſtanding was Quick and Lively, with a Vaſt compaſs of Thought, and yet would ſubmit his Judgment in greateſt matters, to others of much inferiour parts. He had an extraordinary ſhare of Wit himſelf, and lov'd it in others, even when it pointed at his own Faults and Miſmanagements. He had a ſtrong *Laconick* way of Expreſſion, a Genteel, Eaſie and Polite way of Writing; and when he had a mind to lay aſide the King, which he often did in ſelect Company of his own, there were a thouſand Irreſiſtible Charms in his Converſation. 'Tis true, he had no extraordinary love for Buſineſs, and therefore ſought all occaſions to avoid it; and yet when neceſſity call'd him, none of his Council could reaſon more cloſely upon matters of *State*, and at Starts he would out do his Miniſters in *Application* and *Diligence*. No Prince was a leſſer Lover of Ceremony, or more deſpis'd the Pageantry of a Court, and yet in his greateſt Familiarities and Condeſcentions, ſtill preſerv'd his *Royal Grandeur*. He lov'd Money only to ſpend it, and would privately accept of a ſmall Summ paid to himſelf, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the *Exchequer*. His *Religion* was *Deiſm*, or rather that which is call'd ſo; and if in his Exile or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*, the firſt was to be imputed to his Enemies that Baniſh'd him, and to a complaiſance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the laſt, to a *Diffidence* in all other Religions, upon a review of his paſt life, and the near approach of an uncertain Eſtate. In ſhort, he was certainly one of the fineſt Gentlemen of the Age, was endow'd with all the

Qualities,

Qualities, that might juſtly have render'd him the *Delight of Mankind*, and had abilities to make him one of the beſt of Kings, if he had not ſullied thoſe excellent parts with the ſoft Pleaſures of Eaſe, and had not entertain'd a Fatal Friendſhip with a Powerful Neighbour, that was incompatible with the Intereſt of *England*, and thereby gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of a Force, that has ſince been the Envy and Terror of *Europe*. A. D. 1684.

It muſt alſo be confeſt, that he never diſcover'd any extraordinary kindneſs for Parliaments, and yet made a ſhift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other Inducements, to get more Money from his firſt Parliament, towards the maintenance of his Pleaſures, than all his Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race had obtain'd before, towards the Charges of their Wars. This Parliament had like to have been perpetual, if the Vigour wherewith they began to proſecute the *Popiſh* Plot, and that Reſentment they expreſs'd againſt his Brother, had not oblig'd him much againſt his Will to part with them, after they had ſate about Nineteen Years. That there was at that time a *Popiſh* Plot, and that there has been always one ſince the Reformation, to Support if not Reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion, ſcarce any Man calls in queſtion. How far the nearer proſpect of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigour to the Deſigns of that Party, and what Methods they were then upon, to bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s Letters are a ſufficient Proof to put the matter out of doubt. But what Superſtructures were afterwards built upon an unqueſtionable Foundation, and how far ſome of the Witneſſes of that Plot might *darken Truth* by ſubſequent Additions of their own, muſt be deferr'd till the great account, to be made before a higher Tribunal: And till then, a great part of the *Popiſh* Plot, as it was then ſworn to, will in all humane Probability lye among the Darkeſt Scenes of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory. However, it ſerv'd to awaken the Nation out of a deep Lethargy, they had been in for Nineteen Years together; and Allarm'd them with Fears and Jealouſies, that have ſince been found to our ſad Experience but too juſtly grounded.

A true deſcription of the Popiſh Plot.

Some

A. D. 1684.

His Kindneſs to his Brother.

Some are pleas'd to ſay, the great Faults of this Prince was, in being too kind to a *Popiſh* Brother, forfeiting the love of his People, and hazarding himſelf to ſupport him againſt the Bill of Excluſion. It's ſaid, King *Charles* at firſt came into that Bill, or at leaſt ſeem to do ſo. The *Favourite Miſtreſs* was prevail'd with, from ſome ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſwading him to abandon his Brother: and waving the *Duke's Right*, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. by which he ſhould have a Power inveſted in him, to diſpoſe of the Crown at his Death, under ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as ſhould be agreed on. Whether any ſuch Act was really intended, it's hard to determine; but it's certain ſuch an Offer was made to King *Charles*, with a promiſe of a conſiderable ſumm of Money towards the ſupplying his preſent wants. It's likewiſe certain that King *Charles* ſeem'd willing to accept of it; till it happen'd that a Foreign Court, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport the *Duke* of *York*, ſtruck up a Bargain with the King, to give him more Money for *refuſing*, than had been offer'd him for *conſenting* to the Bill of Excluſion. Others blame him for diſgracing the Duke of *Monmouth*, in complyance with his Brother's irreconcilable Malice; but all for ſuffering the Lord *Ruſſel* and Mr. *Sidney* to fall the firſt Triumphs to the Duke's Party in *England*. It's true, King *Charles* ſeem'd inclinable to pardon both the one and the other, and the very day the Lord *Ruſſel* was executed, he let fall ſome words, that ſufficiently ſhew'd his irreſolution in the matter, and ever after there was ſo ſenſible a change in his Temper, that moſt People thought he laid it to heart. However, in this act of Cruelty he might be over-reach'd and abus'd; and if any thing can excuſe it, 'twas marrying the eldeſt of his *Nieces* to the Prince of *Orange*, (which Lady the Parliament had an Eye upon in the Bill of Excluſion) and the youngeſt to the Prince of *Denmark*. The happieſt Actions of his whole Life, and by which he made an Atonement for all the Errors of his Reign, and will entail a laſting Honour on his Name, that he did it, and did it againſt the advice of his Brother, and

in ſpight of all the ſollicitations that were made him from abroad, to marry them to princes of the *Romiſh* Religion. But I haſten to his *death*, that fell out luckily for the Duke of *York*. A. D. 1684.

Few Princes dye ſuddenly, but the world is apt to attribute it to foul play, eſpecially if attended with unuſual circumſtances in the time and manner of it. Now if he Dy'd a Natural Death it's agreed by all that it muſt have been an *Apoplexy*, which ſeizes all the vital faculties at once; but King *Charle's* Diſeaſe was rather in the *Stomach* and *Bowels* than in the *Head*, for after he was in Bed, he was heard to Groan moſt of the Night: And both then and next Morning, before he fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd firſt of a heavy oppreſſion in his Stomach and about his Heart, and afterwards of a ſharp pain in thoſe parts, all which Symptoms had but little relation to an *Apoplexy*. That Morning there appear'd to every Body about him, *Ghaſtlineſs* and *Paleneſs* in his looks; and when he ſat down to be ſhav'd, juſt before the *Fit* took him, he could not ſit ſtrait as he us'd to do, but continu'd in a ſtooping poſture, with his Hand upon his Stomach till the fit came. After he was brought out of it by Bleeding, he complain'd of a wracking pain in his Stomach, and of no indiſpoſition any where elſe, and ſo continued to his *Death*. And ſo violent was the pain, that when all hopes were gone, the Phyſicians were deſired to uſe all their Art to procure him *an eaſie Death*. *His Sickneſs what.*

So much for the Diſtemper it ſelf: There remains ſomething to be taken notice, that fell out before and after his Death. A few days before he was taken Ill, King *Charles* being in company where the preſent poſture of Affairs, was diſcours'd of, there eſcaped him ſome warm expreſſions about the uneaſie Circumſtances he was plung'd into, the ill meaſures that had been given him: And how in a particular Affair, he was pleas'd to mention he had been abus'd; Adding in ſome paſſion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſie for the reſt of his life.* This paſſage was whiſper'd abroad next day; and the Rumour of recalling the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſending away the Duke of *York* came to take the Air about the ſame time. Now how far *Other Concurring Accidents.*

the

A. D. 1684. the Principles of ſome of that *Party*, that were lik to be the Sufferers, might leave them at Liberty t puſh on their Revenge for this deſign'd Affront, a well as to prevent the Blow that threatn'd them tho' without the *Privacy*, much leſs the *Conſent* of th Duke of *York*, is left to the Reader to Judge.

There remains two things more that deſerve ſom conſideration in this matter. When his Body wa open'd, there was not ſufficient time given for tak ing an exact obſervation of his Stomach and Bowel which one would think ought chiefly to have bee done, conſidering the *Violent Pains he had there.* An when a certain Phyſician ſeem'd to be more inquiſ tive than ordinary about the condition of thoſe Parts he was taken aſide and reprov'd for his needleſs Cu rioſity. In the next place his Body *Stunk* ſo extream ly, within a few Hours after his Death, notwithſtan ding the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, that the People a bout him were extreamly offended with the Smell which is a thing very extraordinary, in one of hi ſtrong and healthy Conſtitution; and is not a pro per Conſequent of a meer *Apoplectical* Diſtemper

A narrow eſcape at Windſor. There was alſo ſome weight laid upon an Acciden that fell out at *Windſor* ſome Years before his Death For the King drinking more liberally than uſual, af ter the Fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the nex Room, and wrapping himſelf up in his Cloak, fel aſleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time com back to his Company, when a Servant belonging t one of them, lay down upon the ſame Couch *in th King's Cloak, and was found ſtabb'd dead with a Pen yard.* Nor was it ever known how it happen'd, bu the matter was huſh'd up, and no enquiry made a bout it.

Dr Short's *Opinion.* To conclude, Dr. *Short*, who was a Man of grea Probity and Learning, and a *Roman* Catholick made no ſcruple to declare his Opinion to ſome o his intimate Friends, *That he believ'd King* Charle *had foul play done him.* And when he came to dy himſelf, expreſs'd ſome ſuſpicion, that he had me with the ſame Treatment, *for opening his mind too freely in that point.*

So much for the Circumſtances of King *Charle* Death, that ſeem'd to have an ill Aſpect. There are others, that ſeem to deſtroy all ſuſpicions o

Treachery

Treachery in the matter. As firſt, that he had liv'd ſo faſt, as in a great meaſure might ennervate the natural force of his Conſtitution, and exhauſt his Animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more ſubject to an *Apoplexy*, which is a Diſeaſe that weakens and locks up theſe Spirits from performing their uſual Functions. And tho' in his later Years he had given up himſelf more to the Pleaſures of Wine than of Women, that might rather be the effect of Age than of Choice. Next, it's known he had been once or twice attack'd before, with Fits that reſembl'd thoſe of which he afterwards dyed; and yet, as the manner of them is told, they look rather like *Convulſive* motions than an Apoplexy. Again, There might be another Natural Cauſe Aſſign'd for King *Charles*'s falling into ſuch a Fit as that of which he dy'd, which is this: He had for ſome time an *Iſſue* in his Leg, which run much, and conſequently muſt have made a great Revulſion from his Head, upon which account it is probable it was made. A few weeks before his death he had let it be dry'd up, contrary to the advice of his Phyſicians, who told him it would prejudice his Health. Their Prognoſtick was partly true in this, that there came a painful *Tumour* upon the Place where the Iſſue had been, which prov'd very obſtinate, and was not throughly heal'd up when he dy'd. In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King *Charles* expreſs'd no ſuſpicion of being poyſon'd, during all the time of his Sickneſs, nor any thing was to be ſeen upon opening his Body, that could reaſonably be attributed to the force of Poyſon. Yet to allow theſe Conſiderations no more weight than they can well bear, this muſt be acknowledg'd, that there are *Poyſons*, which Originally affect the *Animal* Spirits, and are of ſo ſubtle a Nature, that they leave no concluding Marks upon the Bodies of thoſe they kill.

A. D. 1678.

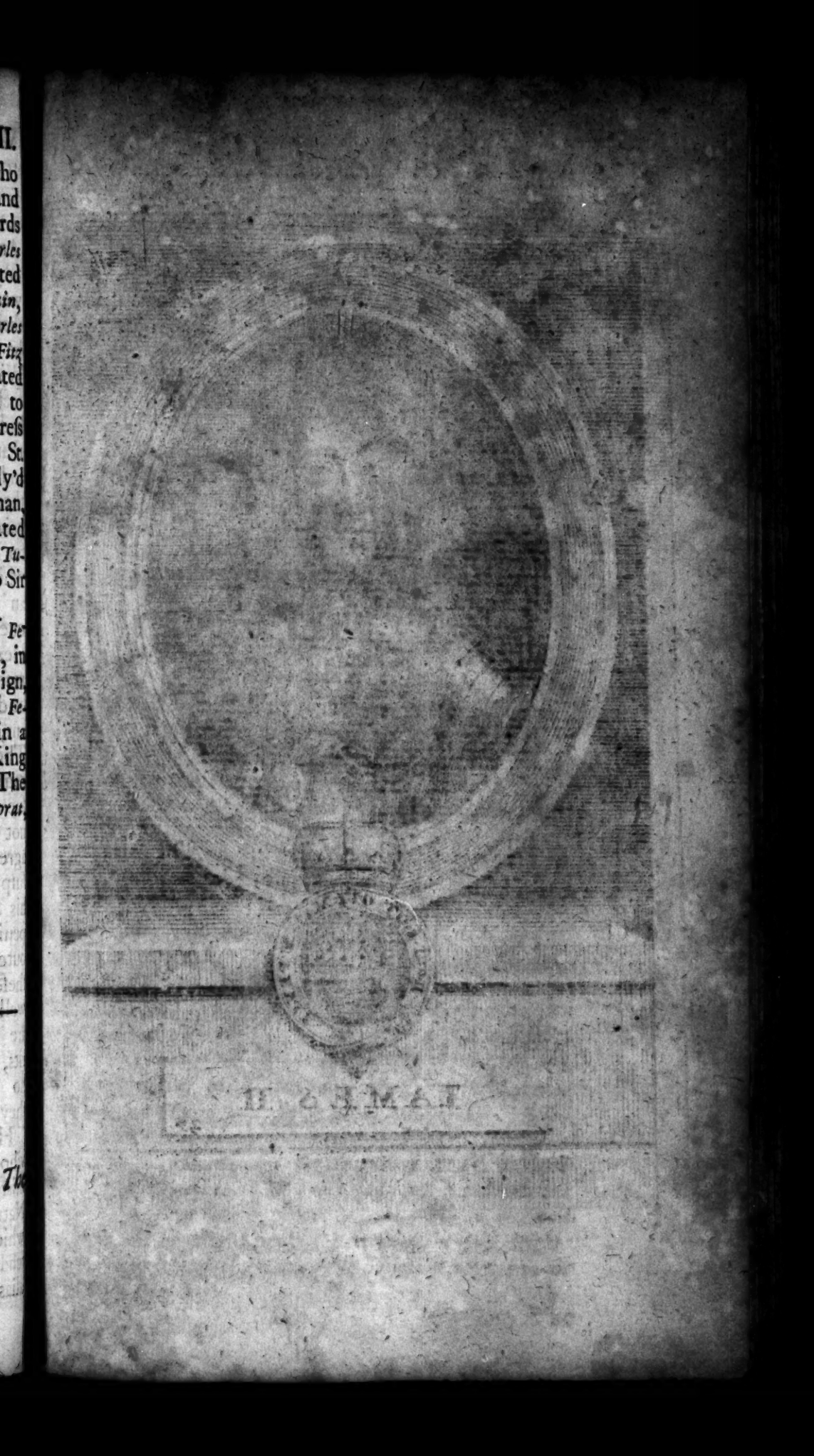
Arguments for his not being poyſon'd.

He Married *Donna Catherina Infanta* of *Portugal*, who is yet living, but he never had Iſſue by her, a misfortune not to him alone, but the whole Nation. Natural Children he had ſeveral by divers Miſtreſſes, which I find thus expreſs'd, in an Author that pretends to much exactneſs; *Viz.* By Mrs. *Lucy Walters* alias *Barlow*, *James Scot* created Duke of *Monmouth*.

His Marriage and Natural Iſſue.

A. D. 1685. By the Lady *Boyle*, Viſcounteſs *Shanon*, *Charlotte*, who Married for her ſecond Husband, *William* Son and Heir Apparent of *Robert* Lord *Paſton*, afterwards Earl of *Yarmouth*. By Miſtreſs *Catherine Pegge*, *Charles Fitz Charles*, commonly call'd *Don Carlos*, created Earl of *Plymouth*. By *Barbara* Counteſs of *Caſtlemain*, afterwards created Dutcheſs of *Cleaveland*, *Charles Fitz Roy* created Duke of *Southampton*; *Henry Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Grafton*; *George Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; and *Charlotte*, married to Sir *Edward Henry Lee* Earl of *Litchfield*. By Miſtreſs *Ellen Guynne*, *Charles Beauclere*, created Duke of St. *Albans*, and another Son named *James* who dy'd young. By *Louiſa de Queroualle*, a *French* Woman, created Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, *Charles Lenos* created Duke of *Richmond*. By Mrs. *Mary Davis*, *Mary Tudor* married to *Edward*, Son and Heir Apparent to Sir *Francis Ratcliff* Earl of *Darwentwater*.

His Death and Burial. King *Charles* the Second dy'd the ſixth day of *February* 1684, in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, in the beginning of the thirty ſeventh Year of his Reign, and was buried privately on the fourteenth of *February*, about Ten of the Clock in the Night, in a Vault under the Eaſt end of the South Iſle, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*: The Office of Burial being perform'd by Doctor *Sprat*, Dean of *Weſtminſter* and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.



IAMES II

27.

Vol. 2.

THE *LIFE and REIGN* OF *King* JAMES II.

Till his Abdication.

IMmediately after the Death of King *Charles* the Second, *James* Duke of *York*, second Son of King *Charles* the First, Aſcended the Throne by the Name of *King* James *the Second*, and ſuddenly after was Proclaim'd King in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and throughout the whole Kingdom. All the former Heats and Animoſities againſt him, and even the very memory of a *Bill of Excluſion* ſeem'd to be now buried in Oblivion, amidſt the loud Acclamations of his People, at his Acceſſion to the Crown. The ſame day his Brother dy'd, King *James* declar'd in Council, *That ſince it pleas'd God to place him in that Station, to ſucceed ſo Good and Gracious a King, as well as ſo kind a Brother, that he thinks fit to tell them, that he would make it his utmoſt endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs of his People, and to preſerve the Government both in Church and State as it was by Law Eſtabliſh'd; and thereupon takes occaſion to commend the Principles and Members of the Church of* England, *and ſays, the Laws of the Land are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wiſh to be, and therefore, as he would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo he would never invade any Man's Property.* *The King's Speech to the Council.*

A. D. 1685.

The King went to Maſs.

The next *Sunday* after his Brothers Death, he went publickly to *Maſs* in St. *James*'s *Chappel*, openly declaring himſelf a Papiſt now, tho' ſome Men had been ſeverely handl'd in his Brother's Reign, for ſaying he was of that Perſwaſion. All Men Diſcours'd this Affair according to their own inclination; ſome commended him for not *diſſembling* his Religion, others ſaid that it was impolitickly done, and that if he intended to advance the *Roman* Superſtition beyond the Confines of his own Chappel, he was treading the Steps that would certainly terminate in his own Ruin: He had met with too many occaſions, to underſtand the *Genius* of the People he was to Govern, and that it was wholly impracticable to overturn the eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a new one, for he had wreſtl'd through a great many difficulties upon the account of his own being a *Papiſt*. He could not but have a true value for his Brother's great parts and Abilities, and be acquainted with the Arts, by which he gain'd and preſerv'd the Affections of his People, notwithſtanding all the hardſhips he had ſometimes put upon them: And he had ſeen how fearful and averſe he had been to puſh things too far, or to drive his Subjects to extremities. He had before him the dreadful example of a *Father*, who, tho' he was a ſtrict *Proteſtant*, yet upon a falſe ſuſpicion of having a deſign to introduce *Popery*, was ſent to his Grave by an untimely death. He had been acquainted abroad with *Chriſtina* the Queen of *Sweden*, a Princeſs late fam'd for parts and Learning, who reſign'd her Crown, apprehending ſhe might be diveſted of it for embracing the *Romiſh* Religion, by thoſe very Subjects that had held her before in the greateſt Veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a Father, who had rais'd them to the higheſt pitch of Glory, that ever the *Swediſh* Nation arriv'd to. Beſides, he might have remember'd what his Mother ſaid, upon her return to *Somerſet* Houſe after the *Reſtoration*, *That if ſhe had known the temper of the People of* England *ſome Years paſt, as well as ſhe did then, ſhe had never been oblig'd to leave that Houſe.* But the Hiſtory of his Anceſtors might have more fully inform'd him, that thoſe that graſp'd at *Immoderate* Power, or a *Prerogative* above the Law, were

Danger in altering Religion.

were always unfortunate, and their Reigns Inglorious. A. D. 1685.

But King *James* in all probability had other Sentiments put into his Head, and that he might, with much more eaſe and ſafety than Queen *Mary*, overturn the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and ſet up *Popery* in the Room of it; and to that purpoſe, made every day one Step or other to ſhew whither he was going, and expected to be follow'd, by all that intended to have any ſhare in his Favours; and therefore before his Brother's Aſhes were cold in his Grave, he cauſes it to be publiſh'd and atteſted by Father *Huddleſton*, that he died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and printed it with the Papers taken out of his Brother's *ſtrong Box*, ſhewing, that tho' he outwardly pretended otherwiſe in his life, yet in his heart he was truly a *Roman* Catholick, and left his Reaſons for it behind him. This could never be thought maintaining the Church of *England*, no more than his publiſhing a Proclamation for levying that part of the *Cuſtoms*, that had been granted to his Brother only for Life, and expired at his Death, was an Argument he would preſerve the Subjects in their Rights and Properties; ſo that the two great things he promis'd in his Speech to the *Council*, were the firſt things in which he broke his word; for levying Money without conſent of his People in Parliament, was an open violation of our Fundamental Conſtitution, and could have no other deſign, but to ſhew that he intended to govern *Arbitrarily*; for otherwiſe it was needleſs at that time, ſince a Parliament was to meet within a few days, which no body doubted would, in a Parliamentary way continue the ſame Cuſtoms for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

A Proclamation for levying the Cuſtoms.

You heard in the cloſe of the late Reign, that two Bills of Indictment for *Perjury* were preferr'd againſt *Titus Oates*, to which he pleading Not Guilty, the Iſſues were to be try'd at *Weſtminſter* the Term following, where now he was found Guilty of *Perjury upon both Indictments, and Sentenc'd to be Whipp'd from* Aldgate *to* Newgate *the next* Wedneſday *after, and the* Friday *following, but one day between, from* Newgate *to* Tyburn; which was executed with the utmoſt ſeverity, the Stripes of the firſt Whpping being

Oates's Sentence and Sufferings.

A. D. 1685.

ing ſo ſore and Green upon the Second, that it was intolerable to ſee, much more to ſuffer; and to this was added in the Sentence, *That he ſhould ſtand in the Pillory five times in the Year, and remain a Priſoner during life.*

His Majeſty being ſolemnly crown'd the 23d of *April* at *Weſtminſter*, he iſſu'd out Writs for the ſitting of a *Parliament* on *May* the 22d; to whom, after having repeated the ſame things he had ſpoken to the *Council* before, he proceeded to tell them, *That after having given them ſuch aſſurances, he could not doubt of a ſuitable return on their part, and particularly in what related to the ſettling of his Revenue, as it was in his Brother's time, for which he might uſe many arguments to enforce his Demands, for the benefit of Trade, Supply of the Navy, the neceſſity of the Crown; and the well being of the Government, which he would not ſuffer to be Precarious; that he foreſaw a Popular Argument, which would be us'd againſt what he ask'd, from the inclinations Men had for frequent Parliaments, which ſome would think might be beſt ſecur'd, by feeding him from time to time, by ſuch Proportions as they ſhall think convenient; and this being the firſt time he ſpoke to them from the Throne, he would anſwer it once for all, that that would be a very improper method to take with him; but on the contrary, the beſt way to engage him to meet them often, was to uſe him* always well, *and therefore expected a ſpeedy compliance with his Demands now, that he might meet them again to all their Satisfactions.* The Parliament were reſolv'd to try his good Nature and ſhew how much they depend upon a *Royal Promiſe from the Throne*; therefore, beſides their ſettling the *Cuſtoms* and Temporary *Exciſe* upon him, as they were before upon his Brother, they laid as many new Impoſitions upon the People, as reckoning his Revenue when he was Duke of *York*, amounted to *Two Millions Five Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds* per Annum; which was three times more than any King of *England* ever had, except his Brother and *Henry* the Eighth. In the cloſe of the King's Speech, he acquainted the Parliament with the *Earl of* Argyle's *landing in* Scotland, *and threaten'd to reward his Treaſon as it deſerv'd:* And the Parliament, unwilling to give the King any juſt Cauſe of diſtaſte, they *Reſolv'd* by an Unanimous Vote, *To aſſiſt him with their*

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

His Annual Revenue.

Lives

Lives and Fortunes againſt the Earl of Argyle, *and all others his Enemies whatſover.* The Bills for ſettling his Revenue being preſented to him for the Royal aſſent, he made them another memorable Speech, wherein he gave them thanks, and in the end told them, *He could not expreſs his concern upon that occaſion more ſuitable to his own thoughts of it, than by aſſuring them he had a true* Engliſh Heart, *as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as theirs could be; and that he pleas'd himſelf with the hopes, that by God's Bleſſing and the Parliaments Aſſiſtance, he might carry the Reputation of it Higher in the World than ever it had been in the time of any of his Anceſtors.* A. D. 1685.

The Fate of the Earl of *Argyle* is the next thing in view, who being thought to be betray'd, after ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches, his Men were at length led into a Boggy ſort of Place, on pretence of bringing them out of the reach of the King's Army, then at the Heels of them; where they all loſt one another, diſpers'd and ſhifted for themſelves. The Earl himſelf being taken by a Countryman and brought to *Edinburgh*, was there put to death on the thirtieth of *June* 1685. This attempt of the Earl of *Argyle* was but like Thunder afar off, to what after happen'd in the Weſt of *England*. **Argyle** *beheaded at* **Edinburgh.**

For the Duke of *Monmouth*, ſufficiently ſtunn'd with the unexpected News of the Death of King *Charles*, having enter'd into a League with the Earl of *Argyle*, putting great confidence in his own Courage, and a vain aſſurance of a Popular Affection and Aſſiſtance, bore himſelf up againſt all pretended Difficulties, and with three ſmall Ships, and between Threeſcore and Fourſcore Men, landed about the twelfth of *June* at *Lyme* in the Weſt of *England*, while the Parliament was ſitting: A *Romantick* kind of *Invaſion*, and ſcarce parallel'd in Hiſtory; yet with this handful of Men, and afterward with the common People that join'd him, without Arms, Proviſions, Martial Diſcipline, Money, or any one place to retire to in caſe of Accidents, did this Brave unfortunate Man bid fair for a *Crown*: He landed, as was ſaid before, at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he increas'd his number to One hundred and fifty, from thence he march'd to *Taunton*, where he was Proclaim'd King, and Men flock'd to him, and Liſted under **Monmouth,** *landed at* **Lyme.**

A. D. 1685. under him as faſt, as if he had already been Maſter of the whole Country. After ſtaying there a while, he marched in ſome kind of Order to *Bridgwater*, ſtill increaſing his Numbers; from thence to *Bath*, where he was denied Entrance, the Train'd-Bands ſtill flying two days march before him, by Order from the Court, to give pretence to the King to raiſe more Forces. At *Philips Norton* by a ſurprize or Ambuſh, he cut off, the beſt part of a Troop of Horſe, the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly eſcaping with his Life. With this ſucceſs he marched within 2 Miles of *Briſtol*, where a Conſult being held, he was advis'd not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridgwater*; which was the firſt thing that diſhearten'd his Party, and hinder'd many from joining with him: Whereas if he had enter'd *Briſtol*, where there was no Force to oppoſe him but the Train'd-Bands, and the generality of them for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Diſcourſes and drinking his Health, he might have furniſh'd himſelf with Men, Arms and Money, to have enabl'd him to march into *Glouceſterſhire* among the Clothiers, where great Numbers, and ſome of Quality, waited to join him, and by this means might have kept up the War till he had ſhak'd King *James*'s Throne, if not overturn'd it.

Committed a great Errour.

When King *James* came to the Crown, the *Prince* of *Orange* try'd all poſſible means to cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with him, and to perſwade him to enter into ſuch meaſures, as might tend to the Common ſafety of *Europe*, and the Happineſs of *England*, which if King *James* had given Ear to, wou'd have preſerv'd the Crown upon his Head: And ſo cautious was he of giving him no reaſonable ground of Complaint, that tho' in King *Charles*'s time he had given the Duke of *Monmouth* a *generous Welcom*! yet as ſoon as he knew that unhappy Gentleman had invaded *England*, and was proclaim'd King, he offer'd himſelf to come over in Perſon to King *James*'s aſſiſtance, and with all expedition ſent him the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Troops that were then in the Service of the *States*; but the Prince's kindneſs was refus'd, as incompatible with his future Deſigns.

In this time the King had ſent an Army into the *Weſt* againſt *Monmouth*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham* as General, who incamp'd upon

Sedg-

Sedgmore, not far from *Bridgwater*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party were Quarter'd; and the Duke ſeeing his Men daily Deſert in great Numbers, it was agreed to make one Puſh for all, and to that purpoſe iſſu'd out of *Bridgwater* by Night; but his Guide miſtaking his way in the Dark, the Duke's *Ill Fate* lead him upon a Battallion of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment plac'd in his way; who encountering him, Allarm'd King *James*'s whole Army, with whom engaging, he was *Routed*; or in all probability he had ſurpriz'd the King's Army in their *Camp*, and perhaps at that ſingle Blow decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet however, tho' he came too ſoon, before matters were Ripe, by King *James*'s ſetting up for the open eſtabliſhment of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, yet he may be ſaid to have pav'd the Way for a *Nobler Change in the Throne*, by leaving King *James* at Liberty through this ſucceſs, to act without Controul, which at length made him Abdicate the Government. *Monmouth* paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood, being on the 15th of *July*, 1685. Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, by vertue of an *Attainder* paſs'd upon him in Parliament ſoon after his Landing.

A. D. 1685.

Monmouth's *Party routed.*

This unhappy Gentleman ſeem'd to be born for a better Fate; for the firſt part of his Life was all Sunſhine, tho' the reſt was Clouded. He was Brave, Generous, and extreamly Handſom: Conſtant in his Friendſhip, juſt to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all ſorts of Cruelty. He was ('tis true) eaſy in his Nature, and too fond of Popular Applauſe, and thoſe overweenings led him inſenſibly into all his Misfortunes: But whatever might be the hidden Deſigns of ſome Working Heads he embark'd with, his own were Noble, and chiefly aim'd at the good of his Country, tho' he was miſtaken in the means to obtain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the Degree of aſpiring to the Crown, till after his Landing in the *Weſt*, and then he was trick'd into aſſuming the Title of King, by a twofold end in thoſe that were about him. Some perſwaded him to it, with deſign to render the breach betwixt King *James* and him irreconcileable, and thereby pave a way for a Commonwealth, in playing them againſt one another. Others did it to prevent a poſſibility of his being

Monmouth *Beheaded.*

A. D. 1685. being reconcil'd to King *James*, by the Merit of delivering up thoſe that follow'd him; which was a Thought unworthy the Sincerity he had ſhewn in all the former Conduct of his Life. In ſhort, he was unhappy in his Education, and as ſoon as he began to repair that defect, by applying himſelf to Study in his Retirement, he was drawn into a Conſpiracy which brought him to his Death, which he ſuffer'd with a Conſtancy and Tranquility of mind becoming his Character.

But the Iſſue of Blood ſtopp'd not in *Monmouth*'s ſingle Perſon, for the Executions that follow'd were as *Cruel* and *Barbarous*, as ever happen'd in any Age, conſidering the Inability of the poor Creatures to do any further Michiefs. The firſt that fell under the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies* Rage, was Mrs. *Alicia Liſle*, a Woman of extream Age, who being try'd at *Wincheſter* for concealing Mr. *Hicks* a Non conformiſt Miniſter, Brother to Dean *Hicks*, of *Worceſter*, and *Richard Nelthrop*; the latter being a Stranger, and the former in no *Proclamation*, the Jury brought her in three times *Not Guilty*; but at laſt *Jefferies*'s Threats ſo far prevail'd, that ſhe was found Guilty of High Treaſon, and Beheaded for it. But not to enter into particulars, *Jefferies* caus'd twenty nine to be Executed at *Dorceſter*, near as many at *Exeter*, and at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where he finiſh'd his Campaign, he condemn'd above 500 perſons, whereof 239 were Executed, and their Quarters ſet up in the principal Places and Roads of the Country, to the great annoyance of Paſſengers. *Jefferies* alſo took the liberty to repreive ſome Perſons that had *Money*, and procur'd their Pardons afterward. From one Man he had the Conſcience to take 14500 *Pounds* to ſave him, with which he bought a fine Eſtate; but thoſe poor Wretches that could not purchaſe their Pardons at this Judges rates, were ſold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations.

The Price of a Pardon.

Nor was Judge *Jefferies* the only perſon that ſluc'd out ſtreams of Blood from theſe miſerable Creatures; but Collonel *Kirk* alſo play'd the Butcher among them; for when after the Defeat he came to *Taunton*, he caus'd Ninety wounded Men to be hang'd there with Pipes playing, Drums beating and Trumpets ſounding, making ſport at their Executions, and after

boyl'd their Quarters in *Pitch*, and ſet them up in ſe- A. D.
veral parts of the Town, when he had burnt their 1685.
Bowels. Afterward being accus'd of this Cruelty, he poſitively affirm'd, *he did nothing in it but by order from the General.*

In *October*, Mr. *Corniſh*, an Eminent Merchant, and well belov'd in *London*, was committed cloſe Priſoner into *Newgate*, and about a Week after was Try'd upon an Indictment of High Treaſon; *for that in the Year* 1682, *he had promis'd to aſſiſt in a Rebellion againſt* Charles *the Second.* The only Witneſs againſt this Gentleman was *Collonel Rumſey*, who was now grown a ſtanch Evidence to ſave his own Life; as for what *Richard Goodenough* depos'd, tho' malicious enough, it did not affect him: However, the *Worthy Citizen* was Condemned and Executed; and much lamented, as a Man that ſuffer'd unjuſtly: For Mr. *Shepherd*, who was *Subpœna'd* as a Witneſs for the King, ſwore he was not there when *Ferguſon* read the Declaration. *Mr.* Corniſh *Executed.*

Soon after the Duke of *Monmouth* was Beheaded, *George Speak*, *Francis Charleton*, *John Wildman*, Eſqs; Collonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard* Eſq; were ſummon'd by Proclamation to appear, as being ſuſpected of carrying on Traiterous Conſpiracies againſt the King; but they kept cloſe: However, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and the Lord *Delamere* were taken and committed to the *Tower*: And to conclude this Story, tho' ſomewhat out of time, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard* was Try'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, *Novemb.* 26. *for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion, and Depoſe* Charles *the Second*, and being found Guilty, was condemn'd to Dye; but afterwards he found means to procure his Pardon. *Charles Bateman* a Chyrurgeon, was Condemn'd and Executed for the ſame Treaſon, which was thought a Branch of the *Meal-Tub-Plot*. *December* the 30th, *John Hambden* Eſquire, was Arraign'd at the *Old-Baily*, for the ſame *Meal-Tub Treaſon* as *Bateman*, and pleading Guilty, the Sentence of Death was immediately paſs'd upon him, but after Pardon'd. The Lord *Delamere* being Try'd by his *Peers*, Chancellor *Jeffereys* being Lord High Steward, upon an Indictment of *High Treaſon, for conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion againſt* James *the Second*, was Acquitted by his Peers, manifeſtly appearing upon the Tryal, that *Tho-*

mas

A. D. 1686.

mas Saxon a Witneſs againſt his Lordſhip was perjur'd. For which being afterwards Indicted, he was pu-niſh'd according to Law, The Earl of *Stamford*, up-on bringing his *Habeas Corpus* was admitted to Bail, and in the beginning of the Year 1686 he was *Par-don'd*, and his Bail diſcharg'd. About the beginning of *March* came out a *General Pardon*, but it was ſo Abſtruſe, Intricate and full of *Exceptions*, that none had benefit by it, but thoſe that never of-fended.

Before the attempt of the Duke of *Monmouth*, King *James* began to Cloſet Men, and by fair words and large Promiſes endeavour'd to allure them to comply with his Intentions, in eſtabliſhing *Popery*, but ſtill touch'd the point very gently; for he had not yet forgot that his Brother almoſt at his laſt Breath ad-vis'd him, *not to think of introducing Popery into* Eng-land, *It being a thing that was moſt dangerous and im-practicable.* It was alſo ſtill in his Memory, that the late *Don Pedro Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles* having ask'd leave to ſpeak his mind freely upon that occaſion, made bold to tell him, *that he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England; *but he deſir'd his Majeſty would not give Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majeſty would have reaſon to repent it when it was too late.* This Author * tells us that King *James* took Ill the freedom of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and ask'd him in Paſſion, *Whether in* Spain *they did not adviſe with their Confeſſors? Yes Sir*, anſwer'd *Ronquillo*, *we do, and that's the reaſon our Affairs go ſo ill.* The ſame Hiſtorian *Puffendorf* does likewiſe inform us, but does not tell us upon what occaſion, that *Pope Innocent the* XI. writ a Letter to King *James* upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this purpoſe, *That he was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead of contribu-ting to his own Greatneſs, and to the advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do it and him-ſelf the greateſt Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd by long experience, could not ſucceed.* Theſe things prevail'd a while with King *James*, to moderate his Paſſion for the *Romiſh* Cauſe;

Good Advice given the King.

Puffendorf.

but

but when the Storm that *Monmouth* rais'd was blown over, he thought it time to caſt off the Mask, and to act without diſguiſe, what till then, he had in ſome part endeavour'd to diſſemble. This Parliament had expreſs'd a more than Ordinary Zeal in *Attainting Monmouth*, and had readily granted a competent ſupply to ſuppreſs that Rebellion. Not only ſo, but to ſignify the Confidence they had in his Promiſes, the Houſe of Commons paſs'd a Vote, *Nemine contradicente, that they did acquieſce, and Intirely rely, and reſt wholly ſatisfied on his Majeſty's gracious Word and repeated Declarations, to ſupport and defend the Religion of the Church of* England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd, which was dearer to them than their lives.* So that they had reaſon to expect ſome ſuitable returns to all this Kindneſs and Confidence on their ſides, but they were miſtaken: For King *James* began to talk to them in a far different Strain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to underſtand by a plain Inſinuation, that he was now Maſter, and that for the future they muſt be govern'd, not by the known Laws of the Land, but by his own ſole Will and Pleaſure.

A. D. 1686.

He caſts off the Mask.

No part of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution was better ſecur'd by Law, than that by which Papiſts were declar'd incapable of Places of Truſt, either Civil or Military in the Government: And he himſelf (when Duke of *York*) was forc'd by the *Teſt Act*, to lay down his Office of *Lord High Admiral*, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*: But now he did what lay in his power to break down this *Barriere*, and in a Speech to his Parliament, told them, *That after the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming when he parted from them laſt, he was glad to meet them again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs. But when he reflected what an inconſiderable number of Men began the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it without any oppoſition, he hop'd every body was convinc'd, that the* Militia *was not ſufficient for ſuch occaſions, and that nothing but a good Force of Diſciplin'd Troops was ſufficient to Defend us from Inſults at home and abroad: And therefore he had increas'd the number of ſtanding Forces to what they were*; and demanded a Supply *to ſupport the Charge of them, which he*

Another Speech in another Strain.

did

A. D. 1686.

did not doubt but they would comply with. Then as the main end of his Speech, and to let them know what he was positively resolv'd to do; he added, *Let no Man take exceptions that there are some Officers in the Army, not qualified according to the late Test for their Employment: The Gentlemen I must tell you, are most of them well known to me, and having formerly serv'd me on several occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I now think them fit to be imploy'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their Services in such a time of Need and Danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary unto me;* and at last he tells them, *That he was afraid some may hope, that a difference might happen between him and his Parliament on that occasion, which he cannot apprehend can befal him, or that any thing can shake them in their Loyalties to him, who will ever make all returns of Kindness and Protection, and venture his life in the Defence of the true Interest of the Nation.*

The Parliaments Address.

It is no wonder that this Speech surpriz'd a People, who valu'd themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the *Constitution* of the Government, and the solemn repeated *Promises* of their Prince. They found too late, that their Fears in the Former Reign of a *Popish* Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a *Roman Catholick* King is to a Protestant Kingdom. The House of Lords debated, whether they should give the King Thanks for his Speech or not; Some of their Lordships were for it, others very hotly oppos'd it, but the Marquis of *Hallifax* said, *They had now more reason than ever to do it, since the King had dealt so plainly with them, and discover'd what he would be at*, and accordingly gave him thanks; but the Commons debated it Paragraph by Paragraph, and at last in humble manner represented the Inconvenience that might attend such measures, at least to render him inexcusable for what might ensue; and that they might not be wanting to themselves and their Posterity, they voted an Address, wherein they told the King, *That they had with all Duty and readiness, taken into Consideration his Majesty's Gracious Speech,*

Speech, and as to that part of it, relating to the Officers of the Army unqualified for their Employments, according to the Act of Parliament, they did out of their Bounden Duty, humbly represent to his Majesty, that these Officers, by Law, could not be capable of their Employments, and that the Incapacities they bring upon themselves that way, could no ways be taken off but by an Act of Parliament, therefore out of that great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to his Majesty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Inconveniency they had now incurr'd. And because the continuing them in their Employments may be taken to be a Dispensing with Law, without an Act of Parliament, the consequence of which was of the greatest concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the security of their Religion; therefore they most humbly beseech his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give such Directions therein, that no Apprehensions or Jealousies might remain in the Hearts of his Subjects. A. D. 1686.

Over and above what was contain'd in this Address, the House of *Commons* were willing to Capacitate by an Act of Parliament, such a number of the *Roman* Catholick Officers, as King *James* should give a List of; but both this *Offer* and the *Address* were highly resented; and notwithstanding that they were preparing a Bill for a considerable Supply, to answer his extraordinary occasions, and had sent one of their *Members* to the *Tower* for speaking indecently of his Speech, King *James* was Influenc'd by the *Popish* Party about him, to dissolve and part with his first and only Parliament, upon the Fourth day after they presented their Address. To which I shall only add, that the Revocation of the *Edict of Nants* (in favour of the *French* Protestants) which probably had been some time before under consideration, was now put in Execution to the Astonishment of all *Europe*. *The Parliament dissolv'd.*

Now tho' things were transacted hitherto in the Dark in *England*, yet the *Popish* Designs from the very beginning of this Reign appear'd Bare-fac'd in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was remov'd from the Office of Privy Seal, and the Government of *Ireland*, to make room for the Earl of *Arundel* in the former, and for Collonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man of all others most hated by the *English* Protestants, to Model

A. D. 1686.

Affairs in Ireland.

Model the Army in *Ireland*, who was no ſooner inveſted in this Office, but he proſecuted it in ſuch a manner, as might beſt be expected from a Man of ſo inſolent a temper, exerciſing at the ſame time ſo much *Barbarity* and *Falſhood*, that if the Army had not been the beſt Princip'l'd with Loyalty and Obedience in the World, they had either Mutinied, or at leaſt ſent him into another World. At King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the Army of *Ireland* conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand Men, all Proteſtants and zealous in his Service, which were all turn'd out, and the whole Army made up of Papiſts, moſt of them Deſcendants or near Relations of thoſe that were Attainted for the Rebellion in 1641, or others that had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſince that time, by their notorious Villanies and implacable Hatred to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Intereſt. Now the Proteſtant Sir *Charles Porter*, Chancellor, and the Judges were turned out, and the *Great Seal* was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Perſon Convicted of *Forgery* in *Weſtminſter Hall* and at *Cheſter*, and Fined for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of the *King's-Bench Priſon* to diſcharge the Office of *Lord High Chancellor*, who had no other Qualities to recommend him, but his being a Convert to the *Romiſh* Church, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Country. To him were added as Maſters in Chancery one *Stafford* a Popiſh Prieſt, and *O Neal*, the Son of one of the moſt notorious Murderers in the Maſſacre of 1641. One *Nugent*, whoſe Father had loſt his Honour and Eſtate, for being a Principal Actor in the ſame Rebellion, was made Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*. One *Rice* a Profligate Fellow was made Lord Chief *Baron* of the *Exchequer* before whom all the Charters in the Kingdom were made void in a Term or two; inſomuch that the Learned Prelate Doctor *King* ſays, that if this Judge had been let alone, it was believ'd, that in a few Years, he would by ſome contrivance or other, have given away moſt of the Proteſtants Eſtates in *Ireland* without troubling a Parliament to *Attaint* them. A Proteſtant Chief Juſtice was continued in the Commmon *Pleas*, but was Crampt with two others of their own, that might out-vote him upon occaſion.

Fitton's *Qualifications.*

Colonel

Collonel *Richard Talbot*, for his good Service in Reforming the Army, was made *Earl of Tyrconnel*, and afterwards at the requeſt of the *Popiſh Clergy*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and now the Papiſts there carried all things before them, and the Proteſtants were not only oppreſs'd, but render'd Infamous; for their Lord *Chancellor* had ſaid upon the *Bench* and other Occaſions, *That the Proteſtants were all Rogues*; *and that among Forty Thouſand of them, there was not one that was not a Traitor, a Rebel, and a Villain.* The *Privy Council* in *Ireland*, which is a great part of the Conſtitution, was likewiſe ſo Modell'd, that the Papiſts made the Majority, and thoſe few that were Proteſtants, choſe for the moſt part to decline appearing at the Board, ſince they could do thoſe of their Religion no Service. The only great Nurſery of Learning in *Ireland* is the Univerſity of *Dublin*, conſiſting of a *Provoſt*, Seven *Senior*, and Nine *Junior* Fellows, and Seventy Scholars, who are partly maintained by a Yearly Salary out of the Exchequer. This Salary *Tyrconnel* ſtopt for their not Admitting into a Vacant Fellowſhip, contrary to their Oaths, a Vicious Ignorant Fellow, who was a New Convert. Nor could he ever be prevail'd with to remove the ſtop, and ſo in effect diſſolv'd the Foundation, and ſhut up the Fountain of *Learning* and *Religion.*

A. D. 1686.

Talbot *made Earl of* Tyrconnel.

Further, to try how the Pulſe of *England* would beat, and how they reſented theſe Proceedings, King *James* began to raiſe the Superſtructure of *Arbitrary Power* in *Scotland*, upon the Foundation he had laid, when he was Commiſſioner there for his Brother: Here he Reap'd a full Harveſt of his hopes, and ſcarce left the leaſt remains of Antient Liberty in that Kingdom. Their Miſeries were all ſumm'd up in one New Coin'd Word, which was us'd in all the King's *Declarations*, which was this. *That his Subjects were obliged to Obey him without Reſerve*, which fully expreſt their Abſolute Slavery, and to give this Project the greater Force, the following Oath was impoſed upon them.

Proceedings in Scotland.

You ſhall ſwear to the utmoſt of your Power, to Defend, aſſiſt and Maintain the King, and his Succeſſors, in the Exerciſe of their Abſolute Power.

A. D. 1686. Here he publiſh'd his Declaration of *Liberty of Conſcience*, and what was call'd *Diſpencing* with *Laws* in *England*, was explain'd in *Scotland* under their proper terms of *Annulling* and *Diſabling Laws*; and having called a Parliament there in *April* 1686, recommended his *Innocent Roman Catholick Subjects to their ſpecial care, that they might enjoy the ſame Protection and Security under his Government, as the reſt of his Subjects had, and not ſuffer them to lye under obligations, which their Religion cannot admit of.*

Danger-field *whipt and killed.*

But to return to *England*. *Dangerfield* in his Depoſitions before the Parliament 1680, had diſcovered that he was employ'd by the *Popiſh* Party to kill the King, and was promis'd Impunity and a Reward, part of which he had received from the Duke of *York*; for which in Trinity Term, 1686. he was tryed in *Weſtminſter Hall*, upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, was found Guilty, and ſentenc'd to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. In his return from whipping, being in a Coach, he had reproachful words given him, and was wounded in the Eye with the Iron at the end of a Cane, by one Mr. *Robert Francis*, of which wound, with the pain of his whipping, *Dangerfield* dyed ſoon after, and *Francis* was Executed for Killing him: Tho' it is ſtill a queſtion whether he dyed of the Wound, or by the ſeverity of his Whipping. The Diſcovery that *Dangerfield* made, was that which was then call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Presbyterians*. His Information was order'd to be printed by the Houſe of Commons on *November* 10th, 1680; and afterwards their Speaker Mr. *Williams* was fined ten thouſand pounds for Licencing it (tho' by Order of the Commons) to be Printed, but came off upon paying 8000 *l.* The ſame Term or the next, Mr. *Samuel Johnſon, a Man of Good Life and Learning*, was Sentenc'd by the Court of *King's Bench*, Sir *Edward Herbert* being Chief Juſtice, to ſtand three times in the *Pillory*, and be Whipp'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was ſeverely Executed upon him, for doing a ſeaſonable piece of ſervice, in making the following Addreſs to the *Engliſh Proteſtants* in King *James's* Army.

Mr. Speaker* Williams *Fined.

Gentle-

A. D. 1686.

Gentlemen,

Next to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to be the Principal Care of Men of your Profession, which carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the face, is the Service of your Native Country, *wherein you drew your first Breaths, and breathe a Free* English *Air. Now I desire you to consider, how you will comply with these two main Points by engaging in the Present Service. Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that you have join'd your selves with* Papists? *Who indeed must fight for the* Mass-Book, *but will* burn the Bible, *and who seek to extirpate the Protestant Religion with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own. And will you be aiding and assisting to set up* Mass-Houses, *to erect that Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children in* Popery! *How can you do these things and call your selves* Protestants.

Mr. Johnson's *Address to the Army.*

What service can you do your Country, by being under the Command of French, *and* Irish Papists, *and by bringing the Nation under a Foreign Yoke; Will you help them to make forcible entry into the Houses of your Countrymen, under the name of Quartering, contrary to* Magna Charta *and* Petition of Right? *Will you be aiding and assisting to all the Murder and Outrages, which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declared Illegal, and sufficiently Blasted by both Houses of Parliament, if there had been any need of it; for it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a Commission, but by* Law *is utterly disabled and disarm'd.* Will you exchange your *Birth-right of* English *Laws and Liberties, for* Martial and Club Law, *and help to destroy all others, only at last to be eaten up your selves? If I know you well, as you are* English-men, *you hate and scorn those things. Therefore be not unequally yoked with Idolatrous and Bloody Papists: Be valiant for the Truth, and shew your selves Men. The same Considerations are likewise Humbly offered to all* English Seamen, *who have been the Bulwark of this Nation against* Popery and Slavery *ever since* 1588.

Miles France being Indicted at the *King's Bench* Bar for *Perjury*, in the Evidence he gave against *Green, Berry* and *Hill*, for the Murder of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, in hopes to mitigate his Sentence Pleaded

A. D. 1686. *Guilty*, and was Fined a hundred Pound, to ſtand three times in the Pillory, to be whipp'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to be committed in Execution till he had paid his Fine: But his Whipping was pardon'd becauſe he confeſſed his Crime.

A new Lord Chancellor.

Now the Lord Keeper *North* dying, when *Jefferies* was at his Campaign in the Weſt, not long after his Return he was made a *Peer*, under the Title of Lord *Jefferies* Baron of *Wem*; and being after made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, things were carried towards *Popery* and *Arbitrary* Power, with all the Diligence and Heats imaginable. The Judges were interrogated about their Inclinations to ſet up a *Diſpenſing Power*; and thoſe that would not comply with the Project were turned out, and known *Papiſts* were put in their Places. Sir *Edward Herbert* was put out from being Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench*, and *Wright* put in, to hang a poor Soldier for deſerting in time of Peace, which was refuſed to be done by Sir *John Holt*, then Recorder of *London*, for which he was diſmiſs'd. The firſt Man the King attempted to perſwade into a Compliance with the Diſpenſing Power, was Sir *Thomas Jones*; and he denying to act ſo illegally, the King told him, *He would have twelve Judges of his Opinion*; and Sir *Thomas* reply'd, *That poſſibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but never would find twelve Lawyers of it:* And indeed it was not long before he furniſh'd himſelf with ſuch a Set of Judges, that to their eternal Reproach, did all was poſſible for them to complement the King with the Liberties of their Country. For theſe Gentlemen gave it out for Law,

The Judges judg'd againſt Law.

That the Laws of England *are the King's Laws.*

That therefore it's an incident, inſeparable Prerogative of the Kings of England, *as of all other Soveraign Princes, to Diſpence with all Penal Laws in particular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons.*

That of thoſe Reaſons and Neceſſities the King is the ſole Judge. And which is a Conſequent thereupon,

That this is not a Truſt inveſted in or granted to the King, but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings of England, *which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.* Thus the Men whoſe Office it was to ſupport the Laws, became now the Betrayers of them to the *Will* of the Prince. This mighty point being

being gain'd, the Papiſts were not wanting to make the beſt uſe of it for themſelves. The free and open exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where, and *Jeſuit Schools* and *Seminaries* erected in the moſt conſiderable Towns. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the National Church, and *Romiſh* Candidates had ſwallowed up its Preferments and Dignities already in their hopes. *Romiſh Biſhops* were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chappel, and diſpatch'd down to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſes. Their Paſtoral Letters, directed to the Lay Catholicks of *England*, were openly diſperſed up and down, and Printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licence. The *Regular* Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and *St. James*'s, and made no ſcruple to tell the Proteſtants, *They hoped in a little time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide. A mighty Harveſt of *New Converts* was now expected, and that Labourers might not be wanting, ſhoals of *Prieſts* and *Regulars* were ſent over from beyond Sea to reap it. The only ſtep to Preferment, was to be of the King's Religion; and to Preach againſt the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, was the height of Diſloyalty, becauſe forſooth, it tended to alienate the Subjects Affections from the King. And tho' by Law it was *High Treaſon* for any to aſſume the Character of the *Pope's Nuncio*; yet this was too ſlender a Cobweb to hinder a *Roman* Prelate to appear publickly in *London* in that Quality; and the Duke of *Somerſet*, one of the greateſt Peers in *England*, was diſgrac'd for not paying him that reſpect, in attending him to his Audience, which the Laws of the Land made Criminal.

A. D. 1686.

The Pope's Nuncio in England.

April the 16th, 1686, *George* Duke of *Buckingham* died at his Houſe in *Yorkſhire*, not much lamented, nor at all evil ſpoken of. He was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and whenever he thought fit to make uſe of them, no Man diſcover'd a farther ſight into Affairs, or a better Judgment: And this may be ſaid in his Commendation, that *he was a true Lover of his Country, and a perfect Enemy to the* French *Intereſt.*

Now ſo fond was the Governing Party about King *James*, to ſhew their new acquired *Trophies* at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was diſpatch'd thither in Quality of *Extraordinary Ambaſſador*, with a magnifi-

An Ambaſſador ſent to Rome.

A. D. 1686. cent Train and a moſt ſumptuous Equipage. What his ſecret Inſtructions were, may be partly gueſs'd at by his publick ones, which were to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Holy See, from which, for more than an Age, they had fallen off by Hereſie. *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Embaſſy as one that ſaw further than thoſe who ſent it. The Ambaſſador had but a cold Reception of the *Holy Father*; and none of the Cardinals but thoſe of a particular Faction, and the good-natur'd Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any farther notice of it, than what good Manners oblig'd them to. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Polititians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noiſe, and knew the World too well to expect great matters from ſuch haſty ill-tim'd Advances as were made to them. Not only ſo, but *Innocent* having an Averſion in his Nature to a Faction he knew King *James* was embark'd in, which he never took pains to diſſemble, was not over-fond of an Embaſſy from a Prince, who was in an Intereſt he had long wiſh'd to ſee humbled. King *James* met with nothing but Mortification from *Rome* in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador, which occaſion'd his making as ſhort a ſtay as was poſſible. In which may be ſeen the vaſt Difference there was at that time betwixt the Politicks of *Italy* and thoſe of a hot-headed Party in *England*. And however the World has been impos'd upon to believe that the *Pope's Nuncio* at the *Engliſh* Court, who is ſince made a Cardinal, was an Inſtrument to puſh things to Extremities, yet certain it is, he had too much *good ſenſe* to approve of all the Meaſures that were taken; and therefore often deſir'd to be recall'd, leſt he ſhould be thought to have a hand in them.

The Embaſſy ſlighted. *Caſtlemain* had ſeveral Audiences of the *Pope*, but to little purpoſe; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, the *Pope* was ſeaſonably attack'd *with a Fit of Coughing*: which broke off the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe for that time, and oblig'd him to Retire. Theſe *Audiences* and *Fits of Coughing* continued from time to time while *Caſtlemain* ſtay'd at *Rome*, and were the Subject of Diverſion to all but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was adviſ'd to proceed to Threats, and to give it out that he would be gone, ſince he could not have an opportunity to treat with the

the *Pope* about the Buſineſs he came for. *Pope Innocent* was ſo little concern'd at the Ambaſſador's Reſentments, that when they told him of it, he anſwer'd with his ordinary Coldneſs, *E bene; ſe vuol anderſene, ditegli adonque che ſi levi di buon matino al freſco, e che mezzogiorno ſi reposi, per che in queſti paeſi non biſogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno. Very well; e'en let him go; and tell him, he was beſt to riſe early in the Morning, that he might reſt himſelf at Noon; for in this Country it's dangerous to travel in the heat of the Day.* Not long after he was recall'd, being able to obtain of the *Pope* but two inconſiderable things, *viz.* A Licence for the *Mareſchal Humieres*'s Daughter to marry her Uncle, and the other a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the *Jeſuits Order*, that Father *Peters* might enjoy a Biſhoprick; the want of which, was ſuppoſed to be the reaſon that the *Archbiſhoprick* of *York* was kept ſo long vacant. But what was wanting in the *Pope* was ſupply'd by the *Jeſuits*, who paid the Ambaſſador the higheſt reſpect imaginable: They entertain'd him in their *Seminary* with the greateſt Magnificence, and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art to grace his Reception. All their Stores of *Sculpture*, *Painting*, *Poetry* and *Rhetorick*, ſeem to have been exhauſted upon this occaſion. Among many other Panegyricks upon King *James*, the following Diſtich was plac'd below an Emblem of *England*:

A. D. 1686.

The Jeſuits treat him.

Reſtituit Veterem tibi Religionis honorem
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.

Noveau Voyage d' Italia.

The open Zeal of this magnanimous King has reſtor'd to England *its Antient Religion.*

To recite all their *Devices* might be thought an impertinent Undertaking; however, I cannot omit one, which was, *A Lilly, from whoſe Leaves diſtill'd ſome drops of Water*, which, as the Naturaliſts obſerve, becomes the Seed of new Lillies; and the Motto was, *Lachrimor in Prolem*; *I weep for Children*: and underneath was this Diſtich:

Pro Natis, Jacobe, Gemis, Flos candide Regum?
Hos Natura Tibi ſe negit, Aſtra dabunt.

O James! doſt thou ſigh for Children! Thou beſt of Kings, if Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.

A. D. 1686.

There was another Inſcription that gave great Diverſion to the *Wits* of *Rome* in deſcanting upon them; and no wonder; for tho the Words are ill choſe, and ſo perplex'd that 'tis hard to give the nice Interpretation of them, yet to me they look very odly, as to King *Charles*'s Death. They run thus:

Jacobo Secundo Angliæ Regi
Quod ipſo vita exemplo preunte,
Et impellente conſiliis,
Carolus Frater Et Rex
Mortem obierat ad modum piam:
Regnaturus a Tergo Frater
Alas Carolo *addidit;*
Et
Ut Cælo dignum,
Et
Dignum ſe Rege Legatum, eligeret,
Fratrem Miſit.

To James *the Second, King of* England; *for having by his Example and Advice, prevail'd with his Brother* Charles *to die a Pious Death. And being to ſucceed him, gave Wings to* Charles: *And that he might chuſe an Ambaſſador worthy of Heaven and himſelf to give notice of it, he ſent his Brother.*

Now came out the Popular Engine which was likely to do moſt Execution, by weakning the National Eſtabliſh'd Church, and dividing Proteſtants among themſelves, when in the mean time the *Papiſts* were to be the only Gainers. It was diſguis'd under the ſpecious Name of *Liberty of Conſcience*, and in great meaſure anſwer'd their ends; for the Diſſenters were not ſo fond of Perſecution and hard Uſage, as to refuſe a Liberty that was ſo freely offer'd them; nor did they think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, as long as they were ſhelter'd by it from Oppreſſion; but on the contrary, were ſo *hasty* and forward in their *Addreſſes* of Thanks to the King, that they gave themſelves no time to conſider either the Tendency of this ſeeming Kindneſs, or in what *Hyperbolical* and *Nauſeous Flattery* they expreſs'd their Gratitude. Nay, ſome of their Addreſſes were ſo ſtuff'd with abominable Praiſes, that he muſt have abundance of Charity, that did not call them

The Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

them downright Blaſphemy: But the Church of *England* ſaw through this Contrivance, and dreaded the Conſequences; being now made ſenſible, that thoſe that put them upon Executing the *Penal Laws* againſt the Diſſenters, did but make them Properties to hinder the Diſſenters from uniting with the Church of *England*, and play them one againſt another, that their Diviſions might add Strength enough to the *Papiſts* to deſtroy them both. A. D. 1686.

Another Project was alſo ſet on foot for the ſame purpoſe, in advancing their *Romiſh* Cauſe, and that was an *Order* directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops, to *Diſcharge all their Inferior Clergy from Preaching upon Controverted Points in Divinity:* which in effect was, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the ſame time attack'd by the *Romiſh Prieſts*, with all the Vigour they were capable of; and their Sermons and other Diſcourſes Printed by Authority. But notwithſtanding this Inſinuating Letter of the King's to the Biſhops, the *Clergy of the Church of England* were not wanting in their Duty; for, to their immortal Honour, they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings which they Publiſh'd, than ever had been done at Home or abroad ſince the *Reformation*; and in ſuch a Stile, and with ſuch an inimitable force of Reaſoning, as will be a *Standard* of Writing to ſucceeding Ages. *An Order about Preachers.*

To haſten the Building of their *Babel*, the next thing the King did was to grant an *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, directed to the Ld. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Ld. *Chancellor*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Ld. *High Treaſurer*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs upon them, in the largeſt Extent that ever had been known in *England*. By it they had Power to Regulate all Affairs, and puniſh all Abuſes: To make new Laws, to Reform or Aboliſh any Ancient Conſtitution, notwithſtanding any Privileges, Rights, Cuſtoms, Prerogatives, or Exemptions whatſoever, and all their Acts were to paſs under a Peculiar Seal, in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Bridgman* their *The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.*

A. D. 1687. their Secretary, encircl'd with this Inſcription, *Sigillum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refuſed to act from the beginning, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* excuſed himſelf after he came to ſee where the Deſign of it was levelled: upon which the Commiſſion was alter'd, and the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Chief Juſtice *Wright*, and Baron *Jenner*, were put in their rooms. Theſe Commiſſioners thought fit to begin the Exerciſe of their New Power with the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton, Lord Biſhop of London.* This Noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth, and Station in the Church, had acquir'd the Love and Eſteem of all the Proteſtant Churches both at Home and Abroad, and was for that reaſon the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. They had waited for an occaſion to ennoble their *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with ſuch an Illuſtrious Sacrifice; and ſuch an occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, now Archbiſhop of *York*.

Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of London.

The Prieſts about the King knowing how much it was their Intereſt that the *Proteſtant Clergy* ſhould not have leave to refute the Errors of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons, had adviſ'd him to ſend to the Biſhops the enſnaring *Letter* or *Order* above-mentioned, containing Directions about Preachers. The Learned Dr. *Sharp* taking occaſion in ſome of his Sermons to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in oppoſition to *Popery*; this, in the Court Dialect, was underſtood to be, *The endeavouring to beget in the minds of his Hearers, an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies, to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion*, and conſequently *a Contempt of the Order againſt Preachers.* Whereupon the King ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, containing an Order to Suſpend Dr. *Sharp* from Preaching in any Pariſh or Chapel in his Dioceſe, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure ſhould be known. The Biſhop of *London* perceiving what was aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threaten'd him, and the Church of *England* through his ſides. He writ a Letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King; ſetting forth, *That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majeſty in* what-

whatever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe Conſcience: But in this, he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge: And by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cauſe, and has Cited the Party. That however, he had acquainted Dr. Sharp *with his Majeſty's Pleaſure, whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.* A. D. 1687.

Together with this Letter from the Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *Sharp* carry'd with him a Petition to the King in his own Name; ſhewing, *That ever ſince his Majeſty was pleas'd to give notice of his Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the publick Exerciſe of his Function: And as he had endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could to his Majeſty, and his late Brother, in his Station, ſo he had not vented now in the Pulpit, any thing tending to Faction or Schiſm: And therefore prayed his Majeſty would be pleas'd to lay aſide his Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and reſtore him to that favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoy'd.* All this Submiſſion was to no purpoſe: Nothing would ſatisfie the Party, but a Revenge upon the *Biſhop of London*, for his Exemplary Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp*'s was made uſe of as a handle to mortifie him, and in his Perſon the whole Body of the Clergy. The Biſhop was Cited before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for not Suſpending Dr. *Sharp* according to the King's Order, and treated at his Appearance, by their Chairman *Jefferies*, in a manner unworthy of his Station and Quality. All the Defence he could make, and his Plea to the Juriſdiction and Legality of the Court, *which was good beyond all Contradiction*, did ſignifie nothing. Theſe new *Inquiſitors* being reſolv'd to ſtick at nothing that might pleaſe that Party that ſet them at work, did *by their Definitive Sentence, Declare, Decree, and Pronounce, That the Biſhop of* London *ſhould for his Diſobedience and Contempt be Suſpended during his Majeſty's Pleaſure: and accordingly was Suſpended, with a Peremptory Admonition to Abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office, and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, during the ſaid Suſpenſion, under the pain of Deprivation, and being Removed from his Biſhoprick.*

Dr. Sharp's *Petition.*

The Biſhop of London *Suſpended.*

In purſuance of the full Execution of this Sentence, an Order was ſent by the Meſſengers attending the Court,

A. C. 1687. Court, to the Dean of St. *Paul's*, commanding him to cauſe the ſaid Sentence to be fixt upon the Door of the *Chapter-Houſe*, and the South-door of the ſame Cathedral Church, that Publick Notice might be taken of it.

Addreſſes without number. We are now arriv'd as far as *June* 1687, but nothing remarkable happen'd all this Summer: The whole Kingdom was ſo taken up in making Addreſſes of Thanks for the King's Promiſe of Protecting them in their Liberties and Properties, that nothing elſe could be thought upon; and one would have thought that the King had been unremoveable from his Throne, there was ſuch a world of Loyalty pretended, and that ſuch an Hoſt of *Addreſſes* had been able to ſecure any Ten Princes in the World, tho' their hands had been ty'd behind them. The King being lull'd into an Opinion that he had gain'd his point, took a long Progreſs round the North-Weſt part of *England*, viſiting ſeveral Towns and Cities in the Kingdom, and Touching for the Evil wherever he came; the number of the whole being computed to be above five thouſand Perſons. And all the while, for the Security of the Nation, the King's Army lay encampt upon *Hounſlow Heath*. Upon the *Lord Mayor*'s Day following the *Pope's Nuncio* dined at *Guild-hall*, which was a Show that had not been ſeen there before, in many Deſcents of our Anceſtors. In *February* the Regulation of the *Preſs* was taken into Conſideration by the Privy Council, and a Proclamation iſſued out, grounded upon a Statute made in the 14th of King *Charles* II. prohibiting the Sale, or expoſing to Sale all Unlicens'd, Seditious, and Treaſonable Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties provided by the ſaid *Act*: Together with another Proclamation, That whoever ſhould apprehend any *Robber* or *Highway-man*, and cauſe him to be brought into Cuſtody, ſhould within fifteen days after his Conviction have a Reward of Ten Pounds for every Offender ſo Apprehended. About the middle of *March* a Proclamation was Iſſu'd out, commanding the Return of all the King's Subjects who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the *States General of the United Provinces*, either by Sea or Land; tho' upon no other Allegation, than that the King thought it for his Service.

A Proclamation for the Engliſh *to return home.*

This

This *Proclamation* caus'd a Diſpute among the *States General*, the Reſult of which ſeem'd to be an Unwillingneſs to let the *Engliſh* Regiments return; alledging there was nothing more agreeable to Nature, than that thoſe which were born free, ſhould have the Right and Liberty to ſettle themſelves in any place that they thought moſt advantageous to their better Subſiſtence. The *Marquis of Albeville*, the King's *Envoy* Extraordinary, by Expreſs Orders from his Maſter, deliver'd in a Memorial to the *States*, peremptorily demanding their Return; for that pretended Natural Liberty could not ſubſiſt, after *Dominion* and *Obedience* had been made Reciprocal, and therefore inſiſted upon his Demand, as a Right the King would never depart from. But it ſeems few or none were willing to return; which juſtified the Reſolutions of the *States General*, and render'd the Endeavours of the Marquis ineffectual. A. D. 1687.

The Caſe of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

The next that felt the Weight of the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* were both the Univerſities, tho' the Storm fell firſt upon the Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *for refuſing to admit one* Alban Francis *a Benedictine Monk to the Degree of Maſter of Arts, without taking the Oaths*, according to the King's Mandate, who therein Diſpenc'd with *Francis* for taking them. This Letter being read in the *Conſiſtory*, it was agreed by all, that they could not admit the *Monk* to a Degree, without taking the uſual Oaths, *unleſs they broke their own*: and therefore appointed two of their Body to go and acquaint the King, how ready they were to comply with all his Commands, where they could obey without offending their Conſciences, or running into wilful *Perjury*, which they humbly hop'd his Majeſty would not force them to, in this Caſe of *Alban Francis*; for they could not (by the *Statutes* of the Univerſity) admit him to a Degree, without bringing that Guilt upon themſelves. When the two *Fellows* came to *London*, they addreſs'd themſelves to their *Chancellour*, *the Duke of Albemarle*, who befriended them all he could, but to no purpoſe: At length they receiv'd this Anſwer from the Secretary of State, *That his Majeſty had ſeen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at the Proceedings of the Univerſity*, and would take order ſhortly to give them a farther Anſwer. What that Anſwer was, appear'd in

A. D. 1687. in a little time, for *Atterbury* the Messenger came to *Cambridge*, with a Summons for the Vice-Chancellour, to appear before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, and anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected against him on his Majeſty's behalf. The *Vice-Chancellour Dr. Peachel* and eight more of that Body appear'd, and put in his Anſwer in Writing in the Name of the Univerſity, Reciting three *Acts of Parliaments* in their Juſtification, with many unanſwerable Arguments againſt the *Illegality* of this New Court, which being read, the Court adjourned till *Saturday* the 7th of *May*: That day being come, and the *Vice-Chancellor* and *Delegates* appearing, after ſome trifling Queſtions propounded by the Chancellor, they were commanded to withdraw; and being call'd in again, he told the *Vice-Chancellor* of *Cambridge*, that he being Guilty of great Diſobedience to the Kings Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts, the Court had ſentenc'd him *To be deprived of his Office of Vice Chancellor, and Suſpended him* ab Officio & Beneficio *of his Headſhip of* Magdalen *Colledge, and that he ſhould not preſume to meddle in any Publick buſineſs relating to the Univerſity.*

The caſe of Magdalen *Coll.* Oxford.

The *Preſident* and *Fellows of St. Mary Magdalen's Colledge in Oxford* were the next Triumphs of this new Inquiſition. That College is one of the Nobleſt Foundations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the world, and therefore 'twas no Wonder it was one of the firſt Marks that were ſhot at. This *Illuſtrious* Society, from Repeated Grants of *Kings*, Ratified in *Parliament*, and from their own *Statutes*, were in an uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of a Right to Elect their own *Preſident*. That Place being Vacant by the Death of *Doctor Clark*, a Day was appointed by the Vice Preſident and Fellows, to proceed to the Election of another, to fill up the Vacancy. But before the day of Election came, Mr. *Charnock*, one of the Fellows, (who was ſince Executed for the late Plot to Aſſaſſinate his preſent Majeſty) brought them a *Mandate* from King *James*, to Elect one *Farmer* into the Place; a Man of an Ill Reputation, who had promiſed to *declare himſelf a Papiſt*, and was altogether Uncapable of the Office by the Statutes of the Colledg. This *Mandate* the Vice Preſident and Fellows receiv'd with all decent Reſpect; and ſent

their

their humble Addreſs to the King, repreſenting to his Majeſty, That *Farmer* was a perſon in ſeveral reſpects incapable of that Office, according to the Founders Statutes: And therefore did Humbly beſeech his Majeſty, *either to leave them to the Diſcharge of their Duty and Conſciences, according to his Majeſty's late Gracious Declaration, and their Founders Statutes, or elſe recommend to them ſuch a Perſon who might be more Serviceable to his Majeſty and the College.* A. D. 1687.

Notwithſtanding this Humble and Submiſſive Addreſs, King *James* ſignified his pleaſure to them *That he expected to be Obeyed.* Upon which, the Fellows being obliged by the Statutes of their Society, to which they were ſworn, not to delay the Election longer than ſuch a day; and *Farmer* being a perſon they could not chuſe, without incurring the Sin of Perjury, they proceeded to Election, and choſe Dr. *Hough* (now Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*) their Preſident. Hereupon the new Preſident and Fellows were cited before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, for diſobeying the Kings Mandate, and notwithſtanding they made it appear by their Anſwer, *That they could not comply with that Mandate without breach of their Oath, and that there was no room left for the King to diſpence with that Oath, becauſe in the Oath it ſelf they were ſworn not to make uſe of ſuch Diſpenſation, nor in any ſort conſent thereto:* Yet againſt all Law, the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* did by their Sentence deprive Dr. *Hough*, and ſuſpended two of the Fellows from their Fellowſhips: While the King at the ſame time inhibited the College *to Elect or Admit any perſon whatſoever into any Fellowſhip, or any other Place or Office in the ſaid Colledge, till his further pleaſure.* At this hearing, Dr. *Fairfax* (now Dean of *Norwich*) ſeeming to diſlike what the reſt of the Delegates had done, deſired he might have leave to put in a Plea for himſelf; and Chancellor *Jefferies* being in hopes he would ſubmit, gave him leave, ſaying, *Ay, this looks like a Man of Senſe, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will ſay*, but he finding he had took his aim amiſs, and that the *Doctor* chiefly Inſiſted that the matter did not lye before that Court, and Inveighed ſharply againſt their Authority, the Chancellor grew into great and exceſſive Paſſion, and crying out, *The Man is Mad, told him he ought to be kept in a dark Room,*

The Preſident and Fellows cited.

and

A. D. 1687. *and askt the reſt of the Delegates why they ſuffer'd him t walk abroad without a Keeper, and did not come to hin and beg him for a Mad man.*

Farmer rejected by the Court, and Dr. Parker recommended.

The Court finding by this time that *Farmer* wa one of ſo Profligate a Life, that tho' he had promiſe to Declare himſelf *Roman Catholick* upon his Promo tion to that Place, they began to be aſham'd of him And therefore, inſtead of inſiſting on the forme *Mandamus* in his Favour, there was another grant ed in Favour of *Dr. Parker, then Biſhop of Oxford*, on of the Court Creatures. The Place of Preſident be ing already in a Legal manner fill'd up by the Electi on of *Dr. Hough*; which tho' it had not been, yet th *Biſhop of Oxford* was likewiſe incapable by the Sta tutes of the College, of being Elected; The Fellow did humbly offer a very pathetick *Petition* to his Ma jeſty, Humbly ſhewing, *How inexpreſſible an Affliction it was to them, to find themſelves reduced to ſuch an extremity, that either they muſt diſobey his Majeſty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that conſtant courſe of Loyalty which they had ſhewed hitherto upon all occaſions; or elſe break their Founders Statutes and deliberately perjure themſelves.* Then they mentioned the Statutes, and the Oaths that every one o them had taken at their Admiſſion into their Fellow ſhips; and concluded with an humble Prayer to his Majeſty, *To give them leave to lay their Caſe and themſelves at his Majeſty's Royal Feet, earneſtly beſeeching him to extend that Grace and Favour to them, which he vouchſafed to all his other Subjects:* But all this ſubmiſſion was in vain; for the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners* by their Final *Decree* and *Sentence, Depriv'd and Expell'd from their Fellowſhips all the Fellows of* Magdalen College, (except three that comply'd with the breach of their Oaths) being *Twenty Five in number*. And to puſh their Injuſtice yet further, they did by another Sentence Decree, and declare, 'That Dr 'Hough, who had been deprived before, and the ſaid 'Twenty Five Fellows ſhould be incapable of re- 'ceiving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical 'Dignity, Benefice or Promotion. And ſuch o 'them who were not yet in Holy Orders, they ad- 'judged incapable of receiving or being admitted in- 'to the ſame. Thus by the Decree of an *Illegal Court*, were a Society of Worthy and Learned Men

The Fellows Petition, and the Commiſſioners Sentence.

turned

turned out of their *Free Holds*, meerly for not obeying an *Arbitrary* Command, which was directly against their Conſciences: And thus was King *James* prevailed with by a Head-ſtrong Party, to Aſſume a Power not only to *Diſpence* with *Laws*, but when their hands were in, *to make void Oaths alſo.* A. D. 1688.

Now the *Papiſts* were almoſt ſure of carrying all things according to their Wills and Pleaſure, and therefore the firſt Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, being not thought a ſufficient ſtretch of *Arbitrary* Power, out comes another in a higher ſtrain, in which the *Papiſts* were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their ſakes alone that any ſuch thing was granted, it being wholly inconſiſtent with *Popiſh* Principles, to give Toleration to ſuch as they call *Hereticks.* And now to carry the Point to the higheſt Pinacle of *Arbitrary* Power, and to render the Church of *England* Acceſſory to their own *Ruin*, an Order of Council was made, 'commanding this 'Declaration to be read at the uſual times of Divine 'Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, and ordering the Biſhops to 'cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout 'their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſes, to be read 'accordingly.' *A New Declaration.*

This the Clergy of the Church of *England*, had reaſon to take as the greateſt Hardſhip and Oppreſſion that could be put upon them, to be commanded to Read to their People, at ſo ſolemn a time and place, a Declaration that they knew to be againſt Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own Intereſt and that of their Religion. Three I think and no more in all *England*, either out of *Fear*, *Miſtake*, *or to make their Court*, complied and read it; but all the reſt of the Clergy refuſed to obey ſo unjuſt a Command: And the *Romiſh* party had their Ends in it, for their refuſal laid them open to the ſevere Laſhes of the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*; and accordingly every one that had not read it, were Ordered to be proſecuted before that inexorable Tribunal, where they were infallibly to expect to be deprived: And ſo moſt of the Benefices in *England* muſt have been made Vacant *for a new kind of Incumbents.*

A. D. 1688.

The Papists disappointed.

But here they met with a Disappointment, which awakened the People of *England* to shake off their Chains, and think upon retrieving the Dying Liberties of their Countries. For the Bishops considering how great a Punishment was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England*, if they should be suspended for not reading the *Declaration*, and being unwilling to lay them under so great a temptation, as to save themselves and Families from Ruin by a sinful compliance, took all the blame upon themselves, in refusing to send the Declaration to their Clergy, as they were commanded by an Order of Council. An Act like themselves, and becoming the character of Protestant Bishops. This putting a demur and stop to the Reading of the Declaration, the Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Sancroft*, together with Dr. *Floyd*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, Doctor *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*, thought themselves oblig'd to give the King their Reasons for Refusing to Disperse or Read his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Having procured Leave to attend his Majesty, they delivered to him in his Closet an Humble *Petition*, in behalf of themselves and absent Brethren, and in the name of the Clergy of their Respective Dioceses. Shewing, 'That their unwillingness did not 'proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to 'his Majesty, nor from any want of due Tender- 'ness to Dissenters in Relation to whom they were 'willing to come to such a Temper as should be 'thought fit, when that matter should be considered 'in Parliament and Convocation: But among a 'great many other Considerations, from this especial- 'ly, because that Declaration was founded upon such 'a Dispencing Power as had often been declared Il- 'legal in Parliament, and was a matter of so great 'moment and consequence to the whole Nation, that 'they could not in Prudence, Honour or Conscience, 'so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribu- 'tion of it all over the Kingdom, and the Solemn 'publication of it even in *God's House*, and in the time 'of his *Divine Service*, must amount to in common 'and reasonable Construction. Therefore did Humbly

The Petition of 7 Bishops.

'bly and Earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty that he would 'be graciouſly pleaſed not to inſiſt upon their di- 'ſtributing and reading the ſaid Declaration. A. D. 1688.

This Petition, tho' the humbleſt that could be, and deliver'd by Six of them to the King alone in his Cloſet, was ſo highly reſented, that the Six Biſhops, that Preſented it, and the Arch Biſhop that Writ it, but was not preſent at its Delivery, were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*. *The Biſhops committed to the* Tower.

The Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark* being gone to *Bath*, and the Biſhops lodg'd in the *Tower*, the next day after, being the 10th of *June*, was Iſſued out a Proclamation, appointing a Day of Publick Thankſgiving, to be ſolemniz'd on the firſt of *July* throughout the Kingdom; *For that it had pleaſed Almighty God to Bleſs his Majeſty and his Royal Conſort the Queen with a Son, and theſe Kingdoms with a Prince.* Which was entertain'd with great Joy by that Party, and produc'd another Shoal of Loyal *Addreſſes* tho' not ſo full ſom as the former, for now the Heat was much abated, and no Man could ſhew his Joy at the Birth of the *Child*, but it was preſently allay'd with this Anſwer, *The Biſhops are committed to the* Tower.

A few days after the Biſhops were brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, where was a great Concourſe of People, to ſee ſeven of the greateſt *Prelates* and *Pillars* of the Reform'd Church, *Arraign'd* before two Creatures of a *Popiſh* Prince at his own Suit, and the third a Profeſt *Papiſt*. They were Indicted of a High Miſdemeanor, 'for having Falſly, Unlawfully, Ma- 'liciouſly, Seditiouſly and Scandalouſly, Framed, 'Compoſed and Writ a Falſe Malicious and Sedi- 'tious Libel, concerning the King and his Royal De- 'claration for Liberty of Conſcience, under the pre- 'tence of a Petition: And that they had publiſh'd 'the ſame in the preſence of the King.' The Tryal was long, and in it two things were very remarkable: The Diſpenſing Power was Learnedly and boldy argu'd againſt by the Biſhops Council, and demonſtrated by invincible Arguments, to be an open violation of the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom; ſo that in the greateſt Auditories that was ever ſeen in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and upon one of the moſt ſolemn Cauſes that ever was try'd at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, K. *James* had the *Mortification* to ſee his new aſſum'd *The Biſhops Tryal.*

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Prerogative Baffled, and its Illegality expos'd to the World. The other thing obſervable upon this Tryal was, that ſome that had largely contributed to the enſlaving of their Country with falſe Notion of Law, were now of another opinion: While at the ſame time, others that had ſtood up for the *Liberty* of their Country in two ſucceſſive Parliaments, and had been Fin'd for ſo doing, did now as much endeavour to *ſtretch the Prerogative* beyond its juſt Limits, as they had oppos'd it before: *So much does Places and Profit Influence Men to ſtoop to their own Advantages, againſt their Judgments.*

The Judges opinion.

Chief Juſtice *Wright*, in ſumming up the Evidence, gave Directions to the *Jury*, that if they believ'd the Petition to be the ſame that was preſented by the Biſhops to the King, then the Publication was ſufficiently prov'd. Next, that any thing which tended to the diſturbance of the Government, and made miſchief among the People was *Libellus Famoſus*, and his opinion in ſhort was, *that the Biſhops Petition was a Libel.* Mr. Juſtice *Holloway* declar'd, that the end and intention of every Action was to be conſider'd. That the Biſhops were charg'd with delivering a *Petition*, which according to their Defence, was done with all the Humility and Decency imaginable; and that as they were Men of good Lives, the delivering of a Petition was no Fault, *it being the Subjects Right to Petition*; therefore if the Jury were ſatisfied, they did it with no ill Intention, but only to ſhew the reaſons of their *Noncurrence with the King's commands*, *he could not think it to be a Libel*, Mr. Juſtice *Powel* more plainly declar'd, that he could diſcern no *Sedition* or other Crimes that could affect the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Biſhops, ſince there was nothing offer'd by the King's Council to render the Petition *Falſe* or *Malicious*. He admoniſh'd the Jury to conſider, that the contents of the Petition was, that the Biſhops apprehended the *Declaration was Illegal, being founded upon a Diſpenſing Power* claimed by the King: But for his part, *he did not remember in any caſe in all the Law, that there was any ſuch Power in the King:* And if there be no ſuch Power in the King, the Petition cannot be a *Libel*, which alledges, that the Declaration founded upon ſuch a pretended Power was Illegal. Mr.

Juſtice

Juſtice *Allibone*, in the height of his Popiſh Zeal run into Miſquotations; for which being corrected by Judge *Powel*, little heed was given to any thing he ſaid afterwards. Whereupon the Jury withdrawing, ſat up all that night, and next Morning brought in the *Reverend Prelates Not Guilty*. A. D. 1688.

The Biſhops Acquitted.

Never was louder Acclamations of Joy expreſs'd in *Weſtminſter*, than upon the Biſhop's Acquittal; nor did that City and *London* terminate the Shouts that were rais'd upon this occaſion, but it flew into the *Camp upon Hownſlow Heath*, where the Soldiers eccho'd ſo loud, that it *Startled* the King, who was that day treated in the Lord *Feverſham's Tent*, inſomuch that the King ſent him out to know what was the matter, who returning, told the King, it was nothing but the Soldiers ſhouting, upon hearing the Biſhops were Acquitted; to which the King reply'd, *And do you call that nothing?* and ſeem'd much diſcompos'd after it: And how could he be otherwiſe? for now all his Affairs went to wrack, and he had brought upon him the Univerſal Diſlike and Suſpicion of all his Proteſtant Subjects through the whole Kingdom.

An Attempt upon the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

For a little before this time an Accident fell out, that contributed to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws and Teſt*, and the Proteſtants were in amaze what to expect, the good Genius of *England*, and King *James*'s ill Fate, ſet him on to make a Trial of the Inclinations of the *Prince and Princeſs of Orange* in that matter; and to that end he employ'd Mr. *James Stuart*, who pretended to an Acquaintance with the *Penſionary Fagel*, who was entirely truſted by the *Prince*, and always firm to his Intereſt. To him Mr. *Stuart* writes a Letter upon this Subject; but ſo averſe were the *Prince and Princeſs of Orange* to meddle, and ſo unwilling to allow *Penſionary Fagel* to return an Anſwer to this Letter, which they knew would not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart*, by the King's Direction, writ five or ſix more before it was thought fit to anſwer them. But at length their Highneſſes were in a manner forc'd to it, by the Reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread in *England* by the Emiſſaries of the Court, as if the *Penſionary* in an anſwer to Mr. *Stuart*, had acquainted him, that the Prince and Princeſs agreed with the King in the Deſign of taking

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off the Penal Laws and Test. This was not all; for the *Marquis of Albeville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon writing over to several Persons, that the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very same thing; which Letter was also made Publick.

Pensionary Fagel's Letter.

The Prince and Princess, to do themselves Justice, and to disabuse a Nation they had so near an Interest in, directed *Pensionary Fagel* to write one Answer to all Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, to this purpose: "That being "desir'd by Mr. *Stuart*, to let him know the Prince "and Princess of *Orange*'s Thoughts concerning the "Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly "concerning the Test, he told him, that he would "write without Reserve, since Mr. *Stuart* had said in "his Letters, that they were writ by the King's "Knowledge and Allowance. That it was the "Prince's Opinion, that no Christian ought to be "persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill us'd because "he differs from the Publick and Establish'd Religi-"on: and therefore that they can consent, that the "Papists in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, be suffer'd "to continue in their Religion, with as much Liber-"ty as is allow'd them by the States of *Holland*; in "which it cannot be deny'd, but they enjoy full Li-"berty of Conscience. And as to the Dissenters, "their Highnesses did not only consent, but did "heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty "for the full Exercise of their Religion; and that "their Highnesses were ready to concur to the set-"ling and confirming this Liberty, and protect and "defend it, and likewise to confirm it with their "Guarantee, which Mr. *Stuart* had mention'd. And "if his Majesty desires their Concurrence in Repeal-"ing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses are ready to "give it, provided those Laws still remain in force, "by which the *Roman* Catholicks are shut out of "both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick "Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; "as likewise those other Laws which confirm the "Protestant Religion, and which secure it against "all the Attempts of the *Roman* Catholicks. But "their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the "*Test*, and those other *Penal Laws* last mentioned, "that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religi-"on: Since the *Roman* Catholicks receive no other

"pre-

" prejudice from these, than the being excluded from " Parliament and Publick Employments. A. D. 1688.

" More than this, *(adds the Pensionary* Fagel) their " Highnesses do think ought not to be ask'd or ex- " pected; and they wonder'd how any that profest " themselves Christians, and that may enjoy their " Religion freely and without disturbance, can judge " it lawful for them to disturb the Quiet of the " Kingdom or State, or overturn Constitutions, that " so they themselves may be admitted to Employ- " ments; and that these Laws, in which the Securi- " ty and Quiet of the Establish'd Religion consists, " should be shaken. And as to what Mr. *Stuart* had " writ, that the *Roman* Catholicks in *Holland* were " not shut out from Employments and Places of " Trust, he tells him, he was grosly mistaken. " *The Pensionary concludes*, That their Highnesses " could not concur with his Majesty in these Mat- " ters; for they believe, they should have much to " answer to God for, if the consideration of any pre- " sent Advantage should carry them to consent to " things, which they believe would not only be dan- " gerous, but mischievous to the Protestant Religion. Thus far this wise Minister contributed to support the true Interest of *England*.

Irish *Troops brought over.*

The King perceiving by many Occurrences that the Popish Interest was declining, and that there was little hopes to think of supporting it by a Parliament, Resolves to do it by an Army out of *Ireland*, who now came over in Shoals; and besides whole Regiments of them, there was scarce a Troop or Company wherein some of them were not placed by expres Order from the Court. Several Protestants that had served Well and Long, were turned out to make room for them, and Seven considerable Officers were Cashier'd in one day, meerly for refusing to admit them. The Chief Forts, and particularly *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into *Popish* hands, and the Garrisons so modell'd, that the Majority were Papists. Now most of the Charters being Curtail'd and Chang'd, in order to the Grand Designs at Court, the King declar'd in Council, that in pursuance of his late *Declaration*, he intended to call a Parliament to meet in *November* next, and in order thereunto, directed the Chancellor to Issue out

A. D. 1688. Writs upon the 5th of *September* following. To this was added a *Cajoling Proclamation*, "That it was "his purpoſe to endeavour a Regal Eſtabliſhment "of Liberty of Conſcience, to preſerve the Church "of *England*, by ſuch a Confirmation of the Act of "Uniformity, that ſhould never be alter'd any other "way, than by repealing the ſeveral Clauſes which "inflicted Penalties upon Diſſenters; and for the "farther ſecuring not only the Church of *England*, "but the Proteſtant Religion in general, he was "contented that his *Roman Catholick* Subjects ſhould "be uncapable of being choſen Members of the "Houſe of Commons, leſt the Legiſlative Power "ſhould ſeem to be ingroſſed by them, and turned "againſt the Proteſtants." By this the Nation ſaw that ſomething was upon the Anvil, becauſe the Court Language was in ſo ſmooth a ſtile.

The Court begin to be in Fears.

News of an Invaſion. The next News we heard, was a Proclamation, "That the King had received undoubted Intelli-"gence, that a ſudden Invaſion was to be made from "*Holland*, in a Hoſtile manner, upon this Kingdom; "and tho ſome falſe Pretences relating to Liberty, "Property, and Religion, were given out as the "Cauſes of it, yet an abſolute Conqueſt of his King-"doms, and ſubduing him and his Dominions to a "Foreign Power, was deſigned by his Enemies. However, that he might have one ſure Card, if all the reſt fail'd, he created his *Natural* Son *Duke of Berwick*, *and Knight of the Garter*, and Iſſued out a General Pardon, excepting only a few perſons that had little or no occaſion to lay hold of his Favour. Beſides this, to ſhew his Affairs were at a low ebb, the *Suſpenſion* was taken off from the *Lord Biſhop of London*, the Injur'd Gentlemen both of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were Reſtor'd to their Properties, of which they had been ſo unjuſtly depriv'd. A day or two after, the King Diſſolv'd the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*: And the Chancellor *Jefferies*, that owed his Preferments, among the reſt of his Miſcarriages, to the Rape he committed upon the Charter of the City of *London*, was forc'd to be the Meſſenger to carry it back again, from whence it was taken. Upon the 15th of *October* enſuing, a Proclamation went out for reſtoring all *Corporations* to their Antient Charters, Privileges, and Franchiſes; which was done, as the Proclamation

Houſes reform'd upon the Fright.

clamation worded it, out of the King's much Grace and Favour: *but all the World knew a more ſubſtantial reaſon for it.* However, in the midſt of this Conſternation, the Papiſts carried on the Show of the *Prince of Wales*, and the Child was Chriſten'd upon the 15th of *October* by the Name of *James Henry Edward*; the *Pope*, repreſented by his *Nuncio*, being *God father*, and the Queen *Dowager God-mother*. Then came out another Proclamation, requiring his Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants, "To cauſe the Sea-Ports to be "ſtrictly Guarded; and upon the firſt Approach "of the Enemy, to cauſe all the Horſes, Oxen, Sheep "and Cattel, to be removed twenty Miles at leaſt "from the Place where the Enemy ſhould Land. A. D. 1688.

A Council held about the Prince of Wales.

Upon the 22d of *October* the King held a particular *Council*, and having ſent for all ſuch Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, as were then in Town, together with the Judges, and Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he told them, he had called them together upon a very extraordinary occaſion, *viz.* "That the Mali-"cious Endeavours of his Enemies had ſo poiſon'd "the Minds of ſome of his Subjects, that many of "them did not believe that the Son which God had "bleſt him with, was born of the Body of the *Queen*, "and therefore had taken that opportunity to have "the matter heard and examin'd, becauſe he expect-"ed the *Prince of Orange* would Invade the Kingdom "upon the firſt Eaſterly Wind." Which being done in Form, and the Depoſitions read, the King ſaid, "He hoped they were all ſatisfied, and would endea-"vour to ſatiſfie others, that he who had ſuffer'd ſo "much for Conſcience ſake, would not ſuffer ſo great "a piece of Villany to be acted, in Fathering a Sup-"poſitious Child to the prejudice of his own Chil-"dren.

Reaſons for the Prince of Orange's *interpoſing.*

Now the Prince of *Orange*'s Landing was hourly expected: and that Poſterity may know the Reaſon of it, I have thought fit in this place to give the Reader the true Hiſtory of it. The Nation finding themſelves in deplorable Circumſtances, gaul'd under the Yoke of *Papiſtick* Tyranny, afflicted at the diſmal proſpect of being depriv'd of the Exerciſe of their Eſtabliſh'd Religion, and the loſs of their Civil Priviledges and Properties: after they had ineffectually employed all dutiful and obliging methods to reclaim

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the King, and waited till *England* was on the very brink of Destruction, before they would assume their *Natural Right* and Defend themselves. God Almighty, who from Heaven beheld their present and approaching Calamities, put it into the Hearts of some good Christians of all Qualities, Degrees and Condition in the Kingdom, to make their humble Application to the Illustrious Prince of *Orange*, who as a Soveraign *Independent* Prince, nearly allied by his *own Blood*, and nearer by his vertuous *Princess*'s to the Crown of *England*, and a Protestant by his Religion, had an undoubted Right to interpose between King *James* and his Injur'd Subjects, and according to his native Goodness, and the repeated Examples of his Illustrious *Progenitors*, Defend and Deliver an Oppressed People.

Divine Providence having thus prescrib'd the Means of our Deliverance, some Good Men were found, maugre the Danger that attended it, to Address this Magnanimous Prince, and implore his Aid and effectual Assistance to free a languishing Nation from inevitable Ruin, *promising to Live and Dye with his Highness in so glorious an Enterprize.* Animated by his known Piety, Compassion, and Heroick Bravery, his Highness was pleas'd to undertake our Deliverance; and the *States of Holland* having furnish'd him with Shipping and other Necessaries with incredible Secrecy, when all things were ready, at the latter end of *October*, with a Fleet of 52 Men of War, and a numerous Train of Transports, Victuallers, and Tenders, his Highness set Sail from the *Flats* near the *Brill*, with the Wind at S. W. and by S. but meeting with a terrible Storm, which continued two days and nights, the Fleet were forced to return again into Harbour. The Fleet had not received so much damage as was industriously reported in the *English Gazette*, but rather, as it was manag'd, turn'd to their Advantage; for immediately, to make the *English* Court more remiss in their Preparations, the *Harlem* and *Amsterdam Gazettes* were order'd to make a lamentable Relation of the great Damages the *Dutch* Fleet and the Army aboard them had sustained. "Nine "of the best Men of War lost, beside others of less "value, 1000 Horses cast over-board, Dr. *Burnet* "and several *English* Gentlemen drowned, what an

The Prince sets Sail for England.

"ill

" ill Opinion the *States General* had of the Expediti- A. C.
" on, and that it was next to an Impoſſibility that 1688.
" the Prince could be in a condition to purſue his
" Deſign till the next Spring:" And yet at the ſame time all hands were at work to repair their Damages, which were not ſo conſiderable but in eight days time they were all re-fitted. *He puts to Sea again.*

Which being done, and all things in readineſs, upon a Signal given the Whole Fleet put to Sea again, bearing ſmall Sail all that day and night; in the morning, being got up with the *North Forelands*, the Fleet was ordered to cloſe up in a Body 14 or 15 Foot deep: His Highneſs leading the Van in a Ship called the *Brill*, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours, and this Motto, *The Proteſtant Religion and Liberties of England*; and underneath, *J'ay Mainteindray, I will maintain it.* To ſhorten the Proceedings of this Expedition, the Fleet came up with *Torbay*, and the Wind as it were by Miracle ſuddenly chopt about to give them Entrance; and as ſoon as that was done return'd to the ſame Quarter it was in before they wanted it. The *Prince of Orange* landed on the 4th of *November*, his Birth-day, where the Abundance of People that flock'd thither were ſo far from making any Oppoſition, that they only ſtood there to Welcome their *happy Gueſts*, and furniſh them with Proviſions for their Refreſhment.

The Liſt of the Regiments of Horſe and Foot which his Highneſs brought over into *England* with him, were as followeth, according as it was Printed in *Holland*.

HORSE

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HORSE.	FOOT.
The Life Guard.	Foot Guards commanded by C. *Solmes*, being 25 Companies.
The Regiment of Guards, commanded by the *Heer Benting*.	C. *Mackay* 12.
Gen. *Waldeck*'s Regiment.	C. *Balfort* 12.
Naſſaw.	C. *Talmaſk* 12.
Momyellion.	The Regiment formerly *Bliſs*'s 12.
Count *Vanderlip*.	The Regiment formerly *Wachop*'s 12.
Ginckel.	The Regiment late the Earl of *Oſſory*'s 10.
The Princes Dragoons.	C. *Berkvelt* 12.
Marrowis's Dragoons.	*Holſtein* 10.
Sacavenoer.	*Wirtenburgh* 10.
Sapbroeck.	*Hagendorn* 10.
Fluddorp.	*Faget* 10.
Syde.	*Naſſaw* 10.
Oga.	*Carelſon* 12.
Tuleſtein.	*Brander* 10.
	Prince of *Berkvelt* 10.
In all	In all 164 Companies, at 53 in each Company.
Troops 1683.	Guards 8692
Life Guard 197.	2000
Regiment of Guards under C. *Benting* 480.	10692
Marrowis's Dragoons 440.	Foot 10692
3660.	Horſe 3660
	In all 14352

A Liſt of the Fleet.

Men of War	65
Fly Boats	500
Pinks	60.
Fire Ships	10.
	635.

On

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On *Friday* the Prince march'd into the City of *Exeter* with his Guards, and took up his Quarters in the *Dean*'s Houſe, where he kept his Court all the time he ſtaid in that City. Afterwards followed the Main Body of the Army, which was diſpos'd of, the Horſe about *Tiverton*, *Cullhamton*, *Honyton*, and parts adjacent, and the Foot encampt on *Cliſt Heath*. From hence we return to *London*, to ſee how Affairs were manag'd there.

The Prince marched into Exeter.

Indeed the Kings Preparations were very great, and he ſeem'd reſolv'd to oppoſe the Prince of *Orange* in perſon; but firſt aſſembles the Biſhops out of their ſeveral Dioceſes, and when they waited upon him in a Body to know his Pleaſure, he not only gave them permiſſion to give him the beſt Advice, but encourag'd them to do it with all the Freedom that was neceſſary in this Exigency. Upon this Royal Invitation their Lordſhip's aſſembled in his *Grace of Canterbury*'s Palace, and upon Mature Deliberation drew up what they thought fit, and preſented it to his Majeſty, the ſubſtance whereof imported, that it was neceſſary,

The Biſhops Advice to the King.

His Majeſty ſhould reſtore all things to the ſame State in which he found them at his Acceſſion to the Crown. That he would ſuppreſs the *Jeſuits Schools*, ſend out Inhibitions againſt thoſe four *Romiſh Biſhops*, who under the Title of Apoſtoiick Vicars, preſum'd to exerciſe an unlawful Juriſdiction in this Kingdom. That he would ſuffer no more *Quo Warranto*'s to be iſſued out againſt Corporations. That he would fill up all vacant Biſhopricks. That he would act no more by vertue of a *Diſpencing Power*, *but diſclaim it*; and laſtly, that he would permit ſome of his Biſhops to lay ſuch Arguments before him, as by Gods Bleſſing might bring him back to the *Communion of the Church of* England, *into whoſe Faith he was baptized.* After this the Lords Spiritual and Temporal joyn'd together, and deliver'd the King a *Petition* to this Effect. 'That conſidering a War was ready to 'break out in the Bowels of his Kingdom, that his 'perſon was in danger, and his People in Diſtracti-'ons: the beſt way to compoſe all Differences, was 'to call a Parliament Regular and Free in all its 'Circumſtances, which they brought him to do ſpeedily wherein they ſhould be ready to promote

The Lords Petition.

ſuch

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The King's Answer.

such Councils as might Conduce to his Honour and Safety, and the Satisfaction of the People. To the Bishops Proposals he condescended for the most part, and made answer to the Lords Petition, 'That upon 'the word of a King he would have such a Parliament as they ask'd for, as soon as the Prince of 'Orange had quitted the Land, since it was impossible a Parliament should be Free in all its Circumstances while an Enemy was in the Kingdom;' but since he saw this Answer did not please the Lords, and being impatient under the Restraint that was upon him, he order'd all his Forces to march *Westward*, and stay for him at *Salisbury*, where he would shortly be himself.

The Prince had not been long at *Exeter*, before he found the *English* Nobility and Gentry resort to him: first, out of the *West* many considerable Persons; the Lord *Colchester* and Mr. *Wharton* out of *Buckinghamshire*; the Lord *Lovelace* out of *Oxfordshire*; the Lord *Delamere* out of *Cheshire*; in the *North* the Earl of *Danby*, now Duke of *Leeds*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and several other Persons of Quality, seiz'd upon the City of *York*, and turn'd out the Papists. Colonel *Copley* surpriz'd *Hull*, and made the Lord *Langdale* and the Lord *Montgomery* Prisoners, till with the help of the Townsmen and Seamen, he had secur'd the Castle and Cittadel. *Plymouth* also, with the Earl of *Huntingdon* and all his Popish Officers and Soldiers, was seiz'd by the Earl of *Bath* for his Highness the Prince of *Orange*; and at the same time all the chief Sea Port Towns in *Cornwal* declar'd for the Prince: so that there was now no Enemy behind to Disturb the Rear of his Advancing Army. The King, in hopes to break thro' all these Oppositions, goes down to *Salisbury*, where he was soon acquainted, that the Lord *Cornbury* had carried off a considerable part of his Horse; that several Regiments of his Foot had Deserted, and gone into the Prince; and, in short, *That there was no Trust to be put in his Army.* One Morning, going to view that part of his Army that was left, his Nose fell a Bleeding, which he look'd upon as an ill Prognostick, and that being attended with a false Alarm, that Count *Schomberg* was advanc'd within 20 or 30 Miles of him, with the Vantguard of the Prince's Army, he left *Salisbury*, return'd back to *Windsor*, and so to *London*,

K. James *at* Salisbury.

London, with all the ſpeed he could. But before he left *Salisbury*, he had the mortification to hear that his Court was as much out of order as his Camp. Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Churchill*, were all gone to the Prince, and the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* was retir'd another way. A. C. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange* by this time was advanc'd as far as *Hungerford*, whoſe Fame, and the People's Joy and Satisfaction encreas'd as his Highneſs's *Declaration* was ſpread through the Kingdom, and Men of all Qualities haſten'd to put themſelves under his Auſpicious Conduct: which King *James* perceiving, and being told by the Lord *Feverſham* and others, that there was no depending upon the ſmall Remains of his Army, who unanimouſly declar'd, *They would not fight againſt Proteſtants, nor offend the Prince that Heaven had ſent to deliver the Nation from Popery*, he Iſſues out Writs for the ſitting of a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* on the 15th day of *January* following. To ſecond this plauſible Pretence, he ſends the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin* to the Prince at *Hungerford*, where Propoſals were mutually made on each ſide towards an Accommodation, and the Prince ſent the King ſuch Terms, as the King himſelf was pleas'd to ſay, *Were better and fairer than he expected from him*: but all this, on the King's part, was only a Flouriſh; for having ſent away the *Queen*, the *Child*, Count *Dada*, the *Pope*'s *Nuncio*, and Father *Petre*, and thrown the *Broad Seal* into the *Thames*, he only ſhew'd this complaiſance, to gain time for his own Departure into *France* after them. He had promis'd the Queen, and as ſome ſay, taken the Sacrament upon it, to follow her, and rather than break his Word with a pettiſh Woman, run headlong to his own Ruin. *Go he muſt, go he will, let whatever will be the Conſequence of it.* And that he might do all the Miſchief he could before he went, and leave the Realm in confuſion, he order'd that all thoſe *Writs* that were not ſent out for the ſitting of the Parliament ſhould be Burnt, and a *Caveat* be enter'd againſt making uſe of thoſe that were ſent out already. To this, he was pleas'd to add an Order to the Lord *Feverſham*, *to Disband the Army*, which was done accordingly, and then made his firſt Attempt to leave the Kingdom.

The Prince *at* Hungerford.

The Queen *ſent into* France.

In

A. D. 1688.

In pursuance of this Design, the King about Midnight took Water at *Whitehall* Privy Stairs, and sail'd down the River in a small Vessel; but the Weather proving foul, he was forc'd into a *Creek* near *Feversham* in *Kent*, where he was taken by some *Rude Fishermen* that knew him not *, and rifled of what Gold and Jewels he had about him: being brought to *Feversham*, and known, the Fellows return'd him what they had robb'd him of; but the King would receive only his Jewels, and gave the Gold among them.

The King taken at Feversham.

* December 12.

In this time the *London Mob* broke out in great numbers, and in a mercileſs Fury pull'd down all the new erected *Maſs Houſes* in the City and Suburbs, Burning and Deſtroying all before them, ſcarce leaving one Stone upon another, and with loud Acclamations conſum'd the very *Wainſcot* in fiery Triumphs; while *Common Thieves* mixing with the more harmleſs Boys, took opportunity to rob the Houſes of ſome *Ambaſſadors* and other *Papiſts*, to their great Damage. To redreſs theſe Diſorders, ſeveral of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, upon notice of the King's being withdrawn, aſſembled at *Guildhall*, ſent for Colonel *Skelton* then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly reſigning, the Government of the *Tower* was given to the Lord *Lucas*, a Perſon of known Honour, and a ſincere Lover of his Country. Nor were the *Lords* leſs vigilant in ſuppreſſing the Lawleſs Rioters, committing the chief of them to *Newgate*. Then conſidering the dangerous Conjuncture of the time, that the King was withdrawn, and the Nation without a Government, they unanimouſly agreed to apply themſelves to the *Prince of* Orange; declaring farther, 'That they would 'with their utmoſt Endeavour aſſiſt his Highneſs, in 'the ſpeedy obtaining ſuch a Parliament, wherein 'their Lives, Liberties and Properties might be ſe'cur'd, and the Proteſtant Religion and its Intereſt 'over the whole World, might be encourag'd and 'ſupported.' Which Declaration was ſigned by 29 Lords, and ſent to the Prince of *Orange*, by the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Lord Viſcount *Weymouth*, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpeper*.

The Lords aſſembl'd at Guildhall.

The Lord's Addreſs.

The next day the Lord *George Jefferies*, having diſguiſed and abſconded himſelf in a Seaman's Houſe in *Wapping*, in order to his Eſcape beyond Sea, as he was

The Lord Jefferies *apprehended.*

was looking out of the Window in a Seaman's *Monmouth* Cap, was discovered by a *Clerk in Chancery* that accidentally pass'd by; and being apprehended, after a fair Deliverance from the *Mob*, who would fain have torn him to pieces, he was committed to the *Tower*, where he lay a Prisoner two Years, and then died a natural Death. A. C. 1688.

December the 13th 1688. about Three a Clock in the Morning, there was a dreadful *Alarm* in *London*, that the *Irish* in a desperate Fury were approaching the City, putting Men, Women, and Children, to the Sword, and burning all the Towns as they came along. Whereupon all the Citizens rose in Arms, putting Lights in all their Windows. The *Train'd-Bands* were raised, and there was nothing but Shooting and Beating of Drums all night. Part of the *Train'd-Bands* advanced as far as *Hyde-Park*, to stop their Passage there; but notwithstanding, several Horsemen from time to time reported, that the *Irish* were advanced as far as *Kensington*, and other places as near, and that the same Report had spread it self through every *Town* and *Parish* in *England* at the same time, insomuch that all that could handle any kind of Weapon, were up in Arms in their own Defence: yet there was not one Syllable of Truth in all these *Noises*, *Frights*, and *Consternations*, that at one and the same moment *Alarm'd* the whole Kingdom. The Cause whereof I won't pretend to judge any farther, than that most Men thought it a *politick* contrivance to try the Temper of the Nation.

On the 14th of *December* his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came to *Windsor*, and Lodged in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Apartment, which was prepared for his Reception. By this time the *Lords* that assembled in the City were returned to *Whitehall*; and having notice of the King's being at *Feversham*, appointed the Lords *Feversham*, *Alesbury*, *Yarmouth*, and *Middleton*, to attend him, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which tho at first he shew'd some Reluctance, yet at length he condescended, and on *Sunday* the 16th of *December* arrived at *Whitehall*, attended by several of the Nobility, and a great Guard of Horse: and from thence sent the Lord *Feversham* to Invite his Highness to accept of *S. James*'s for the place of his Residence. *A Compliment little expected at Windsor.*

The King returned to London.

The

A. C. 1688. The Prince imparted this Invitation to the Lords that were with him, who not thinking it convenient that the King and the Prince ſhould be in one place, and yet there was a neceſſity for the Prince's being in Town the next day, the Prince ſubſcribed a Paper, and ſent it to the King by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, importing, *That it was thought convenient, for the greater Safety of his Perſon, that he ſhould remove to* Ham, *or to ſome place or other about the ſame diſtance from* London: and for preventing any diſturbance, it was reſolved that his Highneſs's Guards ſhould be poſſeſt of all the Poſts and Avenues about *Whitehall* before the Paper was delivered; which made it late before the Lords could have acceſs to the King. However, being admitted about 12 a clock, his Majeſty read the Letter, *and readily comply'd with it*; but upon ſecond thoughts, deſired he might rather return to *Rocheſter*: which the Prince conſenting to, next Morning Guards and Barges were appointed to attend him. He reach'd *Graveſend* that Evening, and from thence in his own Coach went to *Rocheſter*, making choice of Sir *Richard Head*'s Houſe for his Reſidence.

The Prince came to St. James's. In the Afternoon, the ſame day that the King left *Whitehall*, his Highneſs, with a ſplendid Equipage, and a numerous Attendance, came to *St. James*'s, and received the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and perſons of the chiefeſt Quality in Town: nor were the People in general wanting to ſignifie their Joy and Satisfaction at ſo great a change of Affairs, by Ringing of Bells, Blazing of Bonfires, and all the publick Demonſtrations of Joy imaginable.

The King left England. After the King had continued ſome time at *Rocheſter*, he laid his Deſign of leaving the Kingdom for good and all; and upon the 22d of *December*, 1688. about 12 a clock at night he left *Rocheſter*, and with a ſmall Train, taking obſcure Roads, with great Secrecy and Caution, haſten'd to the Sea-ſide, near *Dover*, where he embark'd, and Landed at *Calais* in *France*.

At his Arrival the *French* King gave him his Caſtle of *St. Germains* for a Palace, and had ſuitable Entertainment from that Prince according to his Dignity; where, after many fruitleſs Attempts, as appears by the Sequel of this Story, to regain his Kingdoms, he died the 17th day of *September* 1701, aged 68.

THE

THE INTER-REGNUM.

THus King *James* II. Abdicating the Government by other previous Actions, and now by voluntary leaving the Kingdom, yielded his *Vacant* Throne to the Prince of *Orange*: And if his Highneſs had aſcended it without any other Ceremony, as ſome other Kings had done before him, none could have blamed him for making uſe of the Advantage his Sword had gained him: But as he came to redreſs the Grievances of the Nation, by calling a *Free Parliament*; ſo he would abide by their Determinations in what concerns his own Perſon, and not by any raſh or precipitate Action ſeem to croſs the end of his coming. Upon notice that the King was withdrawn, to make up this Breach in the Government, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in the Houſe of Lords, 'and humbly deſired the Prince of *Orange* 'to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick 'Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal 'of the Publick Revenues, for the Preſervation of the 'Religion, Laws, Liberties, Properties, and Peace 'of the Nation; and that his Highneſs would take 'into his particular care the preſent Condition of '*Ireland*, and endeavour by the moſt ſpeedy and effe-'ctual means, to prevent the Dangers threatned in 'that Kingdom.' All which their Lordſhips requeſted his Highneſs to undertake till the Meeting of the intended Convention, on the 22d of *January* enſuing; and preſented this Addreſs to his Highneſs *St. James's*, *December* 25th 1688. To which his Highneſs was pleaſed to return this Anſwer.

The Lord's Requeſts to the Prince.

A. D. 1688.

My Lords,

'I have conſider'd of your Advice, and as far as 'I am able, I will endeavour to ſecure the Peace of 'the Nation until the Meeting of the Convention in '*January* next; for the meeting whereof, I will forth-'with iſſue out Letters according to your Deſire. I 'will alſo take care to apply the publick Revenue 'to the moſt proper Uſes that the preſent Affairs re-'quire, and likewiſe endeavour to put *Ireland* into 'ſuch a Condition, that the Proteſtant Religion may 'be maintained in that Kingdom: And I aſſure you, 'that as I came hither for the Preſervation of the 'Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of 'the Kingdom, I ſhall always be ready to expoſe my 'ſelf to any Hazard for the Defence of them.

His Highneſs being thus inveſted with Authority, he ſends for all ſuch Perſons as had been Members of Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles* II. together with the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of *London*, and deſired them to meet and adviſe upon the beſt Methods of purſuing the Ends of his Declaration. Theſe Gentlemen repairing to the Houſe of Commons, and having choſen Mr. *Powel* their Chairman, in Concurrence with the Lords, upon the 26th of *December* renew their Addreſs to his Highneſs, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs: and the 22d of *January* being come, both Houſes met, and having choſen the Marquis of *Hallifax* and Mr. *Powel* for Speakers, the following Letter from his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* was read in both Houſes.

My Lords,

The Prince his Addreſs to both Houſes.

'I have endeavoured to the utmoſt of my power, 'to perform what was deſired from me, in order to 'the publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know 'that any thing hath been omitted which might have 'tended to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Admi-'niſtration of Affairs was put into my hands. It 'now lies upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm 'Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your 'Liberties. I do not doubt, but that by ſuch a full 'and free Repreſentative of the Nation as is now met, 'the Ends of my *Declaration* will be attained. And

'ſince

'since it hath pleaſed God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with ſo great Succeſs, I truſt in him that he will compleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Councils, that no Interruption may be given to a happy and laſting Settlement. A. C. 1688.

'The dangerous Condition of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* requires a large and ſpeedy Succour; and the preſent ſtate of things abroad oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unſeaſonable Diviſions among your ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great delay in your Conſultations. The *States*, by whom I have been enabled to Reſcue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath declared a War againſt them: and as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident that their cheerful Concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom, with ſo much hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance which may be expected from you, as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition ſhall require it.

Given at St. James's *the* 22*d of* Jan. 1688.

Will. H. P. of Orange.

The two Houſes, under a deep ſenſe of their Dangers and Deliverance, in the firſt place by mutual Conſent expreſt their Thankfulneſs to God, by appointing a day of publick Thankſgiving throughout the Kingdom, and to his *Highneſs* as the Glorious Inſtrument, in the following Addreſs, which was preſented to him *January* 22. 1689. entitl'd,

The Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, *in this preſent Convention: To his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange.

'We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, being highly ſenſible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and that our Preſervation is, next unto God, owing to your *Highneſs*; do re- *The Thanks of both Houſes.*

A.C. 1688.

'turn our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledg-
'ments to your *Highneſs* as the glorious Inſtrument
'of ſo great a Bleſſing. We do farther acknowledge
'the great Care your *Highneſs* hath been pleaſed to
'take in the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs of
'the Kingdom to this time: and we do moſt humbly
'deſire your *Highneſs* that you will take upon you the
'Adminiſtration of publick Affairs both Civil and
'Military, and the Diſpoſal of the publick Revenue,
'for the Preſervation of our Religion, Rights, Laws,
'Liberties, and Properties, and of the Peace of the
'Nation; and that your Highneſs will take into your
'particular care the preſent State of *Ireland*, and en-
'deavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual means, to
'prevent the Dangers that threaten that Kingdom.
'All which we make our Requeſts to your Highneſs
'to undertake and exerciſe till farther Application
'ſhall be made by us; which ſhall be expedited with
'all convenient ſpeed: and we ſhall alſo uſe our ut-
'moſt Endeavours to give diſpatch to the matters re-
'commended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.

To which Addreſs, preſented by both Houſes at *St. James's*, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* made the following Reply the ſame day.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Prince's Reply.

'I am glad that what I have done hath pleaſed you:
'and ſince you deſire me to continue the Adminiſtra-
'tion of Affairs, I am willing to accept it. I muſt
'recommend to you the Conſideration of Affairs a-
'broad, which make it fit for you to expedite your
'Buſineſs, not only for making a Settlement at Home
'upon a good Foundation, but for the Safety of all
'*Europe*.

The Lord's Vote.

Now the Lords having Declared, by a Vote of that Houſe, *That Popery was inconſiſtent with the Government of England*; the Commons, upon the 28th of *January*, paſs'd the following Vote: *viz.*

Reſolved,

The Commons Vote.

That King James *the Second, having endeavoured to Subvert the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between the King and People, and by the Advice of* Jeſuits *and other wicked Perſons having with-*

withdrawn himſelf out of this Kingdom, hath Abdicated *the Government, and that the Throne is thereby Vacant.* A. D. 1688.

This *Vote* occaſion'd ſeveral Conferences between the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, in the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*; but on the 7th of *February* the Lords ſending a Meſſage to the *Commons*, that they had agreed to the *Vote* ſent them up on the 28th of *January* laſt, without any alterations; on the 12th of *February* following both Houſes unanimouſly agreed to Declare as followeth:

The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Aſſembled at Weſtminſter.

Whereas the late King *James* II. by the Aſſiſtance of Evil Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endeavour to *ſubject and extirpate* the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

By Aſſuming and Exerciſing a Power of *Diſpenſing* with, and *Suſpending* of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without the Conſent of Parliament.

By committing and perſecuting divers worthy *Prelates*, for humbly Petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſame Aſſumed Power.

By Iſſuing out, and cauſing to be executed a Commiſſion under the *Broad Seal*, for erecting a Court called *The Court of Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

By Levying Money for and to the uſe of the Crown, by pretence of *Prerogative*, for other time and in other manner than the ſame was granted by Parliament.

By raiſing and keeping a *Standing Army* within the Kingdom in time of Peace, without conſent of Parliament; and Quartering of Soldiers contrary to Law.

By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be *Diſarmed*, at the ſame time when Papiſts were both arm'd and employ'd, contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of *Elections* of Members to ſerve in Parliament.

By Proſecutions in the Court of *Kings-Bench* for Matters and Cauſes *cognizable only in Parliament*, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes.

And whereas of late Years, Partial, Corrupt, and Unqualified perſons, have been return'd, and ſerved on *Juries and Tryals*, and particularly divers Jurors ſerved in Tryals for High Treaſon, which were not Freeholders.

A. D. 1688. And *Exceſſive Bail* had been required of Perſons committed in Criminal Cauſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Subjects.

And *Exceſſive Fines* have been impoſed.

And Illegal and *Cruel Puniſhments* inflicted.

And ſeveral *Grants* and *Promiſes* made of *Fines and Forfeitures*, before any Conviction or Judgment againſt the Perſons upon whom the ſame were to be Levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late K. *James* II. having *Abdicated* the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant;

His Highneſs the *Prince of Orange* (whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the glorious Inſtrument of Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery and Arbitrary Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal perſons of the Commons) cauſe *Letters* to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants, and other Letters to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs and Cinque Ports, for the chuſing ſuch perſons to Repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to Parliament, to meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter* upon the 22d day of *January*, 1688. in order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties, might not again be in danger of being ſubverted; upon which Letters Elections have been made.

And thereupon the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, purſuant to their reſpective Letters and Elections, being now Aſſembled in a Full and Free Repreſentative of this Nation, taking into their moſt ſerious Conſideration, the beſt means for attaining the Ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt place, as their Anceſtors in like Caſes have formerly done, for Vindicating and Aſſerting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, Declare,

That the pretended Power of *Suſpending* of Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Conſent of Parliament, is Illegal.

That the pretended Power of *Diſpenſing* with Laws, or the exerciſe of Laws by Regal Authority, as has been aſſum'd and practis'd of late, is Illegal.

That the Commiſſion for Erecting a late *Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Commiſſions and Courts of the like nature, are Illegal and Pernicious.

That

That *Levying of Money* to or for the Uſe of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for a longer time, or in other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is Illegal. A. D. 1688.

That it is the Right of the Subject to *Petition* the King, and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch *Petitioning*, is Illegal.

That the Raiſing or Keeping a *Standing Army* within the Kingdom, in time of Peace, unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.

That the Subjects being Proteſtants, may have *Arms for their Defence* ſuitable to their condition, and as allow'd by Law.

That the Election of *Members of Parliament* ought to be free.

That the *Freedom of Speech and Debates*, and Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be Impeach'd or Queſtion'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

That *Exceſſive Bail* ought not to be required.

Nor *Exceſſive Fines* impos'd.

Nor cruel and unuſual *Puniſhments* inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be *duly empannell'd* and return'd, and Jurors which paſs upon Men in Tryals for High-Treaſon, ought to be Free-holders.

That all Grants and Promiſes of *Fines and Forfeitures* of particular Perſons, before Conviction are Illegal and Void.

That for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthning and preſerving the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently.

And they do *Claim, Demand, and Inſiſt upon all and ſingular the Premiſes, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties, and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings and Proceedings to the prejudice of the People, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example.*

To which Demand of their Right, they are particularly encourag'd by the Declaration of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanc'd by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other

Attempts

A. D. 1688. Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties. The ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do Reſolve,

'That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princeſs of 'Orange, be declared King and Queen of *England*, 'France, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto 'belonging, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity 'of the ſaid Kingdom and Dominions, to them the 'ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their Lives, and the 'Life of the Survivor of them, and that the full and 'ſole Exerciſe of the Regal Power, be only in and 'executed by the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names 'of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs during their joint 'Lives: And after their Deceaſes, the ſaid Crown 'and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms and Do-'minions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid 'Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Prin-'ceſs *Ann* of *Denmark* and the Heirs of her Body, and 'for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body 'of the ſaid Prince of *Orange*.

And the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly. And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned, be taken by all perſons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be required by Law, inſtead of them; and that the ſaid Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be Abrogated.

I *A. B.* do ſincerely Promiſe and Swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

So help me God.

I *A. B.* do Swear, that I do from my Heart Abhor, Deteſt, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Poſition, *That Princes Excommunicated or Depriv'd by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of* Rome, *may be Depos'd or Murder'd by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever*, And I do declare That no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.

So help me God.

This

This Offer being made in due Form, and accepted by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, on the 13th day of *February* 1688. The Lords and Commons order'd the following Proclamation to be publiſh'd. A. D. 1688.

The Proclamation.

Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God, in his great mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchſafe us a miraculous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that our Preſervation is due, next under God, to the Reſolution and Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of Orange, *whom God hath choſen to be the glorious Inſtrument of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs to us and our Poſterity; and being highly ſenſible and fully perſwaded of the great and eminent Vertues of her Highneſs the Princeſs of* Orange, *whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, will no doubt bring a Bleſſing along with her upon this Nation. And whereas the Lords and Commons now Aſſembl'd at* Weſtminſter, *have made a Declaration, and preſented it to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *and therein deſir'd them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the ſame accordingly: We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of* London, *and others the Commons of this Realm, do with full conſent publiſh and proclaim, according to the ſaid Declaration,* William *and* Mary *Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *to be King and Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; who are accordingly to be own'd, deem'd, and taken by all the People of the aforeſaid Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforward bound to acknowledge and pay unto them all Faith and true Allegiance; beſeeching God, by whom Kings Reign, to bleſs King* William *and Queen* Mary *with long and happy Years to Reign over us.*

God Save K. *William* and Q. *Mary.*

Theſe ample and affectionate Demonſtrations of the Nation's Gratitude, were as kindly receiv'd by the now King and Queen, as they were dutifully offer'd by their Loving Subjects; and thus the King was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf to the Lords and Commons upon the notice of it.

My

A. D. 1688.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This is certainly the greateſt proof of the Truſt you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in my coming hither, than to preſerve your Religion, Laws and Liberties, ſo you may be ſure that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to do any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

The Prince's Anſwer.

K. William and Q. Mary proclaimed at Whitehall.

To accompliſh what they had ſo happily began, the Lords and Commons having aſſembled in the Banquetting Houſe, went down to *Whitehall* Gate, where they found the Heralds, Serjeants at Arms and Trumpets, met together by Order of his Grace the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal of *England*; and the *Proclamation* being given into the hands of Sir *Thomas St. George*, *Garter* Principal King at Arms, with an Order from the Lords and Commons to publiſh it, the Trumpets having ſounded a Call three times, the laſt of which was anſwered by loud Acclamations from the vaſt number of People there aſſembled, he read the Proclamation above-recited, by ſhort Periods, which were repeated and proclaimed aloud by *Robert Deveniſh* Eſq; *York Herald*. The Proclamation being ended, the Officers of *Weſtminſter* and the Knight Marſhal's Men on Horſe back, march'd before to clear the way. Then follow'd nine Trumpets, the Purſivants, Serjeants at Arms, and the Heralds; who were follow'd by *Garter* King at Arms in his Rich Coat of Arms, accompanied by Sir *Thomas Duppa*, with his *Black Rod* the Enſign of his Office.

Next in Order follow'd the Marquis of *Halifax* as Speaker to the Houſe of Lords, in his Coach, attended by Sir *Roger Harſenet*, Eldeſt Serjeant at Arms with his Mace. Then follow'd *Henry Powel* Eſquire Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, attended by *John Topham*, Serjeant at Arms to that Houſe. After the two Speakers, followed the Duke of *Norfolk* Earl Marſhal and Premier Duke of *England*, in his Coach, with his Marſhal's Staff in his hand; and next to him all the Peers in order, in their Coaches, and laſt of all the Members of the Houſe of Commons in their Coaches,

In this Order they proceeded as far as the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, where they made a Halt, while two of the Officers at Arms, a Serjeant at Arms and two Trumpets, rode before to *Temple-Bar*; where the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Sheriffs* attending, they caus'd the Gates to be ſhut. The *Herald* knocking at the Gate, one of the *Sheriffs* demanded the Cauſe of it. The *Herald* told him, *That he came by Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembl'd at* Weſtminſter, *to demand Entrance into that famous City, for the Proclaiming of* William *and* Mary *King and Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and in order to it, requir'd their ſpeedy Anſwer:* Upon which the Gates were opened; and leaving the Head *Bayliff* and *Conſtable* of *Weſtminſter*, with their Attendants, without the *Bar*, the reſt enter'd, and joining with the Magiſtracy of the City, Proclaimed the King and Queen a ſecond time between the two *Temple-Gates*; the like they did at *Woodſtreet*-end in *Cheapſide*, a third time; and advancing to the *Exchange*, their Majeſties were Proclaimed a fourth time, whilſt the great confluence of Spectators who thronged the Streets, Balconies, Windows, and Tops of the Houſes, fill'd the Air with repeated Acclamations of Joy and Satisfaction. A. D. 1688

Thus was accompliſh'd one of the greateſt *Revolutions* in the World, which put an end to the ſhort Reign of *James* II. An *Unfortunate Prince*, that might have been as happy as his own Heart could have wiſh'd, if he would have made the Laws the Meaſures of his Government, and not have hearken'd too much to a ſort of Men that never did any thing but Miſchief in the World. He had met with but too many Occaſions to underſtand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to Govern, and to know it was utterly impracticable to overthrow the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a New one. He knew his Brother diſſwaded him from attempting it. And there was a Paſſage at his Father's Death, if he had obſerved it, would have prevented his Deſign of Setting up *Popery* or an *Arbitrary Power*. King *Charles* I. when he was upon the Scaffold, deliver'd his *George* to Dr. *Juxon*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, ſaying to him, *Remember*; without adding other words. The *Council of State*, willing to know the meaning of

that

A. D. 1688. that Expreſſion, call'd the Biſhop before them, to give them an account of it; his Lordſhip told them That the King, immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charged him to give his *George* to the Prince his Son, with theſe his two laſt Commands; *viz. That he ſhould forgive his Murderers: And that if he ever came to the Crown, he ſhould govern his Subjects with ſo much Prudence and Moderation, as never to force them upon Extremities:* but how far he profited by all the Advantages on the one hand, and Examples and Advices on the other, were ſeen in his Reign, to his Subject's Grief, and his own Loſs of Three Kingdoms: but that which aggravates his Circumſtances, is, that he knew what Courſe to ſteer to have made himſelf and his People happy, yet refuſed to follow his own Sentiments. This is plain by the firſt Speech he made after he was a King; which if his ſubſequent Actions had come up to, he had eterniz'd his Name, and might have reviv'd in himſelf the Memory of thoſe of his Anceſtors, who have deſervedly given them by Poſterity, the Character of *Good* and *Great*.

THE

WILLIAM III.

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MARY

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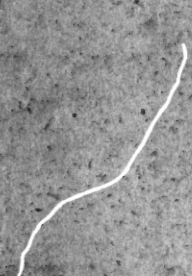

THE *LIFE and REIGN* OF King *WILLIAM* AND Queen *MARY.*

KIng *William* III. and Queen *Mary* being thus Legally ſettled in the Throne of *England*, and the few Soldiers of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment, that ſome time after Revolted, being quickly brought to Submit, and no other Puniſhment being inflicted upon them, but being ſent into *Holland* without any Defalcation of their Pay, the next Buſineſs was to take care of *Scotland*, whither, ſome time before, he had ſent a Body of Men under the Command of Major General *Mackay*, and where, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Gourdon* ſtill held *Edinborough* Caſtle, and that there was a Diſpoſition in the Northern Inhabitants of that Kingdom to adhere ſtill to the Late King, a *Convention* met alſo; and notwithſtanding the late King *James* writ to them as well as King *William*, yet his Letter was ſo far from having any effect upon them in his favour, that the *Convention* there *declared the Throne of* Scotland *Vacant*; and in an Addreſs the Eſtates of that Kingdom *prayed King* William *and Queen* Mary *to accept the ſame accordingly.*

A. D. 1689.

dingly. This Act being perfected in due form, the Earl of *Argyle*, with other Commiſſioners, were diſpatch'd with it to *London*, to preſent it to the King and Queen, and to take their Oaths; which being done the ſame Day *that their Majeſties were Crown'd King and Queen of* England, they were alſo *Proclaimed King and Queen of* Scotland: and on the 11th of *May* the Earl of *Argyle* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, tender'd the Coronation-Oath to their Majeſties, which was diſtinctly pronounced by the Earl, while Their Majeſties repeated the Sentences after him, holding up their Right-hand, according to the Cuſtom of *Scotland*. But when the King came to that Clauſe of the Oath, *We ſhall be careful to root out Hereticks*; he declared, *that he did not mean by thoſe words, that he was under any obligation to become a Perſecutor*: to which the Commiſſioners reply'd, *that neither the Meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of* Scotland, *did import it*: whereupon the King reply'd, *that he took the Oath in that ſenſe, and called the Commiſſioners and others there preſent to be Witneſſes of it.* Then the *Scotch Convention* was converted into a *Parliament*; who aboliſhed *Epiſcopal Government*, and ſettled *Preſbytery*; which with other concurring Cauſes, made things uneaſie for ſome time in *Scotland*: for though *Edinburgh Caſtle* was Surrender'd to Sir *John Lanier* upon the 13th of *June*, yet the Earl of *Dundee* gathered Forces in the North for the late King; between which and *Mackay* happened ſeveral Rencounters. The firſt was upon the 16th of *July*, near *Blaine* in the County of *Athol*, where *Mackay* with 4000 Foot, and 4 Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, attack'd *Dundee*, who had 6000 Foot and 100 Horſe. The Fight was very obſtinate, and laſted till night; where tho *Mackay* loſt the Field, and retreated that night to *Sterling*, yet the Death of *Dundee*, who was ſlain in the Battel, did more than compenſate for the other Loſs, ſeeing he was the Life and whole Dependance of that Party, who afterward dwindled away, and were worſted everywhere, and particularly once and again at *St. Johnſtown*; in the laſt of which Conflicts, one ſingle Regiment of the Earl of *Angus*'s, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Cleeland*, gave ſo entire a Defeat to their whole Force, which amounted to near 4000 Men, that they never after could appear

The King and Queen Proclaimed K. and Q. of Scotland.

The Earl of Dundee *ſlain.*

appear in any conſiderable Body, and therefore many of their Chiefeſt ſubmitted. An Action worthy of Memory, and would have been eſteemed at the higheſt rate, if it had not been accompanied with the Death of that brave Lieutenant Colonel; who, if it had pleaſed Divine Providence, deſerved a more propitious Fate. A. D. 1689.

May the 19th, 1689. the King was pleaſed to create *Frederick* (late *Mareſchal* of *France*) General of his Forces, Maſter General of the Ordnance, and one of the Privy Council, a Baron, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of this Kingdom, by the Name and Title of *Baron of* Teyes, *Earl of* Brentford, *Marquis of* Harwich, *and Duke of* Schomberg.

Affairs in Ireland.

But how proſperous ſoever King *William*'s Affairs ſeemed in *England* and *Scotland*, they were not ſo in *Ireland*; for *Tyrconnel* was ſettling all things in order to ſecure that Kingdom for the late King, with whom *Hambleton*, a profeſt Papiſt, who by a fatal Miſtake was ſent over from *England* to perſwade him to lay down his Arms, traiterouſly joined with him, and ſo the Opportunity was loſt for the preſent, and an Advantage given to the late King, to endeavour that way the re-gaining his loſt Dominions, ſince he was like to receive little Aſſiſtance from any other Prince, but what he had from the *French* King: For the Emperour, to whom he made a long Complaint, and implor'd his Aſſiſtance, was ſo far from complying with his Deſires, tho' he pitied his Condition, yet he reprimanded his Folly in ſiding with the *French* King to his own Ruin, and the hazard of all Chriſtendom, as may be read in the Emperour's Letter to him, among the *State Tracts*, dated at *Vienna* the 9th of *April*, 1689. However, tho' his Imperial Majeſty and other Catholick Princes declined giving him any Aſſiſtance, yet elevated with an Opinion of the Bravery and Fidelity of the *Iriſh*, he took Shipping at *Breſt* in *France*, and Landed in *Ireland* on the 12th of *March*, with about 1800 Auxiliary *French*, where he found almoſt the whole Country at his Devotion; for the greateſt part of the Proteſtants being diſarmed before, and many having left the Kingdom, thoſe that remain'd were unable to make any Reſiſtance. However, they made ſome ſhew of Forming an Army, but were quickly routed by Lieutenant General

the late King landed in Ireland.

A. C. 1689.

Hamilton, at a place called *Drummore*; which gave occaſion to the Late King and *Tyrconnel* to take away the reſt of the Arms and Horſes from all the Proteſtants, except thoſe that fled towards *London-derry*, and ſome few that went to *Inniskilling*, who about the 25th of *March* had Arms and Ammunition brought them by Captain *James Hamilton*, and who behaved themſelves with the greateſt *Bravery* that ever Men did, under ſuch forlorn Circumſtances. Major *Baker*, whom they choſe Governour after they had turn'd out Colonel *Lundy*, Mr *Walker* the Miniſter, and Colonel *Mecklenburg*, who ſucceeded Governour after *Baker*'s Death, demeaned themſelves beyond expectation: for neither a formidable Army without the Walls, nor a more terrible Enemy that had crept within, *viz.* Famine, which daily ſwept away Multitudes of the Gariſon, could force them to yield; but they continued, till at length they were Relieved by Colonel *Kirk*: and then on the 31ſt of *July* the *Iriſh* rais'd their Siege. This was no ſmall Mortification to the *Iriſh*, who met with as bad Succeſs in another Enterprize againſt the *Inniskillingers*; for, but the Day before about 6000 of them being upon their March, under the Command of Major General *Macarty*, the *Inniskillingers* march'd 20 Miles to meet them, and at a place call'd *Newton Butler*, fought and routed them, took *Macarty* Priſoner, and Kill'd and Drown'd near 300 of them, tho' the *Engliſh* were not above 2000 in all, of which they loſt not above 20 Men, and had about 50 wounded.

The Siege of London-derry.

The Duke of Scomberg *landed in* Ireland.

The King having by this time rais'd 18 Regiments of Foot and 5 of Horſe for this Service, he ſent them under the Command of the Duke of *Schomberg* for *Ireland*, who Landed at *Carrigfergus Bay*; and after the General had ſent out ſeveral Parties to diſcover the Poſture of the Enemy, and to ſcowr the Country, on the 22th of *May* he laid Siege to *Carrigfergus*, where, after the Mortars and Cannon had play'd for ſome Days upon the Town, *Macdarty Moore* capitulated, and Surrender'd it upon the 28th of *May*. From hence the Duke of *Schomberg* march'd the Army to *Lisburn*, and on the 3d of *September* encamp'd at *Drummore*. The Day following they continued their March to *Loughillane*, where the *Inniskilling* Horſe and Dragoons join'd them, and were order'd

order'd to be the *Advance Guard* to the Army. From hence they advanced to *Dundalk*, and encamp'd about a Mile North of the Town, in a low moiſt Ground. The bad Weather, conſtant Marches, and Scarcity of Proviſions, made our Men begin to faint. The Enemy after this made ſeveral Shews of *Fighting*: but the Duke ſaw they were not in earneſt, and he was wary of Engaging the *Iriſh*, by reaſon of their ſtrength and Number: but it was not ſo with the *Inniskillingers*; for on the 27th News came into the Camp, that Colonel *Floyd*, with about 2000 *Inniskillingers*, had defeated a Body of the *Iriſh* that were marching towards *Sligo*, conſiſting of about 5000 Men, killing about 700 of them, taking *O Kelly* their Commander, and 40 other Officers, Priſoners, beſides a great Booty of 8000 Head of Cattel; in which Action they loſt but 14 Men: With this News the Duke was ſo well pleas'd, that he order'd all the *Inniskilling* Horſe and Foot to draw out, and complemented them ſo far, as to Ride all along their Line *with his Hat off*; and gave them ſeveral Vollies in Thanks of their Service. After this the *Iriſh* took *Sligo*, and gain'd ſome other Advantages of the *Engliſh*, but what was worſe, they felt a more ſenſible Blow within themſelves, by the Death of a great many *Brave* Officers and Soldiers; for the Mortality was ſo great among them, that one half of the Army which was Tranſported over Dy'd in a ſhort time after their Landing. A. D. 1689.

His Reſpect to the Inniskillingers.

July the 24th, 1689, Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark* was brought to Bed of a Son in the Palace of *Hampton Court*, between 4 and 5 in the morning, and was Baptiz'd *William* on *Saturday* following, the 27th of the ſame Month, by the Right Reverend Father in God *Henry*, *Lord Biſhop of* London; the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, with the Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*, Lord Chamberlain, being Godfathers; and the moſt Noble Lady *Gertrude*, Marchioneſs of *Halifax*, Godmother. As ſoon as His Illuſtrious Highneſs was Chriſten'd, he was immediately Declar'd Duke of *Glouceſter*, by his Uncle K. *William* III.

At the latter end of *Auguſt* this Year 1689, died Pope *Innocent* XI. one of the greateſt Popes that has poſſeſs'd that Chair ſince the days of *Gregory the Great*.

A. D. 1689. His Name was *Odeſchalchi*, but was as well known in *Europe* by the Name of the *Proteſtant Pope*, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he diſapprov'd the Severities that were exercis'd upon the Proteſtants by ſeveral Princes of *Europe*.

Laws againſt Popery. The Parliament of *England* perceiving that the late King had gone a great way towards the Introducing the *Popiſh Religion* into this Kingdom, they took ſpecial care to prevent the like for the future, by Enacting in Concurrence with the Royal Authority, that the Kings and Queens of *England* ſhould be oblig'd at their coming to the *Crown* to take the *Teſt* in the firſt Parliament that ſhould be call'd at the Beginning of their Reign; and in the Bill of Succeſſion, added a Clauſe, *That if a King or Queen of* England *ſhould embrace the* Roman *Catholick Religion, or Marry with a* Roman *Catholick Prince or Princeſs, their Subjects ſhould be abſolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance.* They alſo Annull'd the Pretended Parliament in *Ireland*, and Enacted, That all that ſhould take up Arms againſt the King after the 24th of *February*, or ſhould hold Correſpondence with his Enemies, ſhould be guilty of High Treaſon. After which being Prorogued to the 12th of *April*, they were diſſolv'd by Proclamation upon the 5th of *February*; and the King, by the ſame Proclamation, call'd a new Parliament to meet on the 30th of *March*.

The Lancaſhire *Plot began.* At the latter end of this Year 1689, the late King *James* and his Popiſh Council in *Ireland*, laid the Foundation of the *Lancaſhire* Plot, wherein the chiefeſt Papiſts in that and many other Counties in *England*, who were Liſting Men for that purpoſe, were to riſe in Arms to Subvert the Preſent Government and to Reſtore the late King: but the Plot being diſcover'd by ſome of the Confederates, they proceeded no farther in it at that time.

The Parliament being Aſſembl'd at the time appointed, the King went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, was pleas'd to deliver himſelf to this Effect:

The King's Speech. 'That being reſolv'd to omit nothing on his part 'that might contribute to the Peace and Proſperity of 'the Nation; and to that end, believing his Preſence 'was abſolutely neceſſary in *Ireland*, for Reducing of 'that Kingdom, he had call'd them together to deſire

'their

'their Aſſiſtance, that he might be in a capacity to 'carry on the War there with Speed and Vigour. 'To which purpoſe, he deſired them to haſten the 'ſettling of the Revenues of the Crown, and that he 'might have a Fund ſettled in the mean time, upon 'the Credit whereof he might raiſe Money for the 'preſent Exigencies of the Nation. Then he was 'pleas'd to recommend to them the Paſſing of an Act 'of Oblivion, that his Subjects might ſee he had no 'other Intentions but to Govern by Law, and to 'leave them without Excuſe that ſhould attempt to 'diſturb the Government in his Abſence: And laſt-'ly, recommended to them an Union with *Scotland*; 'and then inform'd them, that he intended during 'his Abſence, to leave the Adminiſtration of the Go-'vernment in the Hands of the *Queen*, and deſired 'them to prepare an Act for that purpoſe; conclu-'ding with an earneſt Deſire, that they would be as 'ſpeedy in the Diſpatch of Buſineſs as poſſibly they 'could, in regard his Expedition into *Ireland* would 'not admit of any long Seſſions. A. D. 1689.

The King Landed in Ireland.

All the Particulars mention'd in His Majeſty's Speech, the Parliament readily comply'd with, and ſettled them accordingly: And Matters being brought to ſo happy a Period, his Majeſty, after returning them Thanks, Prorogu'd them to the 17th of *June*, and then haſten'd for *Ireland*, where he arriv'd the 14th of the ſame Month, to the great Joy of all the Proteſtants in that Kingdom.

The Scotch *Rebels routed.*

The Rebels in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, under the Command of Colonel *Cannon*, lurking in inacceſſible places in the *High Lands*, ſtill kept in a Body, and took their Opportunities to make frequent Incurſions into the *Low Lands*, to Plunder and Spoil where'er they came; and now being reinforc'd from King *James* in *Ireland* with about 40 Commiſſion Officers, and two Ships laden with *Cloaths, Arms, and Ammunition*, they were encourag'd, about one hundred and fifty ſtrong, to advance as far as *Strathpag* in the County of *Murray*; which Sir *Thomas Levingſtone* no ſooner underſtood, but (to prevent their farther acceſſion of Strength, in joining with other Malecontents) he fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that the Horſe and Dragoons entring their Camp, put them into ſuch a Confuſion, that they betook themſelves to

A. D. 1689.

Flight, leaving between four and five hundred dead upon the Spot, an hundred taken Priſoners; and this Blow being follow'd by others, totally ruin'd the late King's Intereſt in *Scotland*.

Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Affairs in Ireland.

A ſad time had all the *Proteſtants*, both Clergy and Laity in *Ireland*, in the whole time of *Tyrconnel*'s Adminiſtration there, which they were all in hopes would be redreſs'd when King *James* came into *Ireland*; but on the contrary, notwithſtanding all his fair Promiſes, things were then carried at a higher rate of Perſecution than before, moſt of the Churches in and about *Dublin* were ſeiz'd upon by the Government; and at the laſt *Lutterel*, Governor of *Dublin*, iſſued out an Order, *forbidding more than five Proteſtants to meet together under pain of death.* Being ask'd whether this was deſign'd to hinder their Meeting in Churches? He anſwer'd, *It was deſign'd to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other places.* And accordingly all the Churches were ſhut up, and all *Religious* Aſſemblies through the whole Kingdom forbidden under pain of Death. But to give a Deciſive Blow, an Act of *Attainder* was paſs'd in Parliament, which when preſented to the late King for his Aſſent, the *Speaker* of the Houſe told him, *That many were Attainted upon ſuch Evidence as ſatisfied the Houſe, and the reſt upon Common Fame.* In this Act no fewer were Attainted than *Two Arch-biſhops, one Duke, ſeventeen Earls, ſeven Counteſſes, twenty eight Viſcounts, two Viſcounteſſes, ſeven Biſhops, eighteen Barons, thirty three Baronets, fifty one Knights, eighty three Clergymen, two thouſand one hundred eighty two Eſquires and Gentlemen, and all of them, unheard*, Declar'd and Adjudg'd Traitors, Convicted and Attainted of High Treaſon, and adjudg'd to ſuffer the pains of Death and Forfeitures. And to make this Act yet the more terrible, and to put the Perſons attainted out of the poſſibility of eſcaping, *the Act it ſelf was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd a Copy of it, till four Months after it was paſs'd:* Which ſhews that they intended the utter Extirpation of the Proteſtants, Root and Branch. From King *James*'s *Court* and *Parliament*, let us return to the *Engliſh* Camp in that Country; where we ſhall find, that

The Act of Attainder.

Belturbet *Taken.*

Dundalk was not the only place that prov'd fatal to our Army in *Ireland*, for both Officers and Soldiers

died

died in great numbers when they came into Quarters. However, Sickneſs by degrees abating, they found both Men and Horſes which ſurvived, in indifferent good plight; and Colonel *Woolſey* engaging the *Iriſh* near *Belturbet*, tho' with great Diſadvantage, he put them to Flight with great loſs of their Men, and the Town of *Belturbet*, where the *Engliſh* got good Plunder, and Burn'd it. About the ſame time Sir *John Lanier* routed another Party near *Dundalk*, took *Bedloe* Caſtle, and about 1500 Cows and Oxen. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, on *Good Friday*, took the only Frigot the late King had in his poſſeſſion, in his own ſight at *Rings-End*, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that could be made againſt him by Sea and Land. But to return again to Affairs in the North, where little was done beſides taking the Caſtle of *Charlemont*, a ſtrong place by Nature and Art, being ſeated upon a piece of Ground in the middle of a Bay, and only acceſſible by two ways. Old *Teague O Kogan* was Governour of the Caſtle, and upon the firſt Summons was ſo ſurly, that he gave ill words, and refuſed to Capitulate: but after the loſs of many Men, and being driven to great ſtreights, he accepted terms, ſurrendred it, and Colonel *Babington* took poſſeſſion of it for King *William*. A. D. 1689. Charlemont *Caſtle Taken.*

The King, as you heard before, landed at *Carrigfergus* on *June* the 4th, 1690, being attended by *Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Mancheſter, and the Honourable Mr. Boyle*, with many other Perſons of Quality, and went in Duke *Schomberg*'s Coach that Evening into *Belfaſt*, and ſome days after went to *Liſburn* and din'd with the General. From thence the King paſſed to *Hillsborough*, and finding things moved but ſlowly, he ſaid, *He came not thither to ſuffer Graſs to grow under his feet*, and made his Word good, for the whole Army now received Orders to march into the Field, and from thence to *Dundalk*, where the whole Army, *Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, Germans*, and *French* joyned, making in the whole 36000 Men. From hence they marched to *Ardes*, which the Enemy had abandoned, where the King viewing the Country as he marched along, ſaid, *It was worth fighting for.* On the laſt of *June* he underſtood that all the *Iriſh* Army had paſſed the *Boyne*, upon which he ordered the whole Army to

A. D. 1690. move in three Lines towards that River, which was then three Miles distant from them, and the Enemy being near our Advances, made their Approaches very regularly, and by Nine a clock were within two Miles of *Drogheda*. The King rode to the Pass at the Old Bridge, and stood upon the Bank of the River to observe the Enemies posture. After this he rid about 200 paces up the River, nigh the West of all the Enemies Camp, and whilst his Army was marching in, his Majesty alighted, and sat down upon a Rising-ground, where he refresh'd himself for about an hour; during which time, some of the *Irish* shot at our Dragoons with long Guns, that came to drink at the River, and had their Complement returned in kind. It was farther observed, that a Party of about 40 Horse advancing very slowly, stood in a plow'd Field over against the King for near half an hour, and brought two Field-pieces with them which they dropt behind the Hedge, that they might not be perceived; with one of which, when the King was mounted, they fired, and with it killed two Horses and a Man about a hundred yards above the place where the King was; which was no sooner done, but immediately came a Second which had almost been fatal *To one of the greatest Lives upon Earth*, for the Ball having first grazed on the Bank of the River, upon its first Rising slanted upon the King's right Shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat, tore the Skin and Flesh, and afterwards broke the Head of a Gentleman's Pistol. The Lord *Conningsby* seeing his Majesty struck, rid up to him and clapt his Handkerchief upon the place; but the King himself took little notice of it, but kept his pace, saying, *There was no necessity, the Bullet should have come nearer.* The Enemy continued Firing, and seeing their Shot disturb'd our Horse, made such a prodigious Shout through their Camp, as if the King's whole Army had been Routed.

The King wounded.

The King's Army passed the Boyn.

About Nine at night the King declared he would pass the River next day, and accordingly ordered how the Army should march, and who should command the several Posts. Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to command the Right Wing of Foot, *Count Schomberg* the Horse, who were to march Early to *Slane Bridge* and other Fords up the River to flank the

the Enemy, or get between them. At *Duleek* the Lord *Portland* and Lord *Overkirk* had their Poſts as *Mareſchals de Camp.* The Left Wing of the Horſe were to paſs between the Enemies Camp and *Drogheda*, whilſt a Body of Foot forced their way at the Paſs at *Old Bridge.* Towards Evening the Cannon gave over playing on both ſides, and the King ordered every Soldier to be ready next Morning by Break of Day, to march at a minutes warning, with every Man a green Bough or Sprig in his Hat, to diſtinguiſh him from the Enemy, who wore pieces of White Paper on theirs. The *Word* that Night was *Weſtminſter.* A. D. 1690.

Tueſday the 1ſt of *July* being come, the King's Army paſſed the ſeveral Fords with abundance of Courage, through great Difficulties and repeated Oppoſitions, in one of which the Duke of *Schomberg* ſeeing the Enemy retreat to *Duleek*, he fell in amongſt their Foot with his Horſe, and killed many of them. All our Horſe went over to the Right aud Left, except one Squadron of the *Danes*, who paſſed the River whilſt our Foot was engaged, and advancing to the Front, *Hambleton* ſent out 60 Horſe, who charged the *Danes* ſo vigorouſly, that they retreated much faſter than they advanced, ſome of them ſcarce looking behind them till they had croſſed the River again. The want of Horſe was ſo apparent in this place, that the very Country People cry'd out, *Horſe, Horſe*, which might have proved a fatal Miſtake; for the Word going to the Right, and they miſtaking it for *Halt*, ſtopt the Right Wing for nigh half an hour. This, and the *Iriſh* breaking through the *French* Regiment, happened much about the ſame time, which was thought the occaſion of Duke *Schomberg*'s going over ſo unſeaſonably; for in this Hurry he was Killed, near the little Village beyond the River, by a mortal Wound through his Neck, and being cut in two places over the Head, ſo that he fell from his Horſe without ſpeaking a word. Mr. *Walker* the Miniſter, who behaved himſelf ſo bravely at *Londonderry*, at the ſame place received his Death's Wound, and was immediately ſtript; for the *Scotch-Iriſh* that follow'd the Camp were got through already, and carried off moſt of the Plunder. At length both Armies engaged in ſeveral places, where the *Iriſh* Foot

Duke Schomberg killed.

firſt

A. D. 1690.

first run away, whilſt the *Count de la Zun*'s Horſe and ſome *Swiſs* he had with him, who were the beſt Men in the late King's Army, anſwered what could be expected from them, and ſtood tightly to it till they ſaw themſelves wholly abandon'd by the *Iriſh*, who made ſo much haſte, that tho ſome of the *Engliſh* Horſe and Foot purſued them four Miles beyond the Field of Battel, yet they could not overtake them. The Enemy's whole Loſs, by a modeſt computation, was reckoned at 1500, and of them ſome were of Quality, as the Lord *Dungan*, the Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, and others. On the King's ſide fell about 400, an inconſiderable Loſs, if the Renowned Duke *Schomberg* had not been one of the number. A perſon whom the worſt of his Enemies always called *a brave Man, and a great General*. He had the beſt Education in the World, and ſo well improved it, that he knew Men and things beyond moſt of his time; Courteous, Reſpectful, and Civil to all Men, and yet there was always ſomething that look'd ſo great in him that commanded reſpect from Men of all Degrees and Qualities. He was of a middle Stature, Fair-complexioned, of a Sound and Healthy Conſtitution; and no Man ſate and became a Horſe better. He was always neat in his Cloaths, and pleaſant in his Converſation; and tho he was fourſcore and two Years of Age when he died, yet upon his being embowell'd, his *Heart*, *Brain*, and *Entrails* were as ſound and freſh, as if he had been a Youth of Twenty: and in all probability, if Divine Providence had not ordered it otherwiſe, he might have lived many years longer. And as Monſieur *Callimot* had follow'd that great Man in all his Fortunes while alive, ſo he attended him at his Death, dying of his Wound ſoon after him.

The Iriſh *Army routed.*

D. Schomberg's *Character.*

The King received no manner of Hurt in the whole Engagement, tho he was in all the hotteſt parts of it, only a Cannon Ball carried away a piece of his Boot; but did all that the greateſt of Men could do upon the like occaſion. He choſe the Field, drew up his Army, gave out general Orders to his Officers, and demean'd himſelf through the whole Action with that Gallantry, Reſolution, and Preſence of Mind ſo peculiar to himſelf, and which was ſuch a Poiſe for inclining the Battel to his own ſide, that his very Enemies

The King's excellent Conduct.

Enemies ſaid, *If we would change Kings with them, they would fight the Battel over again with us.* For, the late King during moſt of the time, ſtood with ſome Squadrons of Horſe upon the Hill called *Dunmore*, and when the Officer that Commanded ſaw from thence how ill it went with their Friends below, and mov'd his Maſter that they might go down and help them, his Anſwer was, *What! will ye leave me alone?* and ſo marched off to *Duleek*, and from thence in great haſte to *Dublin*, where the firſt News was, *that the* Engliſh *General was killed, and the Prince of* Orange *taken Priſoner*: but they were quickly undeceived; for the next Morning he told the Citizens he was neceſſitated to yield to Force, but would never ceaſe to labour their Deliverance as long as he lived; and ſo poſted away to *Waterford*, where he arrived the ſame day, taking care to have the Bridges broken down behind him for fear of being purſued. There he went on Board a Veſſel called the *Count de la Zun*, that was ready to receive him; but the *Sieur Foran* that commanded the Squadron meeting him at Sea, obliged him to go on Board one of his Frigots for his quicker Paſſage, and by this means got once more into *France*. A. D. 1690.

The next day after the Battel the *Engliſh* reſted, while four Squadrons of Horſe were Detach'd under the Command of Monſieur *Melioner*, and ſent to take in *Drogheda*, which they effected. King *James* had no ſooner left *Dublin*, but the Proteſtants took Poſſeſſion of it; and the Duke of *Ormond*, whom the King ſent thither, found Captain *Farlow* Governour of it, whom but two days before was a Priſoner. The King himſelf, with his Army, ſoon after came to *Finglaſs*, within two Miles of the City, and went next day to St. *Patrick's Church*, but return'd after Dinner to the Camp. From thence his Majeſty ſent Lieutenant General *Douglas* with three Regiments of Horſe, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot, to *Athlone*, where they arriv'd on the 17th Day of *July*, and encamp'd within a quarter of a Mile of the Town, from whence *Douglas* ſent a Drum to ſummon it; but old Colonel *Grace*, the Governour, fir'd a Piſtol at him, and ſent him word, *Thoſe were the Terms he was for.* This Garriſon was very ſtrong by Nature and Art, and the King's Forces being too few to take it, the

The Proteſtants reaſſume the Government of Dublin.

A. C. 1690.

the Siege was raiſed on the 25th, where tho they loſt but 30 Men before the Town, yet their Number was much diminiſh'd by other Diſaſters, at leaſt three or four hundred.

The King at Kill-Kenny.

The King march'd Weſtward, and on the 11th of *July* reach'd *Kill-Kullen Bridge*. From thence he continu'd his March to take Poſſeſſion of *Kill-Kenny*, to ſecure the Proteſtants and other Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries from being plunder'd by the Enemy. *July* the 19th the King Din'd with the Duke of *Ormond* at his Caſtle of *Kill-Kenny*, which had been preſerv'd by Count *Lazun* with all the Goods and Furniture, and left in a good Condition, not without the Cellar well ſtor'd, with what they had not time to drink at their going off. *July* the 25th *Waterford* was Surrender'd to the King, and alſo the ſtrong Fort of *Duncannon*. Here the Lord *Dover* was admitted to his Majeſty's Protection, by the Mediation of Colonel *Kirk*. *July* the 27th his Majeſty left the Camp at *Carrick*, and went towards *Dublin*, having ſome Thoughts of returning into *England*; but having a further Account from thence, that ſeveral wicked Deſigns were diſcover'd and prevented, that the Loſs at Sea was inconſiderable, and that the *French* Fleet having burnt one ſmall Village in the *Weſt*, were gone off again, he return'd to the Camp, and march'd within half a Mile of *Limerick*, where after ſeveral deſperate Attacks and Rencounters, *Sarsfield* having got privately out of the Town, the *Engliſh* Train was blown up; for *Sarsfield* having lurk'd all that Day in the Mountains, and having Intelligence where and how the *Engliſh* lay, he had thoſe that guided him through by-ways to the very Spot, where he fell among them before they were aware, and cut ſeveral of them to pieces, with a great many of the Waggoners, and ſome Country People, that were carrying Proviſions to the Camp. The Officers made what Reſiſtance they could, but to no purpoſe; for every Man was at laſt oblig'd to ſhift for himſelf: but it did not end ſo; for the *Iriſh* got up what Horſes they could meet withal, belonging either to Troops or Train. Some broke the *Boats*, others drew away the Carriages and Waggons, with the Bread, Ammunition, and as many of the Guns, as in ſo ſhort a time they could get into one heap. They fill'd the Guns with

Sarsfield's Stratagem.

with Powder, and put their Mouths into the ground, that they might be ſure to ſplit. What they could pick up in this Hurry they took away with them, and then laid a Train to the reſt, which being fir'd at their going off, blew up all with a hideous and aſtoniſhing Noiſe; and the Party of Horſe that was ſent from the Camp, came not in till the Buſineſs was over. A. C. 1690.

However, the Siege went on, the Trenches were open'd the 17th, and a Battery rais'd below the Fort, to the Right of the Trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the Enemies Cannon. The day following his Majeſty was in great danger; for while the Enemy fir'd very thick, he rid ſoftly up to *Cromwel*'s Fort, and as his Horſe was directly entring the Gap, he was ſtay'd by a Gentleman that came to ſpeak with him, when in the very moment, there ſtruck a 24 Pounder in the very place, which would have ſtruck the King and his Horſe too in pieces, *if his Good Angel had not defended him.* It would be too tedious, in this Abſtract, to relate every Paſſage in this Siege, which now the King ſeeing would coſt another Campaign, he reſolv'd to raiſe it; and to that purpoſe, having left the Lord *Sidney* and *Thomas Conningſby* Eſquire, *Lords Juſtices of Ireland*, left the Command of the Army to Count *Solmes*, who ſometime after going into *England*, it was conſign'd into the hands of the *Brave Lieutenant General Ginkle:* The King, with the Prince of *Denmark* and ſeveral other Lords embark'd at *Duncannon* on the 1ſt of *September*, the next Day in the Evening arriv'd at *King Road* near *Briſtol*, and on the 9th came to *Windſor*, not without an extraordinary Joy through the whole Kingdom. *The King's Deliverance, and Return to* England.

The late King having ſent over *Commiſſions out of* Ireland *into* Lancaſhire, *and the Northern parts*, to raiſe an Army there to diſturb the Government, and was alſo under an Obligation of being there in Perſon in *Auguſt* laſt; the Victory of the *Boyne* quite overthrew that Project for his Reſtoration; and therefore the reſtleſs *Jacobites* in *England*, reſolv'd that the Plot for Reſtoring their *Old Maſter* ſhould be laid *Wider, extend farther, and more Intereſts be united in Cabals of their moſt conſiderable Friends, Lords and Gentlemen, both Whigs and Tories*, who at their ſeveral Clubs *Another Conſpiracy contriving.*

A. D. 1690. Clubs ſhould propoſe and debate the moſt effectual ways to reſtore the late King, which at laſt came to this Reſult; *viz. That the* Jacobites *being unable to re-enthrone the late King by their own Strength, they ſhould endeavour to obtain Aſſiſtance from* France, *who had formerly made ſuch Promiſes.* Secondly, *Since Delays were dangerous, ſending Letters into* France *hazardous, the Court at* St. Germains *factious and treacherous, therefore ſome Men of Quality and known Ability ſhould go over into* France *to tranſact that matter for the whole Party.* This Project having the Approbation of all the Conſpirators, in *December* 1690. the Lord *Preſton*, Mr. *Aſhton*, and Mr. *Elliot*, were pitch'd upon as the Perſons to be ſent into *France*. Some would have had their Number encreas'd by the Addition of others, but were over-rul'd by this ſtanding Maxim among them, * *Chuſe well, but have to do but with a few, for a multitude may give, but can never keep Council.*

* Vid. *Lord* Preſton's *Tryal, P.* 55.

The Contrivance diſcover'd.

Theſe Gentlemen thus appointed by the Party, having hired a Veſſel of Mrs. *Jane Pratt* of *Berkin* in *Eſſex*, for their Tranſportation, went on board at *Battel Bridge*, *December* 30; but the whole Plot being diſcover'd, the Government order'd Captain *Billop* to attend their Motion; who ſuffer'd them to ſail below *Graveſend*, and then Boarded and took them. In Mr. *Aſhton*'s Boſom was found a Pacquet of Letters and Papers, which declar'd *they were going to* France, *to promote the treaſonable Deſigns of that Party againſt the King and Queen, to Invade the Realm, Subvert the Government, and Reſtore the late King by the aſſiſtance of* French *Forces.* In *January* 1690. the Lord *Preſton* and Mr. *Aſhton* were brought to their Tryals at the *Old Baily*; and being found Guilty of High Treaſon, receiv'd the Sentence of Condemnation: upon which Mr. *Aſhton* was Executed, and the Lord *Preſton* diſcovering the whole Conſpiracy upon his Oath, to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, Principal Secretary of State, had his Life given him: but how well he deſerv'd that Favour, his future Actions demonſtrated. Againſt Mr. *Elliot* there was no other Proof but Circumſtances, therefore he was not Try'd. This Diſappointment quaſhed the Conſpiracy; and now all hopes of an Invaſion and Inſurrection are laid aſide, till the *Jacobites* could meet with a more lucky opportunity to revive them.

Mr. Aſhton *Executed.*

The

A. D. 1691.

The beginning of the Year 1691 was remarkable for the famous *Congreſs* of the Confederate Princes held at the *Hague*, from whence neither the Rigor of the Seaſon, the Danger of a Tempeſtuous Sea and Icy Shore, could not hinder King *William* from going to it, to farther the great Deliverance of *Europe*, which he had ſo glorioufly begun, and carried on hitherto. Where, among other things of great moment, he repreſented to the Congreſs, *That the imminent Danger they found themſelves in, ſufficiently diſcovered the Errors that had been committed, and therefore now was not a time to deliberate, but to act in the Circumſtances they were in. That the Enemy was Maſter of all the chief Fortreſſes that were the Barriers of the Common Liberty, and that he would quickly poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, if a Spirit of Diviſion, Slackneſs and particular Intereſts continued among them, without diſcerning that their reſpective Particular Intereſts were comprized in the general one. That the Enemy's Forces were very ſtrong, and would carry all things like a Torrent before them, and therefore 'twas in vain to oppoſe Complaints and fruitleſs Proteſtations againſt Injuſtice; when nothing but Soldiers, Strong Armies, and a Prompt and Sincere Union among all the Allies, can put a ſtop to the Enemy's Conqueſts, and ſnatch the* Liberties of Europe *out of his hand, which was already held by him under the Yoke of Oppreſſion.* And as to what concern'd himſelf, he proteſted, *That he would neither ſpare his Credit, his Forces, nor his Perſon, to concur with them in ſo juſt and neceſſary a Deſign; and therefore would certainly come in the* Spring *at the Head of his Troops, to make good his Promiſes to them.*

The Congreſs at the Hague, *and the King's Speech to them.*

But tho this encouraging Speech and generous Reſolution in the King, brought every one of the Aſſembly to a Concurrence in this Noble Deſign, it did not diſcourage *France*; for the *French* King thinking the only way to divert the Counſels that had been taken againſt him, was, if poſſible, to ſtrike a Damp into the Confederates by ſome Signal Action, and ſo keep back the reſt of *Europe*, that were not yet engaged againſt him, he divided his Army into two formidable Bodies, and early, even in *March*; the firſt of them advanced both by Sea and Land into the Territories of *Savoy*, under the Command of Monſieur *Cattinat*, and on the 13th of the ſame Month inveſted the City of *Nice*, and by the *Treachery* or *Cowardice* of the Citizens,

Nice Beſieged and Surrendered.

A. D. 1691.

tizens, who, againſt the Governour's Will, Surrender'd the Town to the *French* upon the 26th of *March*, the *Governour* was alſo forced to Capitulate on the 2d of *April*; and making honourable Terms, Surrender'd the Caſtle to them alſo. Nor did this ſerve the *French* King's ends; but reſolving to attack the Confederates in a moſt ſenſible part, he came in Perſon, and on the 15th of *March* beſieged the ſtrong City of *Mons*; and notwithſtanding a ſtout Reſiſtance, puſh'd it on with ſo much Vigour, and vaſt numbers, that there was ſcarce a poſſibility for the Beſieged to keep it. The reaſon why the *French* put themſelves into ſo great a loſs of their Men, in haſtening their Attacks, was becauſe they heard the King of *England* was come to *Vilvord* with the Confederate Army, with deſign, when the Forces came up, to Relieve *Mons*, tho indeed there was little Probability of ſuch an Attempt, for all things were ſo unprovided for it, that there was not ſo much as neceſſary *Carriages* for the Expedition: which great Neglect was laid to the charge of the Marquis *de Caſtinago* Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. However, by the 8th of *April* the Beſiegers had not made ſuch a Progreſs as would in ſeveral Days longer have neceſſitated the Garriſon to Capitulate, if the *Monks* and other *Eccleſiaſticks* in the Town, who were in the *French* Intereſt, had not ſpurr'd up the *Burghers* of the City to importune the Governour to it, and upon his Refuſal threatned *to open the Gates to the Enemy, and deliver up him and his Garriſon into the Beſiegers hands*. So that, in ſhort, notwithſtanding all his and Colonel *Fagel*'s Efforts to the contrary, in perſwading the Citizens to be quiet, all would not do, and ſo the City was delivered up to the *French* on the 10th of *April* 1692. The 30th of *May* the Moſt Reverend Doctor *Tillotſon* was Conſecrated Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at St. *Mary le Bow* in *London*.

Mons *beſieged and ſurrendred.*

K. William *returned into* England.

King *William* Repaſs'd the Seas into *England*, to give the neceſſary Orders for the entire Reduction of *Ireland*, that his Majeſty might have more leiſure to return again into *Flanders* to head the Confederate Armies at the next Campaign, of which you may expect the Iſſue when we have took a view of Affairs in *Ireland* ſince his Majeſty left it. And here

we

we find the greateſt miſchief done to the *Engliſh* was by the *Rapparees*, and the native *Iriſh* not in Arms, who kill'd and robb'd all they could maſter, and then retreated into their *Bogs* and *aſtneſſes*, where there was no coming at them. There was no great forwardneſs in either Party to take the Field, ſo that it was *June* 91, before they came to any conſiderable Action. Then the *Engliſh* laid Siege to *Baltimore*, which was ſurrendred upon the 9th of *June*; from whence, after ſome days ſtay, the Army marched to *Athlone*, and took the *Engliſh* Town by Storm, where abundance of the *Iriſh* were kill'd and drown'd in endeavouring to eſcape. On the 22th Batteries were rais'd againſt the *Iriſh* Town, and the Cannons and Mortars began to play very briskly on the North Eaſt ſide of the Caſtle, where it was weakeſt. On the 26th the *Engliſh* fired from ſeven Batteries upon the Enemy, and they were no leſs reſolute and vigilant in their own defence. But at length by an incredible piece of *Bravery*, the *Engliſh* croſs'd the *Shannon* through the thickeſt of the Enemies Bullets, Fire, and Smoak, and having gain'd the Bank, in leſs than half an hour took the Town, and were Maſters of the Trenches, though Monſieur *St Ruth* lay near with an Army to ſuccour it, who when he heard it was taken, lamenting his overſight, decampt with his Army towards *Aghrim*.

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Athlone *beſieged and taken.*

On the tenth of *July* General *Ginkle* marcht after *St Ruth* the *French* General, and coming up with them, on the twelfth of *July*, being *Sunday*, the *Engliſh* Army was commanded to advance upon the Enemy, but the Morning proving *Foggy*, they mov'd not till about twelve a Clock. At three, ſeveral Skirmiſhes happen'd between them in gaining of Paſſes, which putting the *Iriſh* into ſome Diſorder, the *Engliſh* Commanders having time to Conſult, reſolv'd to proſecute that advantage, which they did with ſo much Bravery, and in ſuch Danger, that Words can hardly expreſs it. When both Armies engag'd, and *Monſieur St Ruth* ſaw the *Engliſh* Foot repuls'd in the Centre, in a great extaſy he told thoſe about him, *that now he would beat the* Engliſh *to the very Gates of* Dublin. But as he was riding to give further Orders, he was *Kill'd* with a great Shot from one of the Batteries. When the *French* General fell, one of his Retinue threw

The Battel of Aghrim

The French *General kill'd.*

A. D. 1691. threw a Cloak over his Corps, and remov'd him behind the Hill, his Guard going off at the ſame time; which the *Iriſh* Horſe perceiving, followed the *French* Example in ſeveral Parties, and a little after their whole Army betook themſelves to their Heels, and run away, the Foot towards a great *Bog* on the left behind them, and the Horſe on the High-way towards *Loughreagh*. The *Engliſh* Horſe and Dragoons purſued them three Miles; but Night coming on, with a thick miſty Rain, prevented the *Engliſh* from getting between them, and a very advantageous Poſt near *Loughreagh*, which gave many of them an opportunity to eſcape. However it was computed, that there was no leſs than ſeven Thouſand of them killed upon the Spot, and on the *Engliſh* ſide but a thouſand, tho' the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted but of ſeventeen thouſand Horſe and Foot, and the *Iriſh* were about twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe and Dragoons.

Loſſes on both ſides.

After the *English* Army had refreſhed themſelves here for ſome days, they march'd for *Galloway*, where having poſted their Troops, the General ſent in a *Trumpet* to ſummon the Garriſon, who was anſwered by the Lord *Dillon*, the Governour, that Monſieur *d'Uſſone*, who commanded in chief, was of the ſame opinion with himſelf and the reſt of the Officers, and reſolved to defend it to the laſt; but notwithſtanding this reſolution, when they ſaw the *English* had paſſed part of their Army over the River, and had taken the Fort the *Iriſh* were building, they beat a Parley, exchanged Hoſtages, and after ſome time of Treaty ſurrendred the Town upon Articles, on the 20th of *July*. On the 25th of *Auguſt* the *Engliſh* Army arrived at *Limerick*, where the Earl of *Tyrconnel* dyed ſome days before; the ſame day they poſſeſt themſelves of *Ireton*, and *Cromwell*'s Forts, which were now order'd to be called *Naſſau*'s and *Mackay*'s, becauſe they were gain'd under thoſe Commanders. This Siege continu'd till the 23d of *September*, then the Enemy beat a Parley on both ſides of the Town, and the next day Lieutenant General *Sarsfield*, and Major General *Waughup* came out to the General, and deſired a Ceſſation of Arms might be continued for three days, till they could ſend to their Horſe, who were then encamp'd toward *Clare*, in order to their being

Galloway *ſurrendred.*

being included in the Generals Capitulation which they then propos'd, which was agreed to; the Priſoners in the Town were releas'd, and on the 29th *Sarsfield* and *Waughup* Din'd with the General. The next day the *Iriſh* ſent out their Propoſals, but in ſuch extravagant Terms that the General refus'd them, and immediately order'd a new Battery to be rais'd; but upon the humble requeſt of the *Iriſh*, he ſent them in twelve Articles, which were at laſt agreed to, and interchanbly ſign'd on the firſt of *October*. I ſhall not here inſert the Articles, only obſerve, that *Limerick*, and all the other *Garriſons*, *Forts*, *Towns* and *Caſtles* then in poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*, ſhould be ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh*, and as many of the *Iriſh* Army as were willing to be Tranſported into *France* ſhould have liberty to do it. Accordingly *Limerick* was ſurrender'd, and the *Iriſh* ſent away. And thus ended this famous *Iriſh War*, with ſo much the more Glory to the *Engliſh*, becauſe they were ſo powerfully aſſiſted by the *French* King, who thought it was much to his Intereſt to divert their Arms that way, whoſe Anceſtors had done ſuch terrible things in his own Country, that he car'd not to ſee them in *Flanders*.

A. D. 1691.

Limerick *ſurrender'd and the War ended*

King *William* made no great ſtay in *England*, but return'd again into the *Netherlands* to Head the Confederate Army, which in Foot, was ſomething Superiour to that of *France*, but in Horſe, the *French* were much the ſtronger. Here his Majeſty did all that Man could do, to bring Monſieur the Duke of *Luxemberg* to an Engagement, by Marches and Countermarches that he frequently made, as well as giving umbrages of Attacking *Maubrege* or *Mons*, yet all would not invite him to it, but on the contrary, he induſtriouſly avoided Fighting, as too dangerous an Enterprize, as Affairs were then adjuſted, unleſs he could find an opportunity to his own advantage; ſo that his Majeſty, after he had blown up the Fortifications of *Beaumont*, and had led the Army to *Aeth*, he left it under the Command of Prince *Waldeck*, and on the 16th of *September* went to *Loo*. Prince *Waldeck* continu'd ſome time about *Aeth*, but moving off towards *Benair*, Monſieur *Luxenberg* fell upon their Rear, with a great Body of Horſe, the beſt in *France*. The Conflict was very terrible, and the firſt Line of the Confederates were forc'd to a diſorderly Retreat; but they

A. D. 1692. Rallied again behind their ſecond Line, which laſt gave ground alſo before the Enemy; but afterwards Rallying in the ſight of the *French* near the place of Action, the *French* not daring to return to the Charge for fear of the Infantry; or perhaps they thought they had done enough in killing them above a thouſand Men, with the loſs of about half the number of their own, with this Action the Campaign ended on that ſide.

The Poll *Tax granted.*

In *November* the laſt Year, the Parliament began to ſit, before whom the King laid *the Succeſs of his Arms in the entire Reduction of* Ireland, *hoping it was an earneſt of future Succeſſes, which their timely aſſiſtance might procure him. Then he was pleas'd to urge the neceſſity of a ſtrong Fleet, and the diſpatch of buſineſs, leſt an opportunity ſhould be loſt, that was never to be retrieved.* The *Parliament* made all poſſible ſpeed they could, and all their Bills being ready for the *Royal Aſſent* on the 5th of *March*, the King having paſs'd them went for *Holland*, where he landed the 26th of *March*, and after ſome ſtay at the *Hague* went to *Loo*, and from thence to the Army; but of this more anon. His Majeſty's Enemies having fail'd in other Attempts upon his Perſon, and being unwilling any longer to wait the uncertain Fate of War, thought the following Project the beſt expedient for their purpoſe, and this time moſt agreeable: For the King being now in *Flanders*, to Murther him there would admit of more Excuſes than in another place, This horrid Enterprize, with the promiſe of great Rewards, being communicated to *Granvalle*, a Captain of Dragoons in the *French* Service, he and one *Dumont* undertook it, and travell'd to *Loo*, while the King was there to effect it; but miſſing their opportunity, followed his Majeſty to his Royal Camp in *Flanders*, where *Granvalle* returned to the *French* Army, and *Dumont* according to the Orders given him, liſted himſelf in the Confederate Army, that he might take his opportunity, when his Majeſty went to viſit the Grand Guards or the Lines, *To ſhoot him behind his back*, and then make the beſt of his way to a Body of Horſe, that *Granvalle* and Collonel *Parker* ſhould have in readineſs, upon a previous intimation, to Reſcue and Carry him off. But Heaven took care of the Preſervation of *Europe*, that ſo viſibly depended upon one ſingle

Granvell's Plot againſt the King.

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ſingle Life; for whether *Dumont*'s Heart fail'd him, or whatever elſe was the Cauſe, after ſome Weeks attendance, not being able to effect his Deſign, he return'd to the Court at *Hannover*, and for this Year gave over the accurſed Deſign of *Aſſaſſinating* his Majeſty.

An invaſion intended.

This Project failing, *Parker* came into *England*, and brought News with him, *That their* Old Maſter *had now obtain'd of the moſt* Chriſtian King, *thirty thouſand effective Men, and that when the Spring was a little more advanc'd, the late King (who was already marching into* Normandy) *would make a Deſcent into* England. This News was confirm'd by diſperſing the late King's Declaration, Inviting all his loving Subjects to join with him, and excluding ſome by Name from the benefit of his Pardon, and all others that ſhould oppoſe him; which made the whole *Jacobite* Party as Uppiſh, as if they had ſome infallible aſſurance of Conquering *England*. Several Regiments of *Jacobites* were alſo raiſing, to join the late King at his Landing, and ſome they ſay were compleated, as one under the Command of the Lord *Montgomery*, one raiſed by Collonel *Holman*, one under Collonel *Parker*, one under the Lord *Mullineaux*, one under Sir *John Fenwick* and three more under other *Lancaſhire* Gentlemen; inſomuch that the late King being now at *La Hogue*, ready to embark with his *French* and *Iriſh* Troops, the Queſtion was every Morning, *How is the Wind?* which ſtanding long in a Proteſtant Quarter, ſome of the angry *Jacobites curs'd it*, and ſaid, *the Wind would ſerve them as Treacherouſly now, as it did at the Revolution.*

The Queen's Care.

The Queen's Majeſty diſcovering abundance of Courage, Reſolution and Prudence on this occaſion, gave immediate Orders for haſtening out the *Fleet*, and putting the *Militia* into a condition to make reſiſtance. She alſo countermanded the going over of ſome Forces deſign'd for *Flanders*, and gave out Commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral new Regiments. The great enquiry at the *French* Court was, whether the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet were join'd; and Sir *Adam Blare* being ſent over on purpoſe to acquaint them that they were not yet join'd, Monſieur *Tourville* the *French* Admiral, had poſitive Orders ſent him to find and Fight the *Engliſh*, tho' he was not join'd with the

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Thoulon Squadron. Accordingly it was not long before they met in a Brave and Desperate Engagement, the event whereof was transmitted to *London*, in a Letter from Admiral *Russel*, to the Earl of *Nottingham* Principal Secretary of State, to this effect.

The French *Fleet beaten.*

That upon the 29th of May, *by three of the Clock in the Morning*, Cape Barfleur *bearing* S. W. and by S. *seven Leagues off, his Scouts made the Signal of seeing the Enemy, the Wind Westerly; that by eleven of the Clock the* French *bore down and engag'd him at some distance, and both Fleets continu'd fighting till half an hour past five in the Evening, at which time the Enemy towed away with all their Boats, and the* English *after them; that about six there was a fresh Engagement to the Westward of him, which he supposed to be the Blue; that he could give no farther account at present, but only that the* French *were beaten, and that they were steering for* Conquest Road, *having a fresh Gale Easterly, but extream* Foggy. The 31. some of the *French* Fleet escap'd through the Road of *Alderny*, the *English* not thinking it advisable to follow them through that dangerous Road, for which Sir *John Ashby* was afterwards question'd in Parliament. But Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vcie Admiral of the Red, had better success, for under *Cape De Wick* he burnt the *Royal Sun*, a Ship of 104 Guns, commanded by Admiral *Tourvil*; the *Admirable*, a Ship of 102 Guns, and the *Conquerant* that carried 80 Guns, with three more of a lesser Rate: Afterwards they burnt thirteen more, whereof six were three Deck Ships, and the other carried from sixty to seventy Guns apiece, drove the *French* with their own Guns from their Platforms on Shoar, and all this in the sight of the *French* and *Irish* Camp that lay ready to invade us.

A Plot to kill the King.

Nor were these Preparations for an Invasion the only Plot that was formed against *England*, for whilst the *English Jacobites* were bandying together to join the late King at his Landing, the King's Enemies beyond Sea are as hot and forward in their design of *Murdering* the King in *Flanders*, that so the Invasion might find us all in Confusion, and fit to be made a Prey to our Foreign and Intestine Devourers; for now *Granvalle* returning from *Paris*, where he had engaged one *Leefdale* to join with *Dumont* in the Murder of King *William*, he appoints a meeting at *Uden*, whither

whither *Dumont* was come from *Hannover*, and both to go from thence to *Flanders*, where as ſoon as the Murther was committed, a Party of 300 Horſe from the Duke of *Luxemberg*'s Army was to be poſted at the Advance Guards, to reſcue the Murderers, and perſwade the World the Aſſaſſination of King *William* was a Stratagem of War; but God Almighty confounded their helliſh Politicks. *Dumont* and *Leefdale* diſcovering the Conſpiracy, and who they were that put *Granvalle* upon this undertaking; with all the Circumſtances that attended the Tragical Story; whereupon *Granvalle* was taken, Try'd, and receiv'd the Reward of his Villiany, after he had made a full diſcovery and confeſſion of his Crimes, without being put to the Torture. At his Execution he ſeem'd very Penitent, and declar'd with ſome reſentment, that he was ruin'd by the Authors of that deteſtable Project. Thus you ſee that this Year our Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies play'd all their Engines at once againſt us: *The* French *King was to be in* Flanders, Namur *was to be beſieg'd*, *King* James *was to land in* England, *and King* William *was to be murder'd, and all about the ſame time.*

A. D. 1692.

Granvalle *Executed.*

But we are now by God's Bleſſing ſecured from any Foreign Invaſion, by the great ſucceſs of our Fleet againſt the *French*, the news of which Victory having found King *William* at his Camp at *Bethlehem*, he caus'd all the *Engliſh Artillery* to be drawn to the top of an Hill, within the ſight of the *French* that lay before *Namur*, and made a triple diſcharge of all the Cannon and ſmall ſhot, to expreſs his great joy for that Victory, at which the *French* King ſaid, *What a mighty noiſe do they make about the burning two or three Ships*; tho' he could not but know it was the greateſt misfortune that could befal him, as his Affairs were circumſtantiated.

The *French* ſetting down before *Namur*, and carrying on the Seige with great vigour, King *William* was no leſs ſollicitous to relieve it, if it had been poſſible, and to fight the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who cover'd the Siege; and therefore poſſeſt himſelf of all the Poſts upon the River on their ſide, and by planting Batteries at all their Poſts, were ſo far Maſters of the River, that the *French* Soldiers could not come at one drop of Water from it. The ſame Evening the

Namur *beſieged and ſurrendred.*

A. D. 1693. King gave order to build Bridges over the *Mæhaign*, in order to paſs it the next day to attack the Enemy, which was ſo ordered, that the whole Army might paſs in a Front at the ſame time; but the great Rains that began that Evening, and held on for ſeveral days, broke the Bridges, made it unpaſſable for Cannon to paſs, and rendred this glorious Undertaking abortive; and ſo *Namur* was given up to the *French*. This Loſs was alſo followed by the Battel of *Steenkirk*, in which we loſt ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, Carriages, two Colours, about 2000 Men killed, and many wounded.

Th' Battel of Steenkirk.

Here it was, that brave General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, and other gallant Officers, loſt their Lives: and truly the *French*, notwithſtanding their ſinging *Te Deum*, had nothing to boaſt of; for their Loſs, according to the confeſſion of their own Officers, rather exceeded that of the Confederates: nor had they come off ſo well, had it not been for the Treachery of the *Chevalier de Millevoix*, one of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Domeſticks, who gave Intelligence to Mareſchal *de Luxemberg* of the King's Motions and Deſigns, for which he was fairly *Hang'd upon a Tree* on the Right Wing of the Horſe. Little elſe being done this Campaign, but the Governour of *Huy*'s Surprizing a ſtrong Party of *French* that came thither from *Namur*, of whom he ſlaughter'd many, took near 400 Priſoners, and the Bombing of *Charleroy* by the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, we will leave his Majeſty to return to his Diverſions at *Loo*.

Charleroy *Bombarded.*

This Year died that Good Chriſtian and Excellent Philoſopher *Robert Boyle* Eſquire, *of whom the World was not worthy*. The ſame Fate attended the Electoreſs of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Waldeck*. Nor muſt we forget that the Duke of *Hannover*, a Proteſtant Prince, was advanced to the Dignity of an *Elector of the Empire*, which conſtituted a Ninth Electorate.

The Parliament having largely contributed towards the carrying on the War, the King went again into *Holland*, after he had laid aſide *Admiral Ruſſel*, and given the Command of the Fleet to *Henry Killegrew* Eſquire, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*: And now falls in the melancholly Story of the Loſs of a great part of our *Smyrna* Fleet, bound for the *Streights*, under the Convoy of Sir *George Rook*, with a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War, who unhappily

The Diſaſter of the Smyrna *Fleet.*

pily falling into the *French* Fleet that waited for them, A. D.
ſuffered great Loſs, beſides the Overthrow of their 1693.
Voyage for that Year; which ſet Mens Tongues ſo much at liberty againſt the *Miniſtry*, and particularly againſt the *Commiſſioners of the Admiralty*, that it brought the matter into *Parliament*, and gave them trouble: but where the Blame particularly lay, remains in the dark to this moment.

The *French* this Year 1693 were prodigious ſtrong in *Flanders*, and by a modeſt computation, exceeded the Confederates at leaſt one half of their number, which was the only Reaſon that the Confederates ſuffered ſo much Loſs at the Battle of *Landen*, where tho the *French* won the Day, yet their Loſs was ſo great, that they might ſay with *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, when he was complemented upon his Succeſs againſt the *Romans*, *That ſuch another Victory would quite ruin him.* The Elector of *Bavaria* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf upon this occaſion, by the ſeveral Repulſes he gave the Enemy. No leſs did all the Officers and Soldiers; for their Enemies could not ſay, that in the whole Action there was a Fault committed; but that 'twas meerly Numbers that prevail'd againſt them. The King ſignaliz'd himſelf in every Quarter, doing the Office of a private Soldier, as well as a great Captain: and it was the wonderful Providence of God that preſerv'd one, who expoſed himſelf ſo much as he did; for he narrowly eſcap'd three Musket-ſhots, one through his *Peruke*, which made him deaf a while; another through the *Sleeve* of his Coat, which did him no harm; and the third carried off the *Knot* of his Scarf, and left a ſmall Contuſion on his ſide. In ſhort, the King gained ſo much Honour in this Action, that it was commonly ſaid among the *French*, *That they wanted nothing but ſuch a King, to make them Maſters of Chriſtendom.* And the Prince of *Conti*, in an intercepted Letter to his *Princeſs*, ſaid, *he ſaw the King every where preſent where there was any Action, expoſing his Perſon to the greateſt dangers; and that ſurely ſo much Valour very well deſerved the quiet poſſeſſion of the Crown he wore.* In this Action the Confederates loſt about five or ſix thouſand Men; what the *French* loſt they would never acknowledge; tho this is certain, they loſt above 2000 Officers, and the Confederates ſaid about 18000 Men: but if that Account was exaggerated

The Battel of Landen.

A. D. 1693.

gerated, yet *Luxemburg*'s not purſuing upon the Retreat, and his continuing 15 days together at *Waren*, without making the leaſt Attempt, gave conſiderable reputation to what the Confederates affirmed; but for the Cannon and Mortars, the Confederates muſt be contented to own, that they loſt the greateſt part of them.

Charleroy Beſieged.

After the *French* had been reinforced with the Troops from the Sea Coaſt, and a great Detachment under *Boufflers* from the *Rhine*, which ſtill confirm'd their Loſs; on the 31ſt of *Auguſt* they Beſieged *Charleroy* with great vigour, which was as well defended by the Beſieged: for tho they had no proſpect of *Relief*, yet they gallantly held out till the 1ſt of *October*, and then made an honourable Capitulation. and in truth this was the only Place in *Flanders* that made a brave Defence, without any ſuſpicion of Treachery in the Surrender of it. The ſame Succeſs had the *French* in *Germany* againſt *Heydelberg*, which was taken and deſtroyed by them. The *States of Holland* ſeeing the Succeſs of the *French* Armies by Land, and the Misfortune of the *Engliſh* Fleet at Sea, took an early Reſolution of augmenting their Army and Navy, for which the King gave them Thanks in their Aſſembly, before his coming over for *England*; and after his Arrival, to ſhew his Diſlike of Proceedings at Sea, appointed Admiral *Ruſſel* to Command the Fleet again. And the *Parliament* being met on the 7th of *November*, thus deliver'd himſelf to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech.

'I am always glad to meet you here; and I could 'heartily wiſh that our Satisfactions were not leſſen'd 'at preſent, by reflecting upon the Diſadvantages we 'have this Year received at Land, and the Miſcarri-'ages in our Affairs at Sea. I think it is apparent, 'that the former was only occaſion'd by the great 'numbers of our Enemies, which exceeded ours in all 'places. For what relates to the latter, which has 'brought ſo great a Diſgrace upon the Nation, I have 'reſented it extreamly: And as I will take care that 'thoſe who have not done their Duty may be puniſh-'ed; ſo I am reſolv'd to uſe my Endeavours that our 'Power at Sea may be rightly manag'd for the future. 'And it well deſerves our Conſideration, whether we

'are

'are not defective, both in our number of Shipping, A. D.
'and in proper Ports to the Weſtward, for the better 1693.
'annoying our Enemies, and protecting our Trade,
'which is ſo eſſential to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am very ſenſible of the good Affection where-
'with you have always aſſiſted me, to ſupport the
'Charges of this War, which have been very great:
'And yet I am perſwaded, that the Experience of this
'Summer is ſufficient to convince us all, that to ar-
'rive at a good end of it, there will be a neceſſity
'of encreaſing our Forces both by Sea and Land the
'next Year. Our Allies are reſolved to add to theirs,
'and I will not doubt, but you will have ſuch regard
'to the preſent Exigencies, as that you will give me
'a ſuitable Supply to enable me to do the like. I muſt
'therefore earneſtly recommend it to you Gentlemen
'of the *Houſe of Commons*, to take ſuch timely Reſo-
'lutions, as that your Supplies may be effectual, and
'our Preparations ſo forward, as will be neceſſary
'both for the Security and the Honour of the Nation.

The Houſe of Commons quickly came to an unanimous Reſolution to ſupport their Majeſties; and at the ſame time fell upon examining the Cauſes of the Miſcarriage of the *Smyrna* Fleet; and proceeded ſo far in it, that they came to this *Reſolve*, *That the Houſe was of opinion, that there had been a* Notorious *and* Treacherous *Miſmanagement in that Affair.* And 'tis pity they went no farther in it; but why they did not, or could not, I can aſſign no reaſon for: however, the great Service that Captain *Benbow* did in Bombing and Burning ſome part of *St. Maloes*, gave ſome contentment to Mens minds, tho it was no reparation of the loſs; with which Action I ſhall cloſe the Year: on the laſt day of which, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* landed at *Graveſend*, from whence he went to *Kenſington*, to wait upon the King, who receiv'd him with great reſpect and civility. While the Parliament was deliberating upon raiſing Supplies for the Navy and Army, came the unfortunate News of our Loſs in the *Mediterranean*, which happened in this manner. Sir *Francis Wheeler*, with the Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Convoy, ſailed on the 17th of

February

A. D. 1694.

The loss of Sir Francis Wheeler's *Fleet.*

February from *Gibralter*, a Port within the *Streights* Mouth, with a good Wind at N. W. but on *Sunday* about 10 in the Morning, there arose such a violent Storm of Wind, with Lightning, Thunder, and a great Rain, that the like had scarce been ever seen before, which continued all that day, and the next night, the Wind blowing at E. and E. N. E. so that upon *Monday* the 19th about five in the Morning, the *Sussex*, in which Sir *Francis Wheeler* was, founder'd, and he and the whole Ships Crew, except two *Moors*, were lost. After this the *Lumley Castle*, the *Cambridge*, the *Serpent Ketch*, the *Mary Ketch*, the *Italian Merchant*, the *Aleppo Factor*, the *Great George*, the *Berkshire*, both bound for *Turkey*, the *William* for *Venice*, and the *Golden Merchant* for *Leghorn*, were driven on shore, and lost on the East-side of *Gibralter*, and the greatest part of the Men were drowned, as also were three *Dutch* Ships of good Value. Rear-Admiral *Nevil*, with two *Dutch* Men of War, had the good fortune to be blown out of the *Streights*, and came safe to an Anchor in the Bay of *Cadiz*, as did the rest of the Fleet on the 19th into the Harbour of *Gibralter*, to repair the Damages they had sustained in the Storm. On the 21st the Body of the Admiral Sir *Francis Wheeler* was found on a Sand Bank near *Gibralter*, in his Shirt and Slippers, which made People conjecture, that seeing himself in such imminent danger, he had put himself into that Undress, in hopes to save his Life by swimming.

The Parliament having by great Diligence dispatch'd the Business of that Session in *April*, and the King having signed the Acts, the two Houses were Prorogued to the 18th of *September* following; and the King immediately went into *Holland*.

The *French* Preparations aiming at the entire Conquest of *Catalonia* in *Spain*, made our Fleet out very early this Year; but yet could not block up the *French* Fleet at *Brest*, nor come to fight them at Sea: for to avoid it, they went into the *Mediterranean*, whither Admiral *Russel* was appointed to go also, to prevent the *French* from insulting *Catalonia*: but before he entirely left our own Coasts, being informed there was a Fleet of *French* Merchant-men in *Bertram* Bay bound to the Eastward, he detached Captain *Pickard* in the *Monmouth*, with the *Resolution* and

A French *Fleet burn'd.*

the

A. D. 1694

the *Roe Buck* Fireſhip, either to take or deſtroy them: Which Orders Captain *Pickard* executed ſo ſucceſsfully, that he burnt or ſunk 55 Sail of them, beſides the Man of War that was their Convoy; who running among the Rocks ſoon after blew up, with her two Sloops of between Ten and Fifteen Guns. After which Captain *Pickard* rejoined the Fleet, which then made the beſt of its way into the *Mediterranean Sea.* After this an unfortunate Attempt was made upon *Breſt*, with deſign to Land in *France*, the Ships under the Command of the Lord *Berkley*, the Marqueſs of *Caermarthen*, and other Brave Commanders. The Land Forces under the Command of Lieutenant General *Talmaſh*, the Lord *Cutts*, and other Officers of known Courage and Conduct: but they were not able to effect Impoſſibilities; tho never mortal Men run greater hazards than they did in attempting it, the Enemy were ſo numerous and advantageouſly entrench'd at every place, where there was a Poſſibility of Landing. General *Talmaſh* always diſliked this Enterprize; and if that brave Man committed any Error in not Landing in that regular way which the Lord *Cutts* propoſed, and had been agreed on between them, it coſt him very dear, for he loſt his Life in the Expedition. Some were of opinion that better Luck could not be expected from this Attempt, it being no Secret, but a common Town-talk, that *Breſt* was the place they deſigned to Land at; and there was no queſtion but the *Engliſh Jacobites* acquainted the *French* Court with the Deſign, that they might provide againſt it; for one or other of them were continually running between *England* and *France* upon theſe Treacherous Errands.

An unfortunate Attempt at Breſt.

But that which made ſome amends for this Loſs, was, that by the King's prudent Management of Affairs in *Flanders*, the *French* Intereſt ſeem'd to be declining there, and upon the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Elector of *Cologn* in the Biſhoprick and Principality of *Liege*, made things look with a very ill aſpect upon the Affairs of *France*: Beſides, the *Engliſh* Fleets in the Channel at the ſame time were Bombarding their Maritime Towns, to the great Conſternation of the poor Inhabitants, as well as their utter Ruin; and tho the *French* put a good mein upon it, it made them *Heart ſick*, as afterwards appear'd when they came to

Bombard

A. C. 1694.

Bombard *Bruſſels*. *Diep* in *Normandy* was the firſt Town that felt the Fury of the *Engliſh* Bombs, before which the Lord *Berkley* brought the Fleet as near as poſſible on the 12th of *July*, ſent ſix Men of War, and nine Bomb Galliots to to take their Stations, and from that day in the Evening till four the next Morning, they threw into the Town 1100 Bombs and Carcaſſes, that ſet the Town on fire in ſeveral Places, ſo that the Townſmen not knowing whither to run, and deſpairing to quench it, took fright and began to run away in great diſorder: Whereupon the Marqueſs of *Bern* ſent two Batalions of the Militia of *Bretang* to encourage the Inhabitants, but the Diſorderswere ſo great, and the Fire ſo terrible, that the Soldiers fled with the reſt; ſo that if the Confederates had known what paſs'd, they might eaſily have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Place, which however they ſo ruin'd, that there was hardly a Houſe left unſhatter'd, and the greateſt part of it intirely reduc'd to Aſhes. From hence the Fleet alarming all the Coaſt, ſail'd to *Havre de Grace*, where on the 26th about three in the Afternoon; they began to approach the Town under the Command of Captain *Benbow*, into which between four and five they began to throw their Bombs, which they continu'd till the next Morning, when the Wind blowing hard forc'd them to give over ſhooting; and though this Town was not ſo entirely ruin'd as *Diep*, yet a great part of it was burnt, and ſo much damage done to the whole as was not ſoon repaired.

Diep Bombarded.

Havre de Grace Bombarded

And if the *French* were thus put to it on the Coaſt, their Army was not a little frighten'd by that of the Confederates in the *Netherlands*. Beſides which, Prince *Serclas de Tilly* paſs'd the *Meuſe* at *Thilen*, with all the Horſe and Dragoons of the Dioceſs of *Leige*, being follow'd by a Party of *Brandenbeug* Horſe, and ſome Batallions of Foot, and the ſame day inveſted *Huy*, where the next day arriv'd ſixteen Regiments of Foot with the Duke of *Holſtein Ploen*. who was appointed to command the Seige. The place was no ſooner inveſted on both ſides the *Meuſe*, but the Town ſurrender'd to the Confederates, and on the 27th the Governour of the Caſtle beat a Parley and ſurrender'd it upon Articles, by which the *French* were totally expell'd out of the Biſhoprick of *Leige*, *Dinant* at

Huy beſieg'd and ſurrender'd

that

that time being accounted a part of *France*. Thus ended the Campaign in *Flanders*, not very pleasing to *France*, tho' perhaps all Circumstances consider'd, with less disadvantage than themselves expected, however, they made amends for it to the purpose in *Spain*, by besieging and taking *Palamos*, a Town by the Sea side, about twenty two Leagues from *Barcelona*, which they Plunder'd, and put all they met to the Sword, and all that were saved were made Prisoners of War. *Noailles* also laid Seige to the well Fortified City of *Gironne*, which was ignominiously surrender'd in ten days, for the Garrison was to march out without Cannon, and the Cavalry, except ten in a Troop, to march away on Foot with the Infantry, without their Horses, and all the Ammunition and Provision to be left behind them in the City. Next in order, and almost without opposition, the *French* took *Ostralick*, a little City upon the Road to *Barcelona*, and *Castle-Floet*, a Town to the Westward of *Gironne*.

A. D. 1694.

Palamos, Gironne, *and* Castle Flote *Surrender'd.*

By this time the Conderate Fleet, and such a one as those Seas never saw before, was arriv'd in the *Streights*, under the command of Admiral *Russel*, to the great reviving of the *Spaniards*, who seem'd to have given up all for lost in *Catalonia*, and the mortification of the *French*, who expected no such Guests, and now saw their Error in sending their Grand Fleet into those Seas, where they must be pickl'd up in the Harbour of *Thoulon*, and be forc'd to leave all their Coasts, both on the Ocean as well as on the *Mediterranean* side unguarded, and subject to every Insult of their Enemies; for tho' Monsieur *Tourville* once adventured out to Sea, with a design to slip by the *English* Admiral, yet he quickly found the other had so sharp an Eye on him, that he was forc'd to return to his Port again, and be contented with being *Souc'd* up there for the rest of the Winter. Where I will leave him, to tell you that this Year was fatal to the Elector of *Saxony*, a young Prince in the Vigour of his Age, who died of the Small Pox at *Dresden*, on the 7th of *May*, when he was thought to be out of danger, and had that very Morning found himself so well, that he walked about his Chamber.

Russel *and his Fleet in the* Streights.

November the 22d, 1694. Dy'd at his Palace in *Lambeth*, the most Reverend Father in God Dr. *John Tillotson*, Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in the six-

A. D. 1694. ty fifth Year of his Age; and as his Learning, Piety, and other Eminent Vertues, gain'd him a great Esteem, so they made his Death very much lamented.

But God knows, I am about to tell you a more *Melancholy* and almost *Heart-breaking* Story; for after his Majesty, upon his return from *Flanders*, had told his Parliament, on the 20th of *November*, that their Affairs were in a much better Posture both by Sea and Land, than when they parted last, yet a Cloud immediately arose, that obscur'd all *England*'s Glory, and left us in a Disconsolation next to Despair, *viz.* The *Death* of the best of Queens, the best of Wives, and the best of Women, *Our Gracious Soveraign Lady* Mary, *Queen of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, who in sure and certain hope of a Better, departed this Life on the 28th of *December*, 1694. A loss unspeakable as well as irreparable, and therefore not to be laid in the Dust like Common Mold, nor Deposited in the Shades with Silence. 'Tis true, in the Blessed State to which She is Arriv'd, She needs none of our Praises; but yet, that which every good Man may claim, is much more justly due to her; Commendations after her Death, being a just Tribute to a Religious Life; for she was the Best as well as the Greatest among Women. 'Twere easie to shew it in the Instances of her *Illustrious Birth* (being Descended from a *Royal* Race of Kings, as well the greatest as of the longest and most uninterrupted Succession now in the Christian World) in her Suitable *Education*, in her Natural and Acquir'd *Accomplishments*, which render'd her the *Darling of the Age, as well as the Glory of her Sex*: Besides the *Sweetness* of her *Temper*, her *Beauty*, *Wit*, and *Charms of Conversation*, which render'd her Amiable and Dear to all that had the Honour to know her, which now must be pass'd over in Silence, as being *Præda Mortis*, a Spoil to Death and the Grave. Nor were the Endowments of her Mind any whit inferiour to those of her great *Birth*, and other *Personal* Advantages; her *Apprehension* was more Quick and Lively, her *Judgment* more Penetrating and Solid, her *Elocution* more Ready, Fluent and Graceful, and every way more Perswading than is usually found in her Sex; and to these Qualifications were added, the *Ornament of a Meek, but Great Spirit*, wherein she Excell'd:

The Death of Queen Mary.

But

But above all, the *Great God of Heaven* was chiefly regarded in her whole Life, and was the first and main Principle of all her Actions. A. D. 1694.

Hence sprung that Awful Regard and Reverence to his Divine Majesty, which was so visible in her whole Deportment, and upon this Foundation she rear'd that Noble Structure of *Piety* and *Devotion*, *Uprightness* and *Sincerity*, *Purity* and *Charity*, and all other Duties of *Christianity*, that shin'd so Illustriously through the whole course of her Life. She had a great esteem for the *Church of England*, and no Pulpit Discourses pleas'd her better than such as were dextrously Levell'd against *Atheism* and *Profaneness*. Her *Word* was as Sacred as any *Oath*, and was a Stranger to the Art of Flinching from her Promises. She was of that *Sweetness* of Temper, of that *Kindness*, *Affability*, (and considering her Great Quality) of that *Condescention* and *Courtesie* in all her Demeanor, as render'd her very Dear, and her Conversation very Grateful and Desirable to all that had the Honour to be near her. She was a Compleat Pattern of *Charity*, and if she out did her self in any one thing, it was in this, which she extended both to the Persons and Necessities of *All*.

If we consider her as a *Queen Consort*, 'tis easie to find, that never was a Woman more *a Crown and Ornament to a Man*. She liv'd in a great sence of the *Covenant of God*, that was betwixt them upon her Heart, and that render'd her all *Love* and *Obedience*: A great part of her Care was to observe every thing that was most pleasing to him, and was in all respects what she ought to be, *A Help Meet*; which the inexpressible sorrow his Majesty was under for her loss, was a too sufficient manifestation of.

Now if we consider her as a *Queen Regent*, we shall see, when the Aspiring Designs and Atrempts of a Potent Enemy, forc'd his Majesty from her and us, and necessarily requir'd his Presence elsewhere, She Administred the *Government*, and managed the Affairs of *State* with such *Dexterity*, such *Exactness*, and such Admirable *Wisdom*, that she never gave the least occasion of any Complaint, but rendred all more than *Silent*, *Satisfy'd*; and not only satisfy'd, but *Applauding* and *Admiring* her Prudent and Honourable Conduct. Her *Retirement* for Private Contemplations

A. D. 1694. and Devotions were certain and frequent, and ſhe ſeldom ſuffer'd any Affairs to prevent them. But in reference to the whole, I muſt not forget to remark the Anſwer, that his Majeſty, who knew her beſt, was pleas'd to make to his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when he went to comfort him upon his great loſs, *viz. That he could not but Grieve, ſeeing ſhe had been ſeventeen Years his Wife, and yet he never knew her guilty of an Indiſcretion.* Now ſuch a Regular, ſuch a Pious, ſuch a Righteous Life, cannot be ſuſpected to be unprepar'd for the moſt ſudden Death, and therefore after God *had preſented her with the Bleſſings of Goodneſs, and ſet a Crown of pure Gold upon her Head:* After he had given her the Univerſal Eſteem, Love and Admiration of all that knew her: In a Word, after he had taken out the *Sting of Death*, and made it an eaſie Paſſage to Everlaſting Life, he then took her from her Corruptible and Earthly, to an Incorruptible and Heavenly Crown.

Her Majeſty of Bleſſed Memory was Born on the 30th of *May* 1662, and her Funeral was ſolemniz'd on the 5th of *March* 1694, in the Abbey Church of *Weſtminſter*, with great Magnificence, and lies bury'd in *Henry* the VII. Chappel.

The badneſs of the Coin.

Beſides this inſuperable Affliction, the Nation at this time labour'd under another great trouble, and that was the *Badneſs of our Silver Coin*, which having been a long growing Evil upon us, now began to be ſo intolerable, that in receiving Five Pounds, if it was Silver, it was ſo clipt that it was ſcarce worth *Forty Shillings*, according to the Standard; other while in receiving the like Summ there would ſcarce be one Shilling that was not *Braſs* or *Copper* waſh'd over, which ſo rais'd the price of *Gold*, that a *Guinea* went Currently for Thirty Shillings: but through the indefatigeble Diligence and great Care of the *Parliament*, they broke through this Impediment, with as little loſs to the Nation as was poſſible, and in a ſhort time after brought the Coin again to its true value. This being done, and all the Acts of this Seſſion Signed, his Majeſty was pleas'd to Appoint and Commiſſion his Grace the Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the *Lord Keeper*, the *Earl of Pembrooke*; his Grace the *Duke of Devonſhire*, the *Duke of Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, to be

Lords Juſtices appointed.

be Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Majeſties abſence beyond Sea. A. D. 1695.

Here the King found an alteration in Affairs, the Confederate Army out-number'd the *French* Twenty Thouſand Men, and the Duke of *Luxemberg* dying in the beginning of this Year, the *French* Forces were Commanded by the Duke *de Villeroy*. On the 27th of *May* the King went from *Breda* to *Ghent*, where the Inhabitants receiv'd him with demonſtrations of Joy ſuitable to what they ow'd to ſo great a King, and the Protector of their Country. After ſeveral things in order to his great Deſign, the King finding that *Villeroy* could not ſtir out of his faſtneſſes, he fully concluded upon the Siege of *Namur*, and in order to it the Army on the 19th marched to *Roſelaer*, where the King left them under the Command of Prince *de Vaudemont*. The King moving towards the *Meuſe*, ſent orders to the Earl of *Athlone*, and to the *Brandenburge* and *Liege* Forces to inveſt *Namur*, which his Lordſhip immediately attempting; took all the Poſts from the *Sambre* to the *Meuſe*, on the Town ſide, about *la Falice*; but all the other ſide of the *Meuſe* lay open, for want of Troops to do it all at once; which gave the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* an opportunity with eight Regiments of the beſt Dragoons in the Army, to throw himſelf into *Namur*, ſending back moſt of the Dragoons Horſes; but while this was doing, the *Elector of Bavaria*'s Army, which was neareſt, march'd with wonderful celerity to carry on this famous Siege, ſo that all the Poſts about *Namur* were taken by the 23d of *June*, the King being come to it the day before. Here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the place was made much ſtronger ſince it fell into the *French* hands, who ſpared no charge to put their Frontier Garriſons into the beſt defence they could; for the Town at their taking it was but weak, being abſolutely commanded by a ſteep Hill, that hangs juſt over it from the *Port de Fer*, to that of St. *Nicholas* near the *Meuſe*; ſo that they had the liberty to bring down their Batteries at firſt to the deſcent of that Hill, and to open their Trenches at the foot of it near the *Meuſe*, ſo that it did not hold out above five or ſix days. But now, to add a conſiderable ſtrength to this weak part of the Town, the *French* had made

Namur *beſieged by* K. W.

A. D. 1695.

The Fortifications of Namur.

a Detach'd *Baſtion* upon the aſcent of the Hill before St. *Nicholas* Gate all of Stone-work, with a *Caſemote* of this Work on the Hill, ſo that the Confederates were neceſſitated to batter it in *Reverſe* from the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, from the *Brandenburg* Batteries, which requir'd time to bring them to the Water-ſide. But this was not all, for upon the Right, towards *Port de Fer*, the *French* had two or three Detach'd Baſtions juſt upon the Brow of the Hill, and at the Foot of the ſame before Port *de Fer*, and between the Hill and the Brook *Werderin*, they built a fourth, which hindered the Avenues between the Hill to this Gate. The Plain upon theſe Hills was Fortified with a double cover'd way, *Palliſadoed* to defend theſe Baſtions towards the Village of *Bouge*: And when the Confederates were Attacking the place, the *French* were working at a third, nearer to the Brow of the Hill, juſt before theſe Works, ſo that the Town, which before was but *Weak*, was now by theſe additional Works made ſo ſtrong, that it held out longer than the Caſtle. Many other conſiderable Fortifications were made, too long to be recited here, to which if you add the ſtrength of the Garriſon, being computed at near 14000 Men, moſt of them the beſt Troops the *French* had, Headed by a *Mareſchal of France*, and aſſiſted by Major General *de Megrigny*, one of the ableſt Engineers in *Europe*, it would look little leſs than a Miracle, that the Confederates ſhould be able to carry it. However, the Siege was managed with ſo much Bravery and Excellent Conduct from day to day, ſtill gaining upon the Beſieged, that on the 2*d.* of *Auguſt* the Confederates being ready to make a General Aſſault, Count *Guiſcard* the Governour came himſelf upon the Breach of the *Demi-Baſtion*, where he ordered a white Flag to be ſet up in order to Capitulate. Hereupon all the Batteries were commanded to be ſilent, and Lieutenant Coll. *Mackarty*, who waited upon Major General *Ramſey* in the Trenches, was ſent to the Breach to know what the Count deſired, who ask'd to ſpeak with the Major General himſelf; he coming to him, after mutual Civilities, the Count told him, *That tho the condition of their affairs did not neceſſitate him to Capitulate, yet for the preſervation of the Town, they were willing to give it up on Honourable Terms*; upon which followed a

The Town ſurrender'd

Treaty

Treaty, and the Capitulation being ſign'd on the 4th of *Auguſt*, the Town was delivered into the Poſſeſſion of the Confederates. A. C. 1695.

While the King was thus employing himſelf at *Namur*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets took the Liberty to inſult the *French* in their own Ports; and by throwing nine hundred Bombs into *St. Maloes*, ſet the Town on fire in ſeveral places, and reduced a great part of it into Aſhes. Not long after, *Granvilie*, another Town not far from it, underwent the ſame fate. To revenge theſe Loſſes, Orders were ſent to Mareſchal *Villeroy* to Bombard *Bruſſels*: But to ſhew his own Civility, and his Maſter's Goodneſs, he firſt ſent this Letter to the Governour, the *Prince of* Berghen.

'The King being full of Goodneſs towards his Subjects, and Care to contribute to their Defence, ſeeing the *Prince of Orange* ſends his Fleet upon the Coaſts of *France*, to Bombard and Ruin his Towns, without getting any other Advantage by it; to put a ſtop to theſe Diſorders, by way of Reprizal, has ſent me to Bombard *Bruſſels*, and at the ſame time to declare, that 'tis not without reluctancy that the King has put himſelf upon it; and that as ſoon as he ſhall be aſſured that the Sea-Ports of *France* ſhall be no more Bombarded, the King likewiſe will not Bombard any Places belonging to the Princes againſt whom he is at War, reſerving nevertheleſs the liberty on both ſides, to do it in ſuch Places as ſhall be Beſieged. His Majeſty has reſolved upon the Bombarding of *Bruſſels* with ſo much the more trouble, becauſe the *Electoreſs of Bavaria* is there: if you will let me know in what part of the Town ſhe is, the King has commanded me to forbid firing there. I ſhall ſtay for your Anſwer till five of the Clock in the Evening; after that I ſhall obey the Orders the King has given me, without delay. *Villeroy's Letter.*

To which the Prince of *Berghen* returned this Anſwer.

'The Declaration you have ſent me, of the Orders you have received from the King your Maſter, to Bombard the Town of *Bruſſels*, and the Reaſons his Majeſty alledges for doing it being not to be anſwer'd by his Electoral Highneſs, till he has ſent to the King of *Great Britain* about it, who is before the Caſtle of *Namur*; his Electoral Highneſs, who is *The Prince of* Berghen's Anſwer.

A. D. 1691.

'juſt now arrived, will acquaint him with it, and 'return you his Anſwer in 24 hours if you agree to it. 'As for the Conſideration that his Moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty has for the Electoreſs, ſhe is at the King's 'Palace.

I need not tell the World of the Fate of this poor City, the *French* Bombs having had but too much ſucceſs in reducing a great part of it to Aſhes. But with this they were not ſatisfied; for now nothing will ſerve their turns, but the relieving *Namur*, which the Mareſchal made ſome ſhew of doing; but when he ſaw the King had left the Siege on purpoſe to fight him, he ſilently march'd away by night, whereupon the Beſieged, on the 24th, beat a Parly, which ended in the Delivery of the Fort and Caſtle, after the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* had ſigned the Capitulation: and perhaps this is the firſt that ever was ſigned by a *Mareſchal of France*; which was the greater Glory to the Confederates, who took this almoſt impregnable Place, from a compleat Army within it, headed by ſo great an Officer, and in ſight of a hundred thouſand Men without, that came to relieve it, but could only have the Honour of being Spectators of their Bravery. On the 26th of *Auguſt* the *French* quitted *Namur*, and as they march'd by the King, the *Mareſchal* and *Count* ſaluted him with their Swords, when preſently Monſieur *Dickvelt*, who had been acquainted with the *Mareſchal* in his Embaſſies in *France*, accoſted him, and rid with him to the Top of the Hill, where Monſieur *L'Etang*, with about Twelve of the Life Guard, Arreſted him in his Majeſty's Name, for Satisfaction for the Garriſons of *Dixmude* and *Deynſe*; at which the Mareſchal at firſt was much incens'd, ſaying, *His Maſter would reſent and revenge this Treatment to the utmoſt; and that for his part, he had defended the Place like a Man of Honour, and had not deſerv'd it.* Monſieur *Dickvelt* replied, *That the* French *King his Maſter, by detaining the Garriſons of* Dixmude *and* Deynſe, *contrary to the Capitulation, had forc'd them to that way of demanding Satisfaction for the Infractions of the* Cartel: *That tho he was Arreſted, it was not out of any Diſreſpect to his Perſon or Character, but on the contrary; for when it was propos'd to his Majeſty of* Great Britain *to detain the whole Garriſon by way of Reprizal, the King expreſt ſo much value for his Perſon, that*

Namur *Caſtle Surrender'd.*

Mareſchal Bouffler's *Arreſted.*

that he look'd upon him as a ſufficient Caution to anſwer for 6000 *men, the number of the two Garriſons of* Dixmude *and* Deynſe: And at the ſame time offer'd him his Liberty, by his Majeſty's Order, if he would paſs his word for ſending back the ſaid Garriſons, or return himſelf a Priſoner within a Fortnight, &c. To which the Mareſchal anſwer'd, *That he could not paſs his word of Honour in a matter which he could not execute himſelf, but that it was in vain to reſiſt.* Whereupon he put up his Sword, and went back again with his Domeſticks to *Namur*, where the Earl of *Portland* gave him a Viſit, and told him as from himſelf, *That he made no doubt of his Releaſment upon his Parole of Honour.* To which the Mareſchal anſwered, *That in regard he knew not the Reaſons why his Maſter detained thoſe Garriſons, he could not engage for any thing.* From *Namur* he was removed to *Maeſtricht*, and treated in both Places with all the Civility and Reſpect due to his Quality. But his Confinement was of no long continuance; for upon the return of his Gentleman of the Horſe, whom he had ſent to give his Maſter an account of what had happen'd, he was immediately releas'd, as our Men were in a little time after: Which concluded the Campaign in *Flanders*.

A. D. 1689.

He is Releaſed.

His Majeſty, after concluding ſo glorious a Campaign, haſtened into *England*, and to the great Joy of all his honeſt Subjects, landed there on the 11th of *October*. The ſame Night he called a Council at *Kenſington*, and cauſed Writs to be iſſued out for the Diſſolving the preſent and calling a new Parliament, to meet upon the 22th of *November* following. After which his Majeſty went a ſhort Progreſs: And the Day of the ſitting of the Parliament being come, his Majeſty in a Gracious Speech was pleas'd to tell them, that as he engaged in this War by the Advice of his firſt Parliament, ſo the Succeſs he had had laſt Year, he hoped would give good grounds to expect Succeſs for the future. Upon this occaſion, he took notice of the Courage and Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, without whoſe Concurrence it was impoſſible to put a ſtop to the Ambition and Greatneſs of *France*. He thought it his Misfortune to be always asking Money, and yet could not doubt but that they ſaw a Neceſſity for as great Supplies this Year, as what they gave the laſt Seſſion, becauſe the Enemy is augmenting

A new Parliament.

A. C. 1695.

his Troops: There was a neceſſity of encreaſing our Shipping: The Funds were deficient: The Civil Liſt were behind, and therefore earneſtly recommended to them, to provide a Supply ſuitable to theſe ſeveral Occaſions; of which he made no doubt, having had ſuch a continued Experience of their good Affections; and therefore promiſed himſelf a happy concluſion of this Seſſion, unleſs they ſuffered themſelves to be miſled into Heats and Diviſions: which being the only Hope their Enemies had now left, his Majeſty made no doubt but they would entirely diſappoint them by their Prudence and Love to their Country.

The Coin ſettled.

Admiral *Ruſſel* was now come home with the great Ships, and Sir *George Rook* was appointed to go into the *Streights*. The Badneſs of our Coin having put a general ſtop to Trade, that unexpreſſible Grievance was now redreſs'd by Act of Parliament; which could not have been done by none but the Parliament that did it, who deſerv'd to have their Memories eterniz'd in the Book of Fame: This Act put a new Face on things, and made the Nation eaſie: But as a Univerſal Happineſs is ſeldom of long continuance, ſo a melancholly Scene ſoon appear'd, that threaten'd the whole Kingdom with Ruin, *viz.* *An attempt to Aſſaſſinate the King*, and rob us of that Sacred Life, which Divine Providence hath always taken ſuch ſpecial care of, and we can never ſufficiently value.

A Plot to Murder the King and Invade the Kingdom.

This wicked Plot conſiſted of two Branches; the Murder of the King, and the Invaſion of the Kingdom by *French* Forces, in order to the Reſtoration of the late King *James*. This horrible Contrivance was firſt laid beyond Sea, and then transferr'd into *England*: And becauſe there were ſome *Jacobites* that had not yet ſo far extinguiſh'd all Senſe of Honour and Conſcience, but that they utterly refus'd to be concern'd in ſuch a Black and Deteſtable Enterprize as the *Aſſaſſination* was, a Commiſſion muſt be had from the late King *James* for the doing it, under the ſpecious Name of *Attacking King William in his Winter Quarters*: And that this Year might not be loſt without executing of it, Mr. *Waugh* was ſent into *England* from the Court of *St. Germains*, to give the *Engliſh*

Jacobites

Jacobites Aſſurance, that thoſe who would engage in the *Aſſaſſination*, ſhould have ſuch a Commiſſion ſent them as was deſir'd; and thoſe that were for the *Invaſion*, ſhould have their Spirits kept up with the hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance from *France*, *as ſoon as the Blow was given.* Theſe two things they thought would effectually employ both the Factions without claſhing or interfering with one another, and would make both the Plots ſucceed according to their Wiſhes. While the Parties were thus deliberating, Major *Crosby* comes from *France*, with aſſurance, *That he ſaw the Commiſſion Sign'd, and under Seal in* France, *that it was ſent away before him, and if not already come, he was certain it was upon the Road, and would be here in a few days.* This was privately communicated to the *Jacobites*, in order to cut off King *William* before he went to *Holland*; but that God that deſign'd him for a further Bleſſing to *England*, prevented their Treacherous Conſpiracy, and convey'd him ſafe to his Army in *Flanders*. A. D. 1695.

Now all hopes being loſt of Executing their Barbarous Deſign till his Majeſty's Return, they reſolve ſo to employ the Summer, that Winter might find them ready to perform what they had ſo long and unſucceſsfully reſolv'd on: And that the *Invaſion* might ſtill accompany the *Aſſaſſination*, ſeveral Meetings were appointed by the Heads of the Party, particularly one in *May* 1695, at the *Old King's-Head* in *Leaden-hall Street*, *London*; where met the Earl of *Ailsbury*, and the Lord *Montgomery*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Charnock*, Captain *Porter*, Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Goodman*, who came in after Dinner. There they conſulted the beſt way to Reſtore the Late King; and all agreed, that the moſt proper method was, to ſend a Special Meſſenger to the Late King, and deſire him to procure of the *French* King 10000 Men, *viz.* 1000 Horſe, 8000 Foot, and 1000 Dragoons. Mr. *Charnock* was the Perſon appointed to manage this Affair, who ſaid, *He would not go on a fooliſh Errand, and therefore would know what the Company would do, if foreign Forces could be procur'd:* whereupon they all unanimouſly promis'd, *If the late King would come over with ſuch a number of Men as was deſired, they would meet him at the Head of* 2000 *Horſe, whereſoever he would appoint them.* At the latter end of

Where and by whom the Plot was laid.

Propoſals made by the Party.

June,

A. D. 1690. *June*, 1695. they had another Meeting, where, after many Diſcourſes upon that Subject, Mr. *Charnock* receiv'd a farther Confirmation of their former Reſolutions, and took his Journey into *France* accordingly.

The Invaſion being thus promoted, that the Aſſaſſination might not lag behind it, ſome of the Aſſaſſinates calling to mind that nothing in that kind would be attempted *without a Commiſſion from the late King to do it*, which *Crosby* ſaid was coming, Captain *Porter* and Mr. *Goodman* communicated the Project to Sir *George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and upon his Departure for *France*, telling him what Difficulties they labour'd under for want of it, and that a longer delay of that Commiſſion would extreamly embarraſs the Affair. Sir *George* not only approves but commends the Deſign; and that ſuch a hopeful Project might not miſcarry, promis'd to uſe all his Intereſt at *St. Germains*, that it might be no longer wanting.

Charnock *returns out of* France. The beginning of *Auguſt*, 95. brings Mr. *Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, *That the* French *King was not in a Condition to ſpare the late King ſuch a number of Men*; which being communicated to the Party, the whole was laid aſide till Winter.

But notwithſtanding this poſitive Anſwer, our Foreign Enemies at the ſame time were taking ſuch meaſures as might ſuit with the *Jacobites* Requeſt, though they durſt not truſt them with the Secret, nay nor the late King himſelf, till the Squadron of Men of War, and four hundred Tranſport Ships, were fitted, and the *French* Army conſiſting of 30 Battalions, were ready to Embark, and Money and Orders ſent him to go on Board, and take Poſſeſſion of *England*.

Sir Georg. Barclay *came to* London. In *November*, 1695. Sir *George Barclay*, with ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, and eight hundred Pounds in Money, came into *England*, and brought with him a *Commiſſion* from the late King *James* (all written with his own hand) to Seize King *William*; which Sir *William Perkins* confeſs'd to a Committee of Parliament that he ſaw: but neither Sir *George Barclay* nor the *Commiſſion* being yet taken, and the *Jacobites* being aſham'd to ſet up the late King and themſelves, under the inglorious Title of *Murtherers*, they minc'd the matter into more reliſhable terms, and ſaid the import of the Commiſſion was, only *To Levy War upon the Prince of* Orange *and all his Adherents*: others

ſaid

ſaid it was *to attack the Prince of* Orange *in his Winter-Quarters*: which were all meer Tricks and Evaſions, invented by the Party to diſguiſe the Horror of the Action, who knew well enough the Meaning of it, as appears by Mr. *La Rue*'s Oath, who depos'd at Mr. *Charnock*'s Tryal, that when the *Muſcatoon* was lent by Captain *Porter* to Mr. *Pendergaſt*, that would carry ſix or eight Bullets, Mr. *King* deſired him, *when he ſhot at his Majeſty in his Coach, he would not be afraid of breaking the Glaſſes.* A. C. 1695.

When Sir *George Barclay* came to *London*, he lodged in *Covent Garden*, and kept very private, till he had ſpoke with Sir *William Parkins*, Captain *Waugh* and Mr. *Charnock*, and that the 22 Men that were ſent by the late King out of *France*, and appointed to obey his Orders, were come to *London* alſo; who being arrived, they endeavour to ſtrengthen their Party by the addition of more Friends, and accordingly Mr. *La Rue*, Mr. *Pendergaſt*, Mr. *Rookwood*, Major *Lowick*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Bertram*, *Chambers*, *Durant*, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes*, *Waugh*, and *Goodman*, ſome of which were engaged in the Aſſaſſination the Year before, were now confirmed in it. Thoſe that came from *France*, knew not the Particulars of what they were ſent about, but were kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay*'s Orders. Thoſe in *England* were privy to the whole Deſign; and tho' ſome of them ſtartled at its firſt being propoſed to them, yet the Authority of the late King *James*'s Commiſſion, and their fanciful Proſpects of Wealth and Honour at his Return, ſo lull'd them into Security, that they all conſented to *forfeit* their Honours, and *hazard* their Lives in it, To effect what they aim'd at, *Their Number encreaſed.*

Some propos'd ſeizing his Majeſty, and carrying him alive into *France*, and to that purpoſe a Feint was made, that a Caſtle on the Sea ſide was ſecured to detain the King in, till a Ship was ready to tranſport him thither; but the more wicked among them, that underſtood what was meant by *ſeizing the King's Perſon*, laugh'd at this as a meer Chimera. *Several Places and Methods propoſed.*

Others propoſed to kill his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the dead of night: but this, upon debating, was found wholly unpracticable.

Some

A. D. 1695.

Some were for Murdering the King as he came on *Sunday* to *St. James's* Chappel, for which purpoſe 40 Men well armed were to aſſault his Majeſty's Guards, which commonly don't exceed above 25, while ſix Men on foot ſhould ſhut *Hide-Park Gate*, and the reſt Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was agreed alſo, to kill the Coach Horſes as they were entring into the Park, that the Paſſage being ſtopt, the Guards might not be able to come up till they had done their Work.

Another Propoſal was, to murder the King as he return'd from *Hunting*, in a narrow Lane by a Wood ſide, leading to the *Thames*, on the other ſide of the Water, about 150 Paces long, in which there is a Gate, that when it is ſhut, hinders Coaches and Horſes from paſſing that way. One of the *Aſſaſſins* was ſent to view this Ground, and another to view the Lane before mentioned; but Sir *George Barclay*, who was to Command this infamous Party, did not approve that place; and the Difficulties that aroſe in the Debate, caus'd that Project to be wholly laid aſide.

The Place at laſt reſolved on.

At laſt they all fixed upon a Place between *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*. In a Bottom where the Ground is *Mooriſh* there is a Bridge where divers Roads meet, and croſs one another. On the North-ſide there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*, and on the South a Lane that leads to the River, ſo that Paſſengers may come thither by four ſeveral ways. After you have paſs'd the *Bridge* the Road grows narrow, having on one ſide a Foot-path, and on the other a high thick Hedge; and this Place was pitch'd upon for the Execution of their barbarous and bloody Enterprize: and truly if Heaven had not diſcovered their Treaſons (all Circumſtances conſidered) a more fatal Place could hardly have been found; for his Majeſty often returned late from Hunting, and uſually Croſs'd the Water at *Queens-Ferry*, with no greater Attendance than five or ſix of his Guards. It was alſo his Majeſty's Cuſtom to enter the Ferry-boat in his Coach, and as ſoon as he landed on this ſide the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the reſt of the Guards, who could not croſs the *Thames* till the Boat returned to the *Surry* ſide to bring them over; and ſo the King muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of his *Murderers* before the reſt of his Guards

Guards could have come to his Aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe the Aſſaſſinates were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches three ſeveral ways; one of which was to attack the Guards in the Front, the other in the Rear, whilſt ten or twelve of the boldeſt among them were to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty in his Coach. A. C. 1695. *The manner of doing it.*

The 15th of *February* 1695. was the Day appointed to *Murder* the King; and the Aſſaſſins having long kept a man at *Kenſington* to watch the King's going to hunt, which was commonly every *Saturday*, their Orderly man (as they call'd him) brought them Word that the King did not go abroad that Day. This Diſappointment, and fears of a Diſcovery, made *Plowden*, *Kendrick*, and *Sherburn*, decline the Action, and withdraw themſelves; but Sir *George Barclay*, Sir *William Perkins*, *Captain Porter*, and Mr. *Goodman*, concluding the Deſign was not diſcovered, becauſe they were not taken up by the Government, they had another meeting, and there reſolved to execute their bloody Project on *Saturday* the 21ſt of *February*. That Forenoon was ſpent in a tedious expectation that the King was gone abroad; but inſtead of that account, *Keyes*, their Orderly man at *Kenſington*, brings them word that the Guards were all come back in a Foam, and that there was a muttering among the People, *That a damnable Plot was diſcovered*; this unexpected News diſpers'd all the Conſpirators, and drove them to ſhift for themſelves by a ſpeedy Flight. *The day appointed.*

Nor were their Apprehenſions of a Diſcovery groundleſs, for the Plot and every ſtep that was made in it from time to time, had been diſcovered by *Richard Fiſher*, and ſomething of it by Mr. *Grimes* to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fiſher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harriſon* the Prieſt, who took him to be one of their Party; and *Grimes* had ſome dark hints from another: but for what reaſon I know not, there was little credit given to their Informations, till it was confirmed by other Teſtimonies. *The Plot diſcover'd.*

Mr. *Pendergaſt*, who was wholly ignorant of the Deſign till he was ſent for to *London*, and being ſtruck with horror at the firſt Propoſal of it, even then took up a Reſolution to diſcover it, and ſave his Majeſty's Life. Accordingly on *February* the 14th at night, he

A. C. 1695. he went to the Earl of *Portland*, and being admitted to Privacy with his Lordſhip, tho' wholly a Stranger to him, without farther Addreſs, accoſts his Lordſhip with this ſurprizing Requeſt; *Pray, my Lord, perſwade the King to ſtay at home to morrow, for if he goes abroad to Hunt, he will be Murder'd.* The ſame night, tho' late, he was introduced into the Preſence, and diſcover'd the whole Plot. The next day after Mr. *La Rue* made the ſame Diſcovery; which he had done before, but that his Friend Brigadeer *Lewſon*, whom he deſign'd to introduce him to the King, was out of Town. Both theſe Gentlemen agreed in the Diſcovery, but which is ſtrange, both refuſed to name the Conſpirators, which might have been of fatal Conſequence, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found out the happy Expedient to prevent it, by perſwading his Majeſty to give himſelf the trouble of examining them in his Cloſet, which his Majeſty did, and gave them ſuch unanſwerable Reaſons, why as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they ſhould diſcover the Names of the Conſpirators, as quite ſubdu'd their former Unwillingneſs, and prevail'd with them to tell the Names of the Aſſaſſins, under the Promiſe of not being made uſe of as Evidences.

A 1000 l. Reward for taking the Conſpirators.

The King having now a perfect Knowledge of the Conſpiracy, and the Names of the Conſpirators, he iſſues out his Royal Proclamation for the Apprehending the Plotters; promiſing 1000 *l.* Reward for every one of the *Principal* Offenders that ſhould be taken and brought to Juſtice; and 500 *l.* apiece for others. Every day now producing the King freſh Evidences of the Conſpiracy, his Majeſty was pleas'd to communicate it to both Houſes of Parliament in the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majeſty's Speech.

'I am come hither this day upon an extraordinary 'Occaſion, which might have been of fatal Conſe- 'quence, if it had not been diſappointed by the ſin- 'gular mercy and goodneſs of God; and may now, 'by the continuance of the ſame Providence, and 'our own prudent Endeavours, be ſo improved, as 'to become a ſufficient Warning to us to provide for 'our Security againſt the pernicious Practices and 'Attempts of our Enemies. I have received ſeveral

'con-

'concurring Informations of a Deſign to Aſſaſſinate 'me, and that our Enemies at the ſame time are ve- 'ry forward in their Preparations for a ſudden Inva- 'ſion of this Kingdom: And therefore I have thought 'it neceſſary to loſe no time in acquainting my Par- 'liament with theſe things, in which the Safety of the 'Kingdom and the Publick Welfare are ſo nearly 'concern'd, that I aſſure my ſelf, nothing will be 'omitted on your part which may be thought proper 'for our preſent or future Security. A. C. 1695.

'I have not been wanting to give the neceſſary Or- 'ders for the Fleet; and I hope we have ſuch a 'ſtrength of Ships, and in ſuch a readineſs, as will 'be ſufficient to diſappoint the Intentions of our Ene- 'mies. I have alſo diſpatch'd Orders for bringing 'home ſuch a number of our Troops, as may ſecure 'us from any Attempt. Some of the Conſpirators a- 'gainſt my Perſon are already in Cuſtody, and care 'is taken to apprehend ſo many of the reſt as are diſ- 'covered; and ſuch other Orders are given as the 'preſent Exigency of Affairs do abſolutely require at 'this time for the Publick Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Having now acquainted you with the Danger 'that hath attended us, I cannot doubt of your rea- 'dineſs and zeal to do every thing which you ſhall 'think proper for our Common Safety. And I per- 'ſwade my ſelf, we muſt be all ſenſible how neceſſa- 'ry it is in our preſent Circumſtances, that all poſſible 'Diſpatch ſhould be given to the Buſineſs before you.

His Majeſty's Speech was ſeconded by Sir *William Trumball*, Principal Secretary of State, who open'd the matter more at large in a Speech to the Honourable Houſe of *Commons*; for he knowing that the diſaffected Party always endeavour'd to Ridicule Plots, and render the Diſcovery of them fictitious; he took the Advantage of acquainting that Aſſembly with the Credibility of the Witneſſes, and the Improbability of their conſpiring together to abuſe the Credulity of the Nation with what was either falſe or feigned. And the Lords and Commons, under a deep ſenſe of his Majeſty's Danger and Deliverance, were pleas'd to expreſs their Duty and Affection to him in the follow-

ing

A. C. 1696. ing Addreſs, which for the greater Solemnity was preſented by a Body in theſe Words:

The Lords and Commons Addreſs.

'We your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration what your Majeſty has been pleaſed to communicate to us this day, think it our Duty, in the firſt place, to give your Majeſty moſt humble thanks for having acquainted your Parliament with the great Danger your Sacred Perſon has been ſo nearly expos'd to, and the Deſign of an Invaſion from our Enemies abroad; we heartily congratulate your Majeſty's happy Preſervation, and thankfully acknowledge the ſignal Providence of God in it, and at the ſame time declare our Deteſtation and Abhorrence of ſo Villanous and Barbarous a Deſign. And ſince the Safety and Welfare of your Majeſty's Dominions do ſo entirely depend upon your Life, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take more than ordinary care of your Royal Perſon. And we take this Occaſion to aſſure your Majeſty of our utmoſt Aſſiſtance, to Defend your Perſon and Support your Government, againſt the late King *James* and all other your Enemies both at Home and Abroad; hereby declariag to all the World, that in caſe your Majeſty ſhall come to any violent Death, (which God forbid) we will revenge the ſame upon all your Enemies and their Adherents; and as an inſtance of our Zeal for your Majeſty's Service, we will give all poſſible Diſpatch to the Publick Buſineſs. And we make it our Deſire to your Majeſty, to Seize and Secure all Perſons, with their Horſes and Arms, that your Majeſty may think fit to apprehend upon this occaſion.

To which his Majeſty, in a very obliging manner, return'd this Anſwer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Reply.

'I thank you heartily for this kind Addreſs: On my part you may be aſſured, that I will do all that is within my Power for the Preſervation of this Kingdom, to which I have ſo many Obligations: I will readily

eadily venture my Life for Preſerving it, and Recommend my ſelf to the continuance of your Loyalty and good Affection. A. C. 1695.

February the 25th, 1695. both Houſes enter into an *Aſſociation* to Defend his Majeſty's Life, and Revenge his Death, Declaring that his Majeſty *King* William *is Rightful and Lawful King of theſe Realms; mutually Promiſing and Engaging to ſtand by and aſſiſt each other in the Support and Defence of his* Majeſty's *moſt Sacred Perſon and Government, againſt the late King* James *and all his Adherents, and in ſupporting and defending the Succeſſion of the Crown according to an Act made in the firſt Year of King* William *and Queen* Mary, Intituled, an Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſetling the Succeſſion of the Crown. His Majeſty receiv'd this Addreſs very Graciouſly, and expreſs'd his Senſe of their extraordinary Zeal and Fidelity in theſe words. *The Aſſociation.*

Gentlemen,

I take this as a moſt convincing and moſt acceptable Evidence of your Affection: And as you have freely aſſociated your ſelves for our common ſafety, I do heartily enter into the ſame Aſſociation; and will be always ready with you and the reſt of my good Subjects, to venture my Life againſt all, who ſhall endeavour to ſubvert the Religion, Laws and Liberties of England. *The King's Anſwer.*

The Houſe of Commons alſo proceeded to put this Aſſociation into a Law, and further Enacted, that ſuch as ſhould refuſe to take the Oaths of Fidelity to his Majeſty, ſhall be liable to the Forfeitures and Penalties of *Popiſh Recuſants Convict*, and that no Perſon ſhall be capable of any Office of Profit or Truſt, Civil or Military, that ſhall not ſign the *Aſſociation*; And that whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to afflict theſe Nations by the Death of his preſent Majeſty, that the Parliament then in being ſhall not be diſſolv'd thereby; but ſhall continue till the next Heir to the Crown in Succeſſion ſhall diſſolve them.

While the Parliament were thus providing Laws for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, three of the Aſſaſſines, *viz. Robert Charnock, Edward King*, and *Thomas* *The Traitors Execution.*

A. D. 1695. *mas Keyes*, being found Guilty of High Treaſon, were all Executed at *Tyburn* upon the eighteenth of *March*, 1695. Before they were Executed, the Malefactors ſeverally deliver'd each their Paper to the *Sheriffs*, in which they confeſs'd themſelves Guilty of the Crimes they were accus'd of, and then about to ſuffer for, Mr. *Charnock* in theſe words: *As concerning an Invaſion intended by King* James *upon* England, *and that there was certain Intelligence of it from abroad, I preſume every body was ſatisfied; and to the facilitating of which, I own that my ſelf and ſome others did agree upon the undertaking, to Attack the* Prince of *Orange* and his Guards, *for which I am now to ſuffer.* Mr. *King* in theſe words, *I am now within a few moments of Eternity, brought to this place by the juſt hand of God, in puniſhment of all my Crimes, but particularly of that of which I have been lately Arraign'd, and for which I ſtand here condemn'd.* Mr. *Keys* in theſe words, *God is juſt in all his Judgments, and I accept of this Death, as the puniſhment of my Iniquities,* Sir *John Freind* alſo own'd himſelf Guilty of the Treaſon he dy'd for, in endeavouring to juſtify it in theſe words; *To aſſiſt King* James *in the Recovery of his Rights, is Juſtifiable, and our Duty.* Sir *William Perkins* confeſs'd at his Execution, *That he was privy to the Deſign upon the Prince,* (meaning King *William*) *That he was entirely in the Intereſt of King* James, *and look'd upon it as his duty to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Throne.*

To omit others, Sir *John Fenwick* was the laſt that ſuffer'd in this Plot. The Earl of *Aliſbury*, the Lord *Montgomery* and Sir *John Fenwick*'s Agents, knowing there was but two Witneſſes againſt them, contriv'd to ſend one of them away, and by that means procur'd their Acquittal; the Propoſal was firſt made to Captain *Porter* by *Clancy*, but the Captain diſcovering it to the Government, *Clancy* was ſet in the Pillory for attempting it. Then the Party ſo powerfully attack'd Mr. *Cardel Goodman* by the Mediation of Major *Ingram*, and the Promiſe of great Rewards, that they prevail'd with him after he had Sworn againſt them, to abandon his Native Country and go privately into *France*, and now there being but one Witneſs againſt the Lords, they were acquitted; but

Sir

Sir *John Fenwick* being Attainted by Parliament, was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 28th of *January*, 1696. In this Plot I cannot but obſerve two things, firſt, what a ſtrange Fate attends ſome Families, for the Anceſtors of *Charnock*, *Rookwood* and *Keyes*, were all Executed in the Gun-powder Treaſon Plot; and, as a warning to others; the ſecond is, that Mr. *Goodman* who was tempted to deſert the Government, and fly into *France*, was no ſooner there than he met with very unkind uſage, being confin'd from the firſt to *Calais*, but afterwards was removed from thence, but how they have diſpos'd of him ſince, is a ſecret unknown to all his Friends, Relations and Acquaintance in *England*. A. D. 1696.

As ſoon as the News came into *Flanders* that the King was ſafe, and *England* Freed from the intended Invaſion, the *Generals* bethought themſelves of making an Extraordinary Bonfire for Joy, by burning the *French Magazine* at *Givet*, which they accompliſh'd on the 6th of *March*, burning all that vaſt Magazine of Stores and Proviſions which the *French* had treaſured up there, and that with the loſs of about nine or ten Men only; but notwithſtanding this advantage to the Confederates, the Conſpiracy in *England*, and other Affairs in Parliament, ſpun out ſo much time, that the King could not be ſo early in the Camp this Year as he deſigned; but about the time that the King arriv'd at the *Hague*, there fell out ſomething that lookt like putting an end to the Toils of War, for *Monſieur Calliere* was come thither from *France*, with propoſals towards concluding a General Peace, by ſetling ſuch Preliminaries as might be a ſufficient baſis to ground a Treaty on. Some are of opinion, that before 1695 there was no real diſpoſition in the *French* Court to a General Peace; but the loſs of *Namur*, *Caſal*, and other diſadvantages, without all doubt operated powerfully towards it; and nothing could have delayed it ſo long, but the plauſible imagination of the Invaſion of *England*, and that in ſuch a hazardous Juncture, as the badneſs of the Coin rendred it; but the former failing, and a viſible proſpect of weathering the point in relation to our Money, there was no room for a longer delay. *The* French *Magazine burnt.*

A. C. 1696. His Illuſtrious Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter* having been Elected into the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, at a Chapter of the Order held at *Kenſington*, *Jan.* 6. 1695. (7 *William* 3.) by the Soveraign and Eleven Knights Companions of the ſaid moſt Noble Order; and having been firſt Kniighted by the Soveraign with the Sword of State, was afterwards Inveſted with the *Garter* and *George*, (the two Principal Enſigns of the Order) with the uſual Ceremonies, was this day, being *Friday* the 24th of *July* 1696. (his Birth-day) Inſtall'd at *Windſor*, by the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Devonſhire* and *Shrewsbury*, Commiſſionated by his Majeſty for that purpoſe; his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, with the Dukes of *Southampton* and *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Dorſet*, Knights Companions of the ſaid Order, being preſent at the Solemnity.

The Confederate Army did little this Campaign by Land, for the reaſons before-mention'd; but the *Engliſh* made amends in their attempt upon the Iſle of *Rhee*, under the Command of the Lord *Berkley*, where they burnt the greateſt part of the Town of St. *Martins*; but they could not ſucceed ſo well upon *Olonne*, by miſtaking the Scituation of the place, tho' the damage was not inconſiderable, which was done there alſo. After this the Lord *Berkley* Landed a party in the Iſle of *Groa* near *Port Louis*, and in two others near *Bell Iſle*, where the Soldiers deſtroyed about twenty Villages, burnt 1300 Houſes, and brought off a Booty of 1600 head of Catttel. Beſides this, the Fleet took 20 Barks, and a Veſſel from *Newfoundland*; and Re-took one of our *Weſt-India* Ships, together with a ſmall *Frigot*, which the Privateers of St. *Maloes* had taken, and ſo ended the Summers expedition.

The Duke of Savoy *makes his Peace.*

The main buſineſs of this Summer was on the ſide of *Italy*; not ſo much in the Proſecution of the War, as in making up a Separate Peace between *Savoy* and *France*; the *Duke*, it ſeems, being reſolv'd as he came laſt into the War, to be the firſt that would get out of it, without any regard to the Stipulations between him and the Confederates. I take it for granted, that the *French* Army on that ſide were more formidable now than uſual, but I alſo am of opinion, that there

was

was ſome Underſtanding between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Court of *France* before this time, by *Catinat*'s not making uſe of the advantages he had againſt him: tho' all the Artifices imaginable were made uſe of, to cover the matter for a time. However, on the 12th of *July*, 1696, a Truce was concluded for a Month, and at length a final concluſion of a Peace; which if it had been gained on the *Dukes* part, without any violation of his Honour, was very advantageous to him, and the reſt of *Italy*; for the *French* made a reſtitution to him of all the new Conqueſts they had made, as alſo of *Pignerol* demoliſhed; gave him four Millions of Livres towards the reparation of the damages he had ſuſtained during the War, engaged to aſſiſt him with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe; and which was more than all, his Daughter was to be married to the *Duke of Burgundy* without any Portion. The *French* King made a formal renunciation of all his pretence to *Savoy* and the Duke's Territories; and his Royal Highneſs on the 15th of *September* put himſelf at the head of the *French* and his own Troops, to drive his Friends the Allies out of *Italy*, or to accept of a Neutrality for it. A ſtrange Metamorphoſis, and ſuch as cannot be parrallel'd in any Ancient or Modern Hiſtory, that one and the ſame Prince, ſhould ſucceſſively in one and the ſame Campaign command the two Armies of the two Enemies, and therefore I ſhall leave it as an Original. However, the Duke laid Siege to *Valentia*, a City in the Dutchy of *Milan* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and carryed it on with great vigour.

A. D. 1696.

A Peace betwixt France and Savoy.

While there was a Treaty of Peace on foot by both Parties managed by the Prince of *Fandi* for the *Emperor*, the Marqueſs of *Leganez* for the *Spaniard*, the Earl of *Galloway* for the King of *England*, and the Marqueſs of St. *Thomas* for the Duke of *Savoy*, and many conferences were holden before they could be brought to a concluſion; but tho' the *French* and *Savoyards* were very hot in taking *Valentia*, yet they found it a harder matter than was expected; for having loſt about three thouſand Men before it, and the approach of bad weather, made the matter dubious; at laſt, things on all hands were reduced to this Criſis, whether the *French* ſhould run the hazard and diſhonour that would accrue in raiſing the Siege, or whether

A Treaty of a general Peace.

A. D. 1697. ther the Confederates ſhould venture the loſing it, and with that protract the War in *Italy*; but all parties having conſidered the advantages and diſadvantages, the *Neutrality* was agreed to and ſigned upon the 7th of *October*.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Parliament met about the middle of *October*, to whom his Majeſty ſaid, 'that he thought it our 'happineſs conſidering our diſappointments in the 'Funds, and other difficulties we laboured under, 'that things had paſs'd without any diſadvantage a-'broad. That this was a convincing proof of the 'good diſpoſition of his Army and ſteady affections 'of his People, that his Enemies hopes had been 'hitherto fruſtrated in reſpect to the difficult Con-'juncture we were in; and that their unanimous 'Proceedings was the way to have the ſame continu-'ed. That the Buſineſs before them was very great, 'and the Occaſion preſſing. That he could not let ſlip 'the Occaſion to tell them, that ſome Overtures had 'been made towards ſetting up a Negotiation of 'a General Peace, but that the beſt way to Treat 'was with our Swords in our hands, and by ſhewing 'our Selves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual 'War. Wherefore he earneſtly recommended it to the 'Houſe of Commons, to raiſe the neceſſary Supplies 'with all convenient ſpeed.

Preliminaries agreed to.

In the beginning of the Year 1697, the Preliminaries were agreed on in order to a General Peace, and it went forward under the Mediation of the young King of *Sweden*, (whoſe Father *Charles* the Eleventh dyed on the 17*th*. of *April* this Spring) by the Intervention of the Baron *de Lelienroot*, his Ambaſſador. While time was ſpent by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors in preſenting their Grievances to the Mediator, News came from *Poland*, that the *French* who were confident in gaining their Point, to make the Prince of *Conti* to be elected King of *Poland*, were under a great diſappointment; for certain it was, that the Elector of *Saxony*, who had been lately reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, was elected King of *Poland* on the 26*th* of *June*, by a great Majority of Voices above the Prince of *Conti*, who was alſo proclaimed King, tho the Expedition afterwards made into that Coun-

The Elector of Saxony *choſen King of* Poland.

try

try by that brave Prince, proved little to his or the French King's Satisfaction, the Elector having in a manner adjuſted all his Affairs, before the Prince of *Conti*'s arrival. A. D. 1696.

Auguſt the 26*th*, an extraordinary Congreſs was held at *Reſwick* by the Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Princes and States concern'd, and on the Day following, came news that the *French* had taken *Barcelona*, after one of the moſt vigorous Sieges that had happened almoſt in any Age; this made the *Spaniards* very uneaſy and willing to abate many of the Punctilio's, they had inſiſted on to gratify the Emperor; bnt the interviews between the *Earl of Portland* and the *Mareſchal de Boufflers* at the requeſt of the latter, occaſioned various ſpeculations, and gave a deadly blow to the *Engliſh Jacobites*, who againſt all common ſenſe and reaſon had induſtriouſly ſpread a report that King *William* was to be left out in the Peace, and if this and the ſucceeding Interviews between thoſe two great Favourites of their Maſters, was ſo ſurprizing to moſt Men in general, th Earl of *Portland*, who went from thence to the *Hague*, and in his Maſters name declared to the Congreſs, 'That for 'what concerned his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, he was 'well ſatisfied that all matters were ſo far adjuſted 'with *France*, that his concerns would occaſion no 'delay in the General Peace; and therefore he earneſtly preſſed the other Allies, and particularly the '*Emperour* to contribute all that in them lay towards 'concluding ſo good a Work, was no leſs ſurpri-'zing.

At laſt on the 20th of *September*, when either an happy *Peace*, or a long and bloody *War* was like to determine the Fate of *Europe*, when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries after a long Conference with thoſe of *France*, having adjuſted all matters that were in difference between any of them, they mutually ſigned the *Articles of Peace* a little after Midnight, and then complemented each other upon the finiſhing ſuch an important Negotiation.

His Majeſty King *William* ſtaid in *Holland* till all was over, and after having very honourably paid off all Foreign Troops, who by this time were marching toward their reſpective Homes, he returned to *England*,

A. D. 1697. *land*, and at the Requeſt of the Citizens, upon the 16th of *November* made his Publick Entry thro' *London*, being attended in great State by all the Perſons of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſt of the City Officers in great magnificence; who meeting him at *Southwark*, attended his Majeſty to his Royal Palace at *White-Hall*. All the Streets Balconies and Windows through the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, being crowded with ſuch a vaſt number of Spectators, who Ecchoed their joyful Acclamations for his ſafe Return with Peace, after the Toils of a Tedious and Bloody War, that no Age ever Produc'd the like upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion. And may he ſtill Triumph in the Hearts of his Subjects, as he has done over his Enemies: And live long a Bleſſing to *England*.

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